

THE
THIRD VOLUME
OF THE
ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY:
CONTAINING THE

Acts and Monuments
OF
MARTYRS:

WITH
A general Discourse of these later Persecutions, horrible Troubles
and Tumults, stirred up by

ROMISH PRELATES
IN THE
CHURCH.

WITH
Divers other Things incident, especially to this Realm of *England*
and *Scotland*, as partly also to all other Foreign Nations appertaining;
From the Time of Queen *MARIES* entring upon the Crown,
to the Reign of our late Gracious Sovereign Queen *ELIZABETH*,
of Blessed Memory.

Recognized and Enlarged by the Author,
M^r. J O H N F O X.

Whereunto are annexed certain Additions, unto the time of our late
Sovereign Lord King *CHARLES* of Blessed Memory.

L O N D O N,
Printed for the Company of STATIONERS, MDCLXXXIV.

The PREFACE to the READER.

Isidorus L.
Erym.
Hugo in
speculo Ec-
cles.
Tertul.co
Marc.lib.1
Cypria.de
bona pas.

Cañones
Canonicis
orationibus
lib. 3. 12. 7.

To express the alacrity of the said Magd, and the irreligious application thereof, unfeignedly and perilous for Christians to take it, I will bring two or three relations of the servants Servant and Martyr of God, John Bradford, to which many more may be added; who were men of great piety, and yet were slain by a most subtle and pernicious Enemy against Christ, and that two ways: namely against his Priesthood, and against his Sacrifice; which he proveth by this way: For the Priests of Christ, saith he, is an everlasting Priesthood, which he sets out as a perpetual sacrifice, which he calls the Mass; utterly putteth him out of place, as though he would say dead, and so God does not care for him, nor will he be accounted a Priest for ever, wherefore he was a liar, which Christ himself is a Priest for ever, which briefly cometh unto this Argument.

That the same Magd, being thus convicted of this Fel: That thing is not perpetual, nor is he a Priest for ever, because he is not of other to do the same thing that was done before.

Another Argument.

Bo. All Priests either be after the order of Aaron, or Melchisedech, or after the order of Melchisedech, *after the order of the Apostles, or after the order of spiritual sort whereof it is written, Summus est spiritus Ecclesiarum, &c.*

Jo. I say, that all Priests neither be after the order of Aaron, nor that it is to say, that which Christ hath abolished; neither after the order of Melchisedech, for that a peculiar only to Christ; neither after the order of the Apostles, for then should they be Ministers not Masters, nor Priests; but Preachers, and which of the Apostles was ever named by the title of a Priest? Again, neither are they after the gene-

The

Naucletus L.
3 generat. 5.
Ex venusto
quodam li-
bro de of-
ficio Missæ.

preach or read openly in Churches the Word of God, besides other things also in the same Proclamation inhibited, the copy whereof is here following.

An Inhibition of the Queens, for Preaching, Printing, &c.
 The Queens Highness well remembering what great inconveniences and dangers have grown to this her Highnesss Realm, in times past, through the diversity of opinions in question of Religion, and bearing also that now of late, since the beginning of her most gracious Reign, the same contentions be again much revived, through certain false and untrue reports and rumours spread by false light and evil disposed persons, hath thought good to do under stand, to all her Highnesss most loving Subjects, her most gracious pleasure in manner following:

First, her Majesty, being presently by the only goodness of God filled in her just and imperial Crown of this Realm, and other Dominions therein belonging, cannot now bid that Religion which God and the World knoweth to be the true Religion, and her Majesty is bound to defend and maintain for her self by Gods Grace, during her time, doth she her Highnesss much desire, and would be glad the same were of all her Subjects quietly and charitably embraced.

And yet the doth grieve unto all her Highnesss loving Subjects, that of her most gracious disposition and clemency, her Highnesss mindeth not to compel any her said Subjects thereto, until such time as further order by common assent may be taken thereof: Forbidding nevertheless all her Subjects at all degrees, at their perils, to move seditions, or to stir unequanimity in her people by interpreting the Law of this Realm against their brains and fancies, but quietly to consider the same, until as to be before is said) further order may be taken, and therefore willesh and finally chargeth and commandeth: all her good loving Subjects to live together in quiet rest and Christian Charity, loving their neighbours as themselves of Papist or Heretic, and such like, and applying their whole care, study, and travel to live in the fear of God, exercising their conversations in such charitable and godly doing, so their lives may stand in such great hunger and thirst of Gods glory and holy Word, which by such talk and words may be pretended: and in so doing they shall best please God, and live without danger of the Law, and maintain the tranquillity of the Realm. Whom so her Highnesss shall be most glad, to if any man shall rashly presume to make any assemblies of people, or at any publick assemblies, or otherwise shall go about to stir the people to disorder or sedition, the same shall according to her duty, to see the same most severely reformed and punished according to her Highnesss Laws.

And furthermore, forasmuch as it is also well known, that seditions and full rumours have been nourished and maintained in this Realm, by the dissidly and mutiny of some evil disposed persons, which take them without sufficient authority to preach and to interpret the Word of God after their own private in Churches, and other places both publick and private, and by playing of exercises, and printing of false round books, ballads, rhymes, and other lewd treatises in the English tongue, concerning Doctrine, in matters now in question and controversy, touching the high point and mysteries of Christian Religion: which books, ballads, rhymes, and treatises, are chiefly by the Printers and Stationers first sold to sale to her Graces Subjects, or of evil trade, for lucre and covetousness of the vain gain: Her Highnesss therefore finally chargeth and commandeth all every of her said Subjects, of whatsoever state, condition, or degree they be, that none of them presume from henceforth to preach, or by way of reading in Churches, or of other publick or private places, except by the authority of the Council, to interpret or teach any Scriptures, or at any manner of points of Doctrine concerning Religion, neither also to print any books, pamphlets, ballads, rhymes, exercises, process, or treatises, more to play any exercises, or to have her Graces special license in writing for the same, upon pain to incur her Highnesss indignation and displeasure.

And her Highnesss also further chargeth and commandeth every her said Subjects, that none of them of their own authority do presume to punish, and to censure

guilt any offenders in the causes aforesaid, or any other Anno offender in words or deeds in the late rebellion committed by or done by the Duke of Northumberland, or his companions, or to fine any of his friends, or violently to use any force against by striking, or imprisoning, or detaining the same, but wholly to refer the punishment of all such offenders unto her Highnesss and Publick Authority, whereas her Majesty mindeth to see due punishment according to the order of her Highnesss Laws.

Nevertheless, as her Highnesss mindeth not hereby to refrain and discourage any of her loving Subjects, to give from time to time true information against any such offenders in the causes aforesaid, and warn them not only to be obedient to the order of her Highnesss Laws, but also to the punishment of every such offender, according to the effect of her Highnesss Laws provided in that part: So her said Highnesss exhorteth and finally chargeth her said Subjects to observe her commandment and pleasure in every part aforesaid, as they will avoid her Highnesss fild indignation and most grievous displeasure. The severity and rigour whereof as her Highnesss shall be most fully to have cause to put in execution: so doth she utterly determine not to permit such unlawful and rebellious doings of her Subjects, whereas may ensue the danger of her royal estate, to remain unpunished, but to her said Subjects touching the points to be thoroughly executed: which extremities the more shall her said Subjects will foresee, dread, and avoid accordingly: her said Highnesss finally charging and commanding all Majors, Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, Bayliffs, Constables, and all other publick Officers and Ministers, diligently to see to the observing and executing of her said commandments and pleasure, and to apprehend all such as shall wilfully offend in this part, committing the same to the next time, to remain without bail or mainprise, till upon certificate made to her Highnesss, or her Privy Council, of their names and doings; and upon examination had of their offences, fence further order shall be taken for their punishment to the example of others, according to the effect and tenor of the Laws aforesaid. Given at our Manor of Richmond, the 18. day of August in the first year of our most prosperous Reign.

Mr. Bourne preaching at Pauls-Croft.

About this time, or not long before, *Bourne Bishop of London*, being reformed, appointed *Mr. Bourne* a Canon of *Pauls* to preach at the *Croft*, who afterwards was Bishop of *Bath*; he taking occasion of the Gospel of *Matthew* to speak something largely in justifying of *Bourne* being then present; which *Bourne*, fild he upon the first Text in that place, that day four years had preached before, and was upon the time most carefully and unjustly call into the most vile dungeon of the *Marshfield*, and there kept during the time of King *Edward*. His words founded evil in the ears of the hearers, that they could not keep silence, and began to murmur and to stir in such sort, that the Mayor and Aldermen with other estates then present, feared much an uproar, but who it was could not then be proved as such; afterward it was known.

In fine the fire was such, that the Preacher plucked in his hand, and durst no more appear in that place. The matter of his Sermon touched much the dangerous and displeasure of *King Edward*, which thing the people in general could be other: Then *Mr. Bradford* at the request of the Preachers Brother, and others, then being in the Pulpit, stood forth and spoke so mildly, mildly, and peacefully, that with few words he appeased all; and afterward he, and *Mr. Rogers* conducted the Preacher be-
 twixt them from the Pulpit to the *Grammer-School* door, where they left him safe; so further in the story of *Mr. Bradford* is declared. But shortly after they were rewarded with long imprisonment, and laid off all with fire in *Smithfield*.

By reason of this tumult at *Pauls-Croft*, an order was taken by the Lords of the Council, that the Mayor and Aldermen of *London*, that they calling the next day following a Common Council of the City, should thereby charge every Household to cause their children, apprentices, and other servants to keep their own Faith, Churches upon

upon the holy days and not to suffer them to attempt any thing to the violating of the common Peace. Willing them also to signify to the fild assembly the Queens determination uttered unto them by her highness the 12. of April, as to fine any of his friends, or violently to use any force against by striking, or imprisoning, or detaining the same, but wholly to refer the punishment of all such offenders unto her Highnesss and Publick Authority, whereas her Majesty mindeth to see due punishment according to the order of her Highnesss Laws.

Also it was then ordered, that every Alderman in his Ward should forthwith send for the Curates of every Parish within their liberties, and warn them not only to be obedient to the order of her Highnesss Laws, but also to the punishment of every such offender, according to the effect of her Highnesss Laws provided in that part: So her said Highnesss exhorteth and finally chargeth her said Subjects to observe her commandment and pleasure in every part aforesaid, as they will avoid her Highnesss fild indignation and most grievous displeasure. The severity and rigour whereof as her Highnesss shall be most fully to have cause to put in execution: so doth she utterly determine not to permit such unlawful and rebellious doings of her Subjects, whereas may ensue the danger of her royal estate, to remain unpunished, but to her said Subjects touching the points to be thoroughly executed: which extremities the more shall her said Subjects will foresee, dread, and avoid accordingly: her said Highnesss finally charging and commanding all Majors, Sheriffs, Justices of Peace, Bayliffs, Constables, and all other publick Officers and Ministers, diligently to see to the observing and executing of her said commandments and pleasure, and to apprehend all such as shall wilfully offend in this part, committing the same to the next time, to remain without bail or mainprise, till upon certificate made to her Highnesss, or her Privy Council, of their names and doings; and upon examination had of their offences, fence further order shall be taken for their punishment to the example of others, according to the effect and tenor of the Laws aforesaid. Given at our Manor of Richmond, the 18. day of August in the first year of our most prosperous Reign.

5. of August, Anno 1553. was one *William Roper* committed (by the Council) to the *Marshfield*, for using certain words against *Mr. Bourne* Preacher, for his Sermon at *Pauls-Croft* on Sunday last before.

The 16. of August was *Humphry Palden* committed to the Counter for words against the late *Bourne*s Sermon at *Pauls-Croft*.

A letter fild to the Sheriffs of *Buckingham* and *Bedford*, for apprehending one *Fisher*, Parson of *Ammerham*, a Preacher.

The same day letters to the Bishop of *Norwich*, not to suffer any Preacher or other to preach or expound the Scripture openly without special licence from the Queen.

The same day was *Mr. Bradford*, *Mr. Vernon*, and *Mr. Bateson*, Preachers, committed to the charge of the Lieutenant of the Tower.

The same day also was *Mr. John Rogers* Preacher, committed to keep himself prisoner in his own house at *Pauls*, without having any conference with any other than those of his own household.

The 22. of August there were two letters directed to *Mr. Coverdale* Bishop of *Exeter*, and *Mr. Hoper* Bishop of *Gloster* for their undelayed repair to the Court, and there to attend the Councils pleasure.

The same day *Fisher* Parson of *Ammerham* made his appearance before the Council, and according to their letter the 16. of August, was appointed the next day to bring in a note of his Sermon.

The 24. of August was one *John Melvin* a Scot, and Preacher, sent to *Newgate* in *London* by the Council.

The 18. of August there was a Letter fild to the Mayor of *Conventry* and his brethren, for the apprehension of one *Thomas Worsley* Preacher, and then *Vicar* of *St. Michaels* in *Conventry*, and for the sending of him up to the Council, with his examinations and other matters they could charge him with, with a Commission to them to pursue all such as had by means of his preaching used any talk against the Queens proceedings.

The 26. of August *Mr. Hoper* Bishop of *Worcester* made his personal appearance before the Council, according to their Letter the 22. of August.

The 31. of August *Mr. Coverdale* Bishop of *Exeter* made his appearance before the Council, according to their Letters the 22. of August.

September 1553.

The first of September *Mr. Hoper* and *Mr. Coverdale* appeared again before the Council, whence *Mr. Hoper* was committed to the Fleet, and *Mr. Coverdale* committed to the Tower. And such as would flock to the same were King *Edward*s time, till other should be established, some of them were marked, and some presently apprehended. Among whom *St. James Hales*, a Knight of the shire, and Justice of the Common Pleas, was one who notwithstanding he had ventured his life in *Queen Mary*s cause, in that he would not subscribe to the unwhitting

ness and was committed to appear again upon Monday next after.

The 4. of September a Letter was directed from the Council to *Mr. Hugh Latimer* for his appearance before them.

About the 5. day of September the first year, *Peter Martyr* came to *London* from *Oxford*, where for a time he had been committed to keep his house, and found there the Archbishop of *Conventry*, who offered to defend the doctrine of the book of *Common Prayer*, both by Scriptures and Doctors, affixed by *Peter Martyr* and a few others, as hereafter ye shall hear. But which they were in hope to come to disputations, the Archbishop and other were impeded by the fact that *Peter Martyr* was suffered to return whence he came.

The same day there was a Letter fild to the Mayor of *Conventry* for to *Hugh Symonds* at *Liberty*, if he would recant his Sermon, or else to fly him, and to signify so much to the Council.

The 13. of September *Mr. Hugh Latimer* appeared before the Council, and according to their Letter the 4. of September, and was committed to the Tower close prisoner, having his fervent *Aspin* to attend upon him.

The same day the Archbishop of *Conventry* appeared before the Council; was commanded to appear the next day at noon before them in the Star-Chamber.

The 14. of September the Archbishop of *Conventry*, according to their former days commandment, made his appearance before the Lords in the Star-Chamber. Where they charging him with Treason, and sending abroad of fictitious Bills to the dissipation of the estate, they committed him from thence to the Tower of *London*, there to remain till further justice and order at the Queens pleasure.

The 15. of September there was a Letter fild to *Mr. Horn* Dean of *Durham*, for his appearance before them, and another was sent to him the 7. of October next after, for his speedy appearance.

The 16. of September there were letters fild to the Mayors of *Dever* and *Rye*, to suffer all French Protestants to pass out of this Realm, except such whole names shall be signified to them by the French Ambassador.

October 1553.

The first day of October *Queen Mary* was Crowned at *Westminster*, and the tenth day of the same Month of October then following began the Parliament with the solemn Mass of the Holy Ghost, after the Popish manner, celebrated with great pomp in the Palace of *Westminster*, to the which many among the other Lords, according to the manner, should come the Bishops, which yet remained undischarged, which were the Arch-Bishop of *Tork*, Doctor *Taylor* Bishop of *Lincoln*, *John Harley* Bishop of *Hartford*, Of the Bishops, Doctor *Taylor*, and *Mr. Harley* presenting themselves according to their duty, and making their place among the Lords, after they saw the Mass begin, notwithstanding the fight thereof, withdrew themselves from the company: for the which cause the Bishop of *Lincoln* being his examination, and protesting his faith, was upon the same commanded to attend; who not long after at *Amersley* by sickness departed. *Mr. Harley*, because he was married, was excluded both from the Parliament and from his Bishoprick.

Mañ being done, the Queen accompanied with the Estates of the Realm was brought into the Parliament house, there according to the manner to enter and begin the consultation: At which Consultation or Parliament were elected all Statutes made in the time of King *Henry* the eighth for *Premunire*, and Statutes made in King *Edward*s time for administration of the Council.

Prepared the Secretary in the English tongue; and further the attendance of the Duke of *Northumberland* was by this Parliament continued. In this mean while many men were forward in erecting of Altars and Masses in Churches, and such as would flock to the same were King *Edward*s time, till other should be established, some of them were marked, and some presently apprehended. Among whom *St. James Hales*, a Knight of the shire, and Justice of the Common Pleas, was one who notwithstanding he had ventured his life in *Queen Mary*s cause, in that he would not subscribe to the unwhitting

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was let down from the Cross, which was wrapped in Cloths, which was hid in the Sepulchre, which was moved in the Resurrection. *St. Augustine* says, *For after a holy presence he was conversant with his Disciples forty days, and they accompanying him, seeing and not following him, ascended and is not here; just as he is fitted in the right hand of the Father; and yet here he is, because he is not departed in the presence of his Majesty. After another manner we have Christ always by the presence of his Majesty, but after the presence of his flesh it is rightly said, Thou shalt not finally leave me always with you. And why? For the Church had him in the presence of his flesh a few days, and now he finally apprehends him, and feels him not with eyes.*

To this Authority Doctor *Wafion* took upon him to answer, and said, *He would not answer St. Augustine, and having a certain Book in his hand, Notes, he alleged out of the 70 Treatise upon St. John, that after that mortal condition and manner we have not now Christ on earth; he was here before before him, and now Christ cannot be seen.*

Against which answer *John Philip* replied, and said, That Mr. *Wafion* had not fully answered *St. Augustine* by *St. Augustine*, as he would seem to have done; for that in the place above mentioned by Mr. *Daniel* *Rochester*, he doth not only teach the mortal state of Christ Body before his Passion, but also the immortal condition of the same after his Resurrection: in the which mortal Body *St. Augustine* seemeth plainly to affirm, That Christ is not present upon this earth, neither in form visibly, neither in corporal substance invisibly, as in few lines after the place above alleged, *St. Augustine* doth more plainly declare by these words, *Yngus* *thuse* *two* *summers* *of* *Christ's* *presence* *declared* *in* *his* *Majesty*, *Providence*, *and* *Grace* *was* *present* *in* *the* *World*, *which* *before* *his* *Ascension* *was* *present* *in* *himself*, *and* *being* *now* *placed* *at* *the* *right* *hand* *of* *the* *Father*, *is* *absent* *in* *the* *same* *from* *the* 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what you will answer, and to defend to the condemnation of all that I have said by ancient Writers.

Then Doctor *Chesley* reciting his argument in such order as it was made, took upon him to answer severally to every one of them in this wise. First, to the saying of the Angel, *That Christ is not here; And, why seek ye the living among the dead?* He answered, that these sayings pertained nothing to the presence of Christ's natural body in the Sacrament, but that they were spoken of Christ's body being in the Sepulchre, when the three *Maries* thought him to have been in the grave hill. And therefore the Angel said *Why do ye seek him that liveth among the dead?* And to the authority of the 15. of *John*, where Christ faith, *Now I leave the World and go to my father*, he meant that of his ascension. And so likewise did *Cyril*, interpreting the saying of the Disciples that knew plainly that Christ was not ascended into Heaven, but that he could not exclude the invisible presence of his natural body in the Sacrament. For *S. Chrysostom* writing to the people of *Antioch*, doth affirm the doct and *Christus Ihesu*: *Ihesus* (quoth he) *when he was taken up in thery chariot, left his cloak behind him unto his disciple Helianus*. But *Christ*, ascending into Heaven took his flesh with him, and left *his flesh* behind him. Whereby we may right well gather that Christ's flesh is visibly ascended into Heaven, and invisibly abideth still in the Sacrament of the Altar.

To this *Philips* replied, and said, You have not directly answered to the saying of the Angel, *Christ is risen, and is not here*, because you have omitted that which was the chiefest point of our (for the L. he) proceed farther, as thus; He is risen, ascended, and retired to the right hand of God the Father. But he is not remaining on earth. Neither is your answer to *Cyril* by me alleged sufficient. But by and by I will return to your interpretation of *Cyril*, and more plainly declare the same, after that I have first refuted the sense of *S. Chrysostom*, which is one of your chief principles that you alledge to make for your gross carnal presence in the Sacrament, which being well weighed and understood, pertaineth nothing thereto.

At that the Prolocutor started, that one of the chief pillars in this point should be overturned; and therefore recited the said authority in Latin first, and afterward Englished the same, willing all that were present to note that saying of *Chrysostom*, which he thought invariable on their side. But I will make it appear (quoth *Philips*) by and by that it doth make little for your purpose. And as he was about to declare his mind in that behalf, the Prolocutor did interrupt him, as he did almost continually. Wherewith *Philips* not being content, said, Mr. Prolocutor thinketh that he is in a *Sophistry School*, where he knoweth right well the manner is, that when the Respondent perceiveth that he is like to be infused within argument, to which he is not able to answer, then he doth what he can with cavillation and interruption to drive him from the same. This saying of *Philips* was ill taken of the Prolocutor and his adherents; and the Prolocutor said, that *Philips* proceeded to usurp authority; but his own vain imagination. Hear, quoth *Philips*, and afterward judge. For I will do in this all in an order and authorities, wherein you shall charge me in refuting any of my arguments that I will not be able to answer, either unto the same by sufficient authorities of Scripture, or else by some other testimony of like authority of yours, or else of mine own imagination; the which I do, will it be to me of no credit, or rather to the saying of *Chrysostom*, I have two ways to beat him from your purpose, the one out of Scripture, the other out of *Chrysostom* himself in the place here by you alleged.

First, where he fethmet to the saying of Christ ascending took his flesh with him, and left his flesh behind him, I say: for we all do confess and believe that Christ took him out our humane nature in the Virgin *Mary*, and brought up through his passion in the flesh, and by the resurrection into his flesh, and thereby we be led to understand him, so that *Chrysostom* might therefore right well say, that Christ ascending took his flesh with him, and left his flesh behind him, which we believe his flesh in this world, which are members of Christ, and flesh of

his flesh, as very aptly *S. Paul* to the *Ephesians* in the fifth Anno 1553. Chapter doth testify, saying, *We are flesh of his flesh*, 1553. and bone of his bones. And if percase any man will reply, that he interpreteth thereof the Sacrament, so that the interpretation cannot so aptly be applied unto him that is placed, then will I yet interpret *Chrysostom* another way by himself. For in that place, a few lines before those words which were here now heard, read these following words; that Christ, after he ascended into Heaven, left us; and that with his Sacraments, his flesh in mysteries, that is, Sacramentally. And that mystical Bread Christ leaveth as well to his Church in the Sacrament of Baptism, as in the Sacramental bread and wine. And that *S. Paul* justify doth witness, saying, *as many of us as are Baptized in Christ have put upon us Christ*, And thus you may understand that *Chrysostom* matcheth his saying for your carnal and gross presence in the Sacrament, as you wrongfully take him.

Now in this mean while Mr. *Pier* composed the Prolocutor in the ear to put *Philips* to silence, and to appoint him other, mistrusting lest he would throwly hate their carnal presence in conclusion, if he held on chief, founding in the beginning he gave one of their chief foundations. Then the Prolocutor said to *Philips*, that he had confessed sufficient cause, and that he would other should now supply his room. Wherewith he was not well content, saying: Why Sir, I have advenzed as yet force enough to my first argument, for I have not brought in as confirmation thereof out of any ancient Writer (whereof I have for the same purpose many) being likewise filled by your of interrupting of me.

Well, quoth the Prolocutor, you shall please now, and I command you to hold your peace. You perceive, quoth *Philips*, that I have stuff enough for you, and am able to withstand if you will supposition, and therefore you cannot be so bold to interrupt me. And then the other should now supply his room. Wherewith he was not well content, saying: Why Sir, I have advenzed as yet force enough to my first argument, for I have not brought in as confirmation thereof out of any ancient Writer (whereof I have for the same purpose many) being likewise filled by your of interrupting of me.

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Then Mr. *Pier* took upon him to promise that he should be answered another day. *Philips* being he might not proceed his purpose, being therewith justly offended, ended, saying thus: A fore of you here, which hitherto have lurked in corners, and dissembled with God and the World, are now gathered together to suppress the sincere truth of Gods holy Word, and to set forth every false device, which by the Catholic Doctrine of the Scripture you are not able to maintain.

Then stepped forth Mr. *Elmar* Chaplain to the Duke of *Suffolk*, whom Mr. *Morison* took upon him to answer. Against whom Mr. *Elmar* objected divers and sundry Authorities for the confirming of the Argument he took the day before hand to prove that *Wine* in the first presence of *Theodore*, brought in by Mr. *Cheyne*, must needs signify Substance, and Accidents. Whole reasons and probations, because they were all grounded and brought out of the Greek, I do pass over, for that they want their Grace in English, and also that proper understanding. But his allegations to incommend Mr. *Morison*, that he desired a day to overview them, for at that instant he was without a convenient answer.

Then did the Prolocutor call Mr. *Hadden* Dean of *Suffolk*, who Mr. *Elmar* challenged *Theodore*'s authority in confirming Mr. *Elmar*'s argument. To whom Doctor *Watson* took upon him to give answer; who after long talk was so confounded, that he was not able to answer to the word *Wine*. But forthwith as he seemed to doubt, therein, Mr. *Hadden* took out of his bosom a Latin Author to confirm his saying, and shewed the face of Mr. *Watson*, asking him whether he thought that translation to be true, or that the Printer were in any fault. There may be a fault in the Printer, quoth *Watson*, for I am not remembered of this word. Then did Mr. *Hadden* take out of his bosom a Greek Author, where he found forth with his finger the same words, which Mr. *Watson* could not deny. His arguments further I omit to

further I omit to declare at large; because they were for the most part in Greek, about the bouding of the true signification of *Wine*.

Then these forth Mr. *Pierre*, and in Argument made declaration of his mind against Transubstantiation, and confirmed the Sayings and Authorities alleged by Mr. *Elmar* and Mr. *Hadden*. To whom the Prolocutor answered, saying, I must marvel Mr. *Pierre*, that you will be so much as on Friday last you subscribed to the contrary. Which if you say Mr. *Elmar* did say, saying to the Prolocutor, That he was to blame to reprehend any man, partly for that this House, quoth he, is a House of free liberty for every man to speak his Confidence, and partly for that you presented him. That notwithstanding any man had subscribed, yet that he should have free liberty to speak his mind. And for that the night did approach, and the time was spent, the Prolocutor, giving them praise for their learning, did say, notwithstanding conclude, that all reasoning left apart, the order of the holy Church must be received; and all things must be ordered thereby.

The Act of the fifth Day.

ON Friday the xth of October, Dr. *Watson* the Prolocutor did first propose the matter, leaving that the Convocation hall spent two days in disputation already about one only Doctor, which was *Theodore*, and about one only word; which was *Wine*. Yet were they come to the end of the matter, and that could not be objected, for that they would shortly part their Arguments. So Mr. *Hadden* Dean of *Easter*, desired leave to oppose Mr. *Watson*, which with two other more, that is, *Morison*, *Hadden*, and *Hartfield*, was expected to answer all that *Theodore* demanded this of him, Whether any Substance of Bread or Wine did remain after the Consecration. Then Mr. *Watson* asked of him again, Whether he thought there to be a Real Presence of Christ's Body or no? Mr. *Hadden* said, It was not meet nor order-like that he which was appointed to be Respondent should be Opponent, and he whose duty was to object should answer. Yet Mr. *Watson* a long while would not agree to answer, but that thing first being granted him, as it an order was fit, and Mr. *Hadden* had leave to go forward with his Argument.

Then he proved by *Theodore*'s words a Substance of Bread and Wine to remain. For these are his words; *The same day were before the Sanctification, which they are after*. Mr. *Watson* said, That *Theodore* meant not the same Substance, but the same Efficacy. Whereupon they were driven again unto the discussing of the Greek word *Wine*; and Mr. *Hadden* proved it to mean a Substance, both by the Etymology of the word, and by the words of the Doctor. For *Wine*, quoth he, cometh to the Particle *Wine*, which defendeth to the Verb *Wine*, and to cometh the Noun *Wine*, which signifieth Substance.

Then Mr. *Watson* answered that it had not that signification only. But Mr. *Hadden* proved that it must need signify in that place. Then he asked *Watson*, when the Bread and Wine became Symbols? Whereunto he answered, after the Consecration, and not before. Then gathered Mr. *Hadden* this reason out of his Author.

Da. The same thing, faith *Theodore*, that the Bread and Wine were before they were Symbols, after they are Symbols. Bread and Wine they were before. fi. Therefore Bread and Wine they are after.

Then Mr. *Watson* fell to the denial of the Author, and said he was a *Nathaniel*; and he desired that he might answer to Mr. *Cheyne* which stood by, for that he was more meet to dispute in the matter, because he had granted and subscribed unto the Real Presence. Mr. *Cheyne* desired permission to be heard him, and by reason thereof, trusting that he should go open the matter, that the very thing should appear: Protesting furthermore, that he was not obstinate nor stubborn man, but would be conformable to all reason; and if by their they were not convinced, he acknowledged to be much more than his, could answer his reasons, then he would be ruled by them; and say as

they said; for he would be no Author of *Schism*, nor hold any thing contrary to the holy Mother the Church, which is *Christus Spouse*. Dr. *Watson* liked this well, and commended him highly, saying that he was a well-learned and labor man, and well exercised in all good learning, and in the Doctrine of the Sacraments, a man meet for his knowledge to dispute in that place. I pray you, hear him, quoth he. Then Mr. *Cheyne* desired such as there were present to pray two words with him unto God, and to say, *Vincit veritas, Vincit veritas*. Mr. *Watson* answered, *Vincit veritas, Vincit veritas*, and said, *Dr. Watson*, I have said this for you: You say that Mr. *Hadden* was unmet to dispute, because he was granted not the Natural and Real Presence; but I say you are much more unmet to answer, because you take away the Substance of the Sacrament.

Mr. *Watson* said, He had subscribed to the Real Presence, and should not go away from that: So said *Watson* the Prolocutor, and the rest of the Priests; inasmuch that for a great while he could have no leave to say any more, till the Lords spake, and willed that he should be heard.

Then he told them what he meant by his subscribing to the Real Presence, far otherwise than they supposed. So that he went forward, and prosecuted Mr. *Hadden*'s Argument, in proving that *Wine* was a Substance, using the same reason that Mr. *Hadden* did before him, and when he had received the same answer all that was made to Mr. *Watson*, he said it was but a few words, when they said he could not answer, to deny the Author, and to call the Author to be a Catholic Doctor; and that being proved, he confirmed that which was said of the Nature and Substance of the Similitude of *Theodore* in this, quoth he: As the token of Christ's Body and Blood, after the Invocation of the Priest, do change their names, and yet continue the same Substance; so the Body of Christ, after his Ascension, changed his name, and was called Immortal, yet he is his former *Passion*, *Figure*, and Circumcision; and to speak at one word, the same Substance of his Body. Therefore said Mr. *Cheyne*, If in the former part of the Similitude you deny the same Substance to continue, then in the latter part of the Similitude, which agree with it; I will deny the Body of Christ, after his Ascension, to have the former Nature and Substance. But that were a great Heresy; therefore it is also a great Heresy to take away the Substance of Blood and Wine after the Sanctification.

Then was Mr. *Watson* enforced to say, That the Substance of the Body in the former part of the Similitude brought in by him did signify Quantity, and other Accidents of the Sacramental Tokens which be seen, and not the very Substance of the same; and therefore *Theodore* faith, *Wine videtur, &c.* that is, *in things which be seen*. For according to Philosophy, the Accidents of things be seen, and not the Substance.

Then Mr. *Cheyne* appealed to the Honourable men, and desired that they should give no credit to them in so saying; for if they should do so, and by their reason Christ must go to School, and learn of *Aristotle* to speak. For when he saw *Nathaniel* under the Fig-tree, *Aristotle* had stood by, he would have said, No Christ, thou wast not him, but the colour of him; and by that reason Christ must go to School, and learn of *Aristotle* to speak. What if it were granted that *Theodore* was in the other World? Whereas they had one of that opinion, there were an hundred on the other.

Then the Prolocutor called for Mr. *Morgan* to be heard, and said, That *Theodore* did no more than that he might lawfully do. For first He granted the truth and then, for fear of such as were not fully instructed in the Faith, he spake *videtur*; that is, *correctly*, and in a mysterious; and this was lawful for him to do, because he was the truth and called them the Body of Christ again. Christ

Deo juvante, nil mecum levior malus:
Et non juvante, nil mecum levior gravior.
Post trinitatem fieri incertum.

Certain Epistles written in commendation of the worthy Lady Jane Gray.

De Jane Graia Jacm. Paribushii Carmine.

Miraris Tuncam Graia fœderis valde?
Quo primam nata est temporis, Graia fuit.

In Hiberniam Jane. J. F.

Tu quibus ista leges, incertum est, lector, oculis.
Iste equidem juxta scribere non potuit.

De Jane, D. Laurentii Hamfridi deificationem.

Jane jacet seculo non aqua cunctare moris,
Nobilis ingenio, laqueis, maribus,
Ingenium Latæ arvensis femina musci,
Femina ceteris tota dicata choro.
Sanguine clara fuit, regali fure creatas,
Illicque Regibus vixisse throno.
De Graia est, pulchra Graia nutrita cœnæ,
Et prius Graia sanguine creta ducem:
Bis Martyr, sacra fide vixisse refert:
Atque vocatus regni crimine, Jane jacet.

Thus the twelfth day of February (as I said) was headed the Lady Jane, and with her also the Lord Gilford her Husband, one of the Duke of Northumberland's Sons, two Infants in comparison of them that sit upon them. For they did but ignorantly accept that which the others had willingly devoted, and by open Proclamation consented to take from others and give to them.

Touching the Condemnation of the Lady Jane, here is to be noted, that the Judge Marry, who gave the Sentence of Condemnation against her, shortly after he had condemned her, fell Mad; and in his raving cried out continually to have the Lady Jane taken away from him, and he ended his Life.

And not long after the death of the Lady Jane upon the 21 of the same Month, was Henry Duke of Suffolk also beheaded at the Tower-Hill, the fourth day after his Condemnation: About which time also were condemned for this Conspiracy many Gentlemen and Women, whereof some were executed at London, and some in the County. In the number of whom was also the Lord Thomas Grey, Brother to the said Duke, being apprehended not long after in Northwales, and executed for the same. Sir Nicholas Throgmorton very hardly escaped, as ye shall hear (the Lord willing) in another place.

The 24 of the same Month, was the year of our Lord 1554. Boner Bishop of London fell down a Communion, directed to all the Curats and Pastors of his Diceps, for the taking of the Names of such as would not come to the Law following, to Avow their Confession, and to the Receiving at Easter: The Copy of which Monition here followeth.

A Monition of Boner Bishop of London, sent down to all and singular Curats of his Diceps, for the certifying of the Names of such as would not come in Lent to Confession, and receiving at Easter.

Command by the Permission of God, Bishop of London, to all Parish Priests, Curats, and Ministers of the Church within the City and Diceps of London, (senteth Grace, Peace, and Health, in our Lord Everlasting, Forasmuch as by the Order of the Ecclesiastical Laws and Constitutions of this Realm, and the laudable Usage and Custom of the whole Catholick Church, by many hundreded Years ago, duly and devoutly observed and kept, all Parish Priests, and of lawful Age and Discretion, are bound once in the Year at least (except reasonable cause excuse them) to be confessed to their own proper Curats, and to receive the Sacrament of the Altar, with due preparation and devotion: And forasmuch also as we are be-

lieved informed, that sundry evil disposed and ungodly Persons, given to carnal Pleasures, and carnal Appetites, following the Lusts of their Body, and neglecting entirely the health of their Souls, do forbear to come to Confession according to the said Usage, and to receive the Sacrament of the Altar accordingly, giving thereby great scandal and offence to the younger Sort, to neglect and contempt the same: We mind the Reformation hereof, and for our own Discharge, and of good Order to be kept, and good Example to be given; Do will and command you by Virtus thereof, that immediately upon the Receipt of this our Communion, and every each of you within your Care and Charge, do use your diligence and industry to declare the same, bravely charging and commanding all your Parishioners, being of lawful Age and Discretion, to come before Easter next coming, to Confession, according to the said Ordinance and Usage, with due Preparation and Devotion to receive the said Sacrament of the Altar, and that ye do note the Names of all such as be not confessed unto you, and do not receive of you the said Sacrament, certifying us, or our Chancellor or Commissary thereof before the feast day of April next ensuing the Date hereof; that so we, knowing thereby who did not come in Confession, and receiving the Sacrament accordingly, may proceed against them, as being persons culpable, and Transgressors of the said Ecclesiastical Law and Usage. Further also certifying us, that your Chancellor or Commissary, before the Day aforesaid, whether you have your Altars for use, Catholick, Protestant, and all things necessary for Mass, and the Administration of Sacraments and Sacramentals, with Procession, and all other Divine Services prepared and in readiness, according to the Order of the Catholick Church, and the Parishes and Godly Example of the Queen's Majesty: And if ye have not, ye shew with the Churchwardens cause the same to be provided for, signifying by words Faults and negligence the same want or fault both proceeded, and generally of the negligence of your Parishioners to Church, under writing, talking, or using of themselves thereunconformity in the things of Divine Services, and of all other open Faults and Misdemeanours, not omitting that to do, and certify as before, as you will conform upon your Peril for the contrary. Given at London the 25 of February, in the Year of our Lord, 1554.

The next Month following, which was the Month of March, and the fourth Day of the said Month, there was a Letter sent from the Queen to Boner Bishop of London, with certain Articles also annexed, to be put in speedy execution, containing as here followeth.

Articles sent from the Queen to the Bishop of London, by him and his Officers at her Commandment to be put in speedy Execution, with her Letter to the said Bishop before proposed.

Right Reverend Father in God, Right Truly and well Beloved, we greet you with All and wherewith herefore in the time of the late Reign of our said dear Brother King Edward the sixth, whose Soul God pardon, divers notable Crimes, Excesses and Faults, with sundry kinds of Heresies, Simony, Adultery and other Excesses have been committed within this our Realm and other Dominions, the same continuing yet hitherto in like disorder since the beginning of our Reign, without any Correction or Reformation at all, and the People both of the Laity and also of the Clergy and chiefly of the Clergy, have been given to much Idleness and ungodly Rude, greatly to the displeasure of Almighty God, and very much to our regret and evil contentation, and to the trouble of other Christian Realm, and in a manner to the subversion and decay of this Christian Realm; and in remembrance of our Duty to Almighty God, to be forever (as much as in us may be) that all Verne and Godly Living should be embraced, flourish, and increase; and therewith also, that all Vice and ungodly Behaviour should be abolished and put away, or at the least (if so might be) brought to the bridge and kept under, that Godliness and Honesty might have their upper hand; understanding by very credible Report and publick Fame, to our no small heaviness and discomfort, that within your Diceps, as well in not excom-

Anno 1554. as exempted places, like the Disorder and evil behaviour hath been done and used, like also to continue and increase, unless due Provision be had and made to reform the same; which earnestly in very deed we do mind and intend to the utmost, all the ways we can possibly, trusting of God's furtherance and help in that behalf. For these Causes and other most just Considerations us moving, we find unto you certain Articles of such special Matters among other things as be most necessary now to be put in Execution by things and your Officers, extending to the end by us desired, and the Reformation aforesaid: Whereas ye shall be charged with our Special Commandments by writing Letters, to the intent you may the said Officers may the more earnestly and boldly proceed therewith, without fear of any Prejudgment to be noted on your parts, or danger to be incurred of any such our Laws; as by our doing of that in the said Articles contained, might any vile wiles you who whatsoever be threatened in any such case. And therefore we the said Articles, and the Duties of the said Officers, to proceed to the Execution of the said Articles, without all tarry and delay, as ye will submit to the contrary. Given under our Signet, at our Palace of Westminster, the third day of March, the first year of our Reign:

Articles sent from the Queen unto the Ordinary, and by him and his Officers at her Commandment to be put in Execution in the whole Diceps.

First, that every Bishop and his Officers, with all other persons of Ecclesiastical Jurisdiction, shall with all speed and diligence, and all manner of ways to them possible, put in Execution all such Canons and Ecclesiastical Laws, heretofore in the time of King Henry the Eighth used within this Realm of England, and the Dominions thereof, not being directly and expressly contrary to the Laws and Statutes of this Realm.

Item, That no Bishop, or any of his Officers, or other person aforesaid, heretofore in any Ecclesiastical Writing, in Process or other Ecclesiastical Acts, do use to put in any fine, or Sentence, or Regis auctoritate falsum.

Item, That no Bishop, or any of his Officers, or other person aforesaid, do heretofore exact or demand in the Addition of any person to any Ecclesiastical Promotion, Order, or Office, any Oath touching the Primacy or Succession, as of late in few years passed hath been accustomed and used.

Item, That every Bishop and his Officers, with all other persons aforesaid, have a vigilant Eye, and use special diligence and forethought, that no person be admitted or received to any Ecclesiastical Function, Benefice, or Office, being a Sacramentary, for any great Crime, or any notable kind of Heresy, and cause to be stayed, as much as lieth in him, that Benefices and Ecclesiastical Promotions be not notably decayed, or taken away by pulling or confirming of unreasonable Lettes.

Item, That every Bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do diligently travel for the repressing of Heresies and notable crimes, especially in the Clergy, duly correcting such as offend the same.

Item, That every Bishop, and all the other persons aforesaid, do likewise travel for the condemning and repressing of corrupt and naughty Offices, and unlawful Doctrines, and other pernicious and hurtful Devices, engendering Hatred amongst the People, and Discord among the same. And that Schoolmasters, Preachers and Teachers do exercise and use their Offices with purity and godly Doctrine, and that doing the contrary, they may be by the Bishop and his said Officers punished and removed.

Item, That every Bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, proceed sumptuously, and with all clericalty and speed, may and shall deprive or declare deprived, and remove, according to their learning and discretion, all such persons, who contrary to the State of their Order, and the laudable custom of the Church, have married and used Women at their Wives, or otherwise notably and scandalously disordered or abused themselves. Supplicating also, during the said Process, the Fruits and Profits of the

said Benefices and Ecclesiastical Promotions.

Item, That the said Bishop, and all other Persons aforesaid, do use more mild and clemency with such as have married, whose Wives be dead, than with other Women do yet remain alive. And likewise such Priests, as with the consent of their Wives or Women openly in the presence of the Bishop do profess to abiding, to be used more favourably. In which case, after the Penance effectually done, the Bishop, according to his discretion and wisdom, may upon full Consideration receive and admit them again to their former Administration, so be it not in the same place, appointing Letters, and Letters on to live upon, to be paid out of the said Benefice whereof they be deprived, by the discretion of the Bishop or his Officers, as he shall think may be feared of the said Benefice.

Item, That every Bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do foresee that they suffer not any Religious Man, having solemnly professed Chastity, to continue with his Woman or Wife, but that all such persons after deprivation of their Benefice or Ecclesiastical Promotion, be sold divorced every one from his said Woman, and the said Punishment otherwise taken for the offence thereof.

Item, That every Bishop, and all other persons aforesaid, do take order on disputation with the Parishioners of every Benefice, where Priests do come, to repair to the next Parish for Divine Service, or to appoint for a convenient time, till other better Provision may be made, one Curate to serve, *Ad hoc provisionem*, in the said Parish, and to allow to the Curate for his Labour free Portion of the Benefice that he so serveth.

Item, That all and all manner of Processions of the Church be used and frequented, and continued after the old Order of the Church, in the Latine Tongue.

Item, That all such Holy Days and Fastings days, which observed and kept, as were observed and kept in the latter days of King Henry the Eighth.

Item, That the laudable and honest Ceremonies which were wont to be used, frequented, and observed in the Church, be also hereafter frequented, used, and observed.

Item, That Children be chastised by the Priest, and confirmed by the Bishop, as heretofore hath been accustomed and used.

Item, Touching such persons as were heretofore punished to satisfy to Orders, after the new sort and fashion of Orders: considering they were not ordered in very deed, the Bishop of the Diceps finding otherwise sufficiency and ability in them, may supply that thing which wanted in them before, and then according to his discretion admit them to minister.

Item, That by the Bishop of the Diceps an uniform doctrine be set forth by Homilies, or otherwise, for the good instruction and teaching of all people: And that the said Bishop and his other persons aforesaid, do compel the Parishioners to come to their several Churches, and there devoutly to hear Divine Services, as of reason they ought.

Item, That they examine all Schoolmasters and teachers of Children, and finding them suspect in any wise, to remove them, and place Catholic men in their rooms, with a special commandment to instruct their Children, so they may be able to answer the Priest at the Mass, as hath been accustomed.

Item, That the said Bishop, and all other the persons aforesaid, have full regard, respect, and consideration of and for the bettering forth of the premisses, with all kind of virtue, godly living, and good example, with respectful aid and keeping under of Vice and Unchastity, as they and every of them may be seen to favour the reformation of true Religion; and also to make an honest account and reckoning of the same, to the effect to the honour of God, our good contentation and profit of this our Realm, and the Dominions of the same.

A like Preface also with Articles, was sent from the said Queen Mary to the Lord Mayor of London, the fourth day of March, in the year aforesaid, which Lord Mayor upon the time directed his commandment to the Aldermen, every one severally in his Ward, containing as followeth:

Blackwell.

THe Queen our Sovereign Lady, understanding that a multitude of evil disposed persons, being born out of her Highness's Dominions in other [andry Nations, flying from the obedience of the Princes and Rulers under whom they are born, (some for Heresie, some for Murder, Treason, Robbery, and some for other horrible Crimes,) are referred into this her Majesties Realm; and here have made their dwelling, and yet be commorant and lingering, partly to shew such condign punishment as their said horrible Crimes deserve, and partly to dilate, plant, and sow the seeds of their malicious Doctrine and lewd Conversation among the good Subjects of this her said Realm, on purpose to infect her good Subjects with the like, inasmuch as

The story is this. The same day that Sir Thomas Wyatt died, he defied the Lieutenant to bring him to the presence of the Lord Courtney. Who there before the Lieutenant and the Sheriffs kneeling down upon his knees, brought the L. Courtney to forgive him, for that he had fully accused both the Lady Elizabeth and him, and so being brought from thence upon the Scaffold to suffer there openly in the hearing of all the people, cleared the Lady Elizabeth, and the Lord Courtney, to be free and innocent from all suspicion of that Commotion. At which Consoling Doctor Weston there standing by, cried to the

Wherefore it is to be known, that Priests and Elders be worthy of all men to be worshipped for the Dignity sake which they have of God, as in *Matthew 16. Whatsoever ye shall loose upon earth, &c. And*

Notes

*Here followeth the sum and effect of the Communication
between Doctor Ridley and Secretary Bourne, with
others, at the Lieutenants Table in the Tower.*

Marry Sir, said Master Secretary, Master *Fecknam* has spoken well. These be great matters, *Unity, Antiquity* and *Universality*. Do you not think so Master Doctor, said he to me?

I enquire you, said I, I think them matters weighty and to be considered well. As for *Unity*, the truth is this: I am for God, I do believe it, and embrace it, so be it with you. Verity, and joyed to our Head Christ, and such an one as *Paul* spake of, *sayings*, *Una Fides, una Deus, unus Baptismus*, *One Faith, one God, One Baptism*. And *Antiquity*, I am also perfwaded that to be true with *Irenaeus* faith, *Quod primum uerum*, *That which is first true*. In our Religion Christ *Faith* was first taught by Christ himself, by his Apostles, and by many good Men, that from the beginning did succeed next to them; and for this controvertise of the Sacrament I am perfwaded that those old Writers, which wrote before the controvertise and the usurping of the See

1

I wish, ye can tell who made it, Did not ye make it? and here was much murmuring of the rest, as though they would have given me the glory of the writing of

...that the material Substance of Bread doth remain. Mr. Fecknam (which, reported to me, did bely me openly in the same manner

The Book
of Cate-

The Book
of Cato

went out for all into the Holy place by the Blood, not
 of Goats or Calves, but by his own Blood, finding eternal
 Redemption. And hath entered into Heaven, to appear
 with his own Blood for us, to purge our consciences
 (for we should be able to give ourselves) of all unrighteous
 new hath be appeared once to put away sin, through his
 own Oblation. And as it is appointed to all men once
 to dye, [it is] a sacrifice once was offered: Who offering up
 himself, once for all, offered himself without blemish
 for God. For by one Oblation hath been made perfect
 for ever those that be justified. For where a remission
 of Sins, there is now no Oblation for Sin, but this
 Oblation of Christ, the Sacrifice of Christ, the
 Sacrifice Propitiatory for Sin, make the Sacrifice of
 Christ of no validity, force, or efficacy. For it is
 sufficient to remit Sins what is there of any other? For
 the same reason I suggest and declare this to be
 insufficient. Almighty God decreed that we may truly live
 to one Sacrifice of Christ, and that we him again may
 repay our Sacrifices of Thankgivings, of Praise, of Con-
 fessing his Name, of true Amendment, of Repentance, or
 of any other good works, which he may truly love
 good Works of Charity. For by such Sacrifices we shall
 declare our selves neither ingrateful to God nor altogether
 unworthy of this holy Sacrifice of Christ. And thus you
 shall see that the Sacrifices of the Scriptures of the
 Ancient Doctors of the Church, the true and final
 of the Lords holy Supper, and the fruit of the true Sacri-
 fice of Christ. Which whosoever through captious or
 wrested Interpretations, or by mens Traditions, shall go
 about to take away from Christ, and from his holy
 Transubstantiation, he shall answer to Christ in the last
 Day, when he shall understand (but then too late) that
 he hath no participation with the Body and Blood of
 Christ, and shall be damned to Hell. For he shall have
 eaten and drunken eternal Damnation to himself, and
 will. Because we will not confume and spend the time
 in waste, this your Writing which you exhibit, hereafter
 shall be read in this place. In the mean season let us now
 fall to the work.
 Cited. The Scriptures in many places do affirm, that Argument,
 Christ gave his Natural Body, *Matth. 26. Mark 14.*
Luke 22.
 Ergo, I do conclude that the Natural Body is up the
 Sacrament.
 Craw. To your Argument I answer: If you under-
 stand by the Body Natural (*Organicum*), that is, having
 proportion and members as he had living here, then
 Answer:

Furthermore, Concerning the Evangelists, thus I say and teach, that Christ took Bread, and called it *Body*. *Ched.* The Text of the Scripture maketh against you, for it saith, *My Blood is the Blood of many*; not only that it were to be the Body, but also teacheth us what manner of Body it is, and faith, *The same Body which shall be given*.

Argumēt. That Thing is here contained, that is given for us. *re.* But the Substance of Bread is not given for us. *Answer:* The Substance of Bread is not here contained. *Ched.* I understand not yet what you mean by this word *Substance*. *Answer:* This word (Contained) is not here contained. *Ched.* The Major is the Text of Scripture. Thet said denieth the Major, denieth the Scripture. For it saith, *This is My Body which is given for you.* *Answer:* The Body of Christ contained and given, is not here given, but he said it was not his Body, which is here given; *but* the Body (faith he) that *shall* which is given for you. *Ched.* I understand not yet what you mean by this word *shall*. *Answer:* *My Blood, and this Cup is the Blood of the breaking of many Ages; and this Cup is in the Bread, the breaking of his Body, and the Cup the shedding of his Blood really if you say it.* *Ched.* If you ask what is the Thing there contained; because his Apostles should not doubt what Body it was that should be given, he faith, *This is My Body which shall be given for you, and My Blood, which shall be shed for you.* *Answer:* The Body of Christ contained, but not the Body which the day after was given, and the same Blood which was shed. And here I urge the Scripture, which teacheth that the Body of Christ is not a carnal Body, but a spiritual Body, not Body in Faith, but the Substance of the Body.

[illegible]

4

[illegible]

quis audiret hoc ergo? cum verba novissima homini mori. A plant of angelus relict by the Preter, 1802.
*Quid loquor tibi aut infero, nemo cum dictis esse mem-
 oratur, illius non videtur lacerari quia foris est in Preter, 1802.*
*ergo? Quoniam ergo dicimus: Vos, si fidei non
 credentes, non contemneritis, expulsumus verba novissima,
 et unici fidei Dei et Domini populi Salvatoris, et
 iusuri in calum, et inde profecturi, qui ea negligunt, quis
 non offerebat, et tunc cadit de eo omnium iudex?*

That is to say,
 What a thing is this I pray you, when the last words
 of one lying upon his Death-bed are heard which is ready
 to go to his Grave, no man thinks that he hath made a
 new Law, nor is he accounted his Heir which regardeth
 not those Words. How shall we then escape Gods
 Wrath, if either not believing or not regarding we shall
 reject the last Words both of the only Son of God, and
 of his Father and Saviour, both ascending into Hea-
 ven, and beholding from thence, who despiteth, who
 observeth them not, and so shall come from thence to judge
 all Men.

That is to say, this is formed :
Bar. Whosoever hath faith that the Testator Lyth, is a Argumen-
 wicked Heir.
ba. But whosoever faith that Christ fakes by figures,
 faith that he did lye.
ra. Ergo. Whosoever faith that Christ here fakes by
 Figures is a wicked Heir.
Cr. I deny the Minor. As who say it is necessary, *Autem:*
 that he which utteth to speak by Tropes and Figures
 should lye in so doing.
Cr. Your Judgment is disagreeing with all Churches.
Cr. Nay, I disagree with the Papistical Church.
Ogle. This you do through the ignorance of Logick.
Cr. Nay, this you say through the ignorance of the
 Doctors.

Cr. I will go plainly to work by Scriptures. What
 rook lye?
Cr. Bread.
Wsf. What gave he?
Cr. Bread.
Wsf. What brake he?
Cr. Bread.
Wsf. What did he eat?
Cr. Bread.
Cr. He gave Bread, therefore he gave not his Body. Argumen-
 verily, and in deed and in truth.
Cr. I deny the Argument.
Co. This Argument is false, *et disparat* : It is *Disparat*
 Reason, as cannot be divided; and it is such an Argument
 or *Colo*, as cannot be divided.
Cr. The like Argument may be made. He is a Rock,
 Ergo, He is not Christ.
Cr. He is not Christ, therefore he gave not his Body.
Cr. He gave not his Body indeed. Ergo, It was not
 his Body indeed.
Cr. He gave his Death, his Paffion, and the Sacra-
 ment of his Paffion. And in very deed, feeding the
 hungry with his Body is not his Body.
Wsf. Why then the Scripture is false.
Cr. Nay, the Scripture is most true.
Cr. This faith Christ's Church, *Homeli. 6. 1. ad Pop. Anti-*
och. *Necessarium est, discipulis, mysterium dicere mi-*
chael. *Et tunc fidei, et quare fidei, tam quod*
utilitas.

That is to say,
 Needful it is (Dear Friends) to tell you what the mis-
 tery of the Mysteries is, in wherefore it is given, and
 why it is given to this thing. We are one Body, and
 Members of his Flesh and of his Bones. We that be
 in the Mytery, let us follow the thing which was spoken.
 Wherefore that we may become this thing, not only by
 love, but by eating and drinking with us, that we should
 be that is brought to pass by this food, which he
 gave unto us, mingling to shew his great good will that
 he hath towards us; and therefore he mixed himself with
 us, and united his own Body with us, that we should
 be one thing together, as a Body joynd and
 annexed to the Head, for this is a token of most ardent
 and perfect love. And the same thing *Yesh* also infused
 into his Servants, of whom he was declared

above measure, inasmuch that they, shewing their great love toward him, said, who shall give unto us to be filled with his Flesh? Therefore also Christ did the same, who, to induce us into a great love toward him, and to declare his desire towards us, did not only give himself to be eaten of them that would, but also to be handled and eaten, and suffered to be eaten with Teeth in his Flesh and to be united together, and so to fill all our desire. Like Lions therefore, as breathing fire, let us go from that Table, being made terrible to the Devil, remembering our Head in our mind, and our Charity which he shewed unto us. For Parents many times give their Children to other to be fed, but I do not so (faith he) but feed you with mine own Flesh, and let my self before you, desiring to make you all jolly People, and presenting to me great hope and expectation to look for things to come, here he give my self to you, but much more in the World to come. I am become your Brother, I took flesh and blood for you. Again Christ Flesh and Blood, which I am made your Kinsman, I deliver unto you.

Thus much out of *Chrysostom*. Out of which words I make this Argument.

The same Flesh wherby Christ is made our Brother and Kinsman, is given of Christ to us to be eaten.

Christ is made our Brother and Kinsman, by his true natural, and organical Flesh.

Ergo, His true, natural, and organical Flesh is given to us to be eaten.

Cran. I grant the consequence, and the consequent.

W^{fe}. Therefore we eat it with our mouth.

Cran. I deny it. It is through Faith.

W^{fe}. He gave us the same Flesh to eat wherby he became our Brother and Kinsman.

But he became our Brother and Kinsman by his true natural, and organical Flesh.

Therefore he gave his true, natural, and organical Flesh to be eaten.

Cran. I grant he took and gave the same true, natural, and organical Flesh wherewith he suffered, and yet he feedeth us spiritually, and that Flesh is received spiritually.

W^{fe}. He gave us the same Flesh which he took of the Virgin.

But he took not the true Flesh of the Virgin spiritually, or in a figure.

Ergo, He gave his true natural Flesh, not spiritually.

Cran. Christ gave to us his own natural Fleshlike same wherewith he suffered, but feedeth us spiritually.

W^{fe}. *Chrysostom* is against you, *Hom. 83. in 26. cap. Math.* where he saith; *Venite rite in mentem quam facit*

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Therefore he gave not the Wine for his Blood.

Cran. You pervert mine Answer. He gave Wine, yet the Blood is considered therein. As for Example: What the

he giveth Baptism, we consider not the Water, but the Holy Ghost and Remission of Sin. We receive with this Bread

the Sacrament, but the thing and the matter of it with his

the Sacrament, we receive by Faith.

W^{fe}. When Christ said, *Eat ye*, whether meant he

by the Mouth or by Faith?

Cran. He meant that we should receive the Body by

Faith, the Bread by the Mouth.

W^{fe}. Nay, the Body by the Mouth.

Cran. That I deny.

W^{fe}. I prove it out of *Chrysostom*, writing upon the

second Book.

Enthetis feminarius, quae facta est mater: Christus autem non ita ita ipse, naturae ipsi miter: ideo pro cibo carnis

propter non palat, sed pro potu (suum sanguinem nobis pro

generis, item in 26. Math. 23. Hom. 83. Non enim ipse

sufficit ipsi hominem fieri, flagellum interius carnis, non solum

solum in unum, in ita dicam, melleum reducit, neque id fide

scimus, sed res ipsa non corpus ipsum efficit.

That is to say;

She that is a Mother, flourisheth sometime to play with the

Nurse. But Christ our Nurse doth not to play with us.

Therefore instead of Meat he feedeth us with his own

Flesh, and instead of Drink he feedeth us with his Blood.

Likewise, upon the 26th Chapter of *Matthew* the

83 Homily, he saith: for it shall not be enough for him to become Man, and in the mean while to be whipped,

but he doth by this unto us one more or lump with himself (as I may so call it) and makech us his Body, not

by Faith alone, but also in very deed.

Cran. I grant we make one Nature with Christ: but that to be done with Mouth I deny.

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Anno

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7.

The second part of the Argument is proved; because they would thus Transubstantiate the Cup, or that which is in the Cup into the New Testament. But neither of these things can be done, and very absurd it is to confute the same.

The first Argument.

Da. The Circumstances of the Scripture, the Analogy and proportion of the Sacraments, and the Testimony of the Faithful Fathers ought to rule us in taking the meaning of the Holy Scripture touching the Sacrament.

ti. But the words of the Lords Supper, the Circumstances of the Scripture, the Analogy of the Sacraments, and the sayings of the Fathers, do most effectually and plainly prove a figurative speech in the words of the Lords Supper.

fi. Ergo, a figurative speech and meaning is specially to be received in these words, *This is my Body.*

The Circumstances of the Sacraments, *In this remembrance of me. It is of ye shall eat of this Bread, and drink of this Cup, ye shall shew forth the Lords death. Let a man prove himself, and so eat of this Bread, and drink of this Cup. They came together to break Bread, and they continued in breaking of Bread. The Bread which we break, &c. For we being many are all one Bread and one Body, &c.*

The Analogy of the Sacraments is necessary: for if the Sacraments had not some similitude or likeness of the things whereof they are Sacraments, they could in no way be Sacraments. And this similitude in the Sacrament be Sacraments. And this similitude in the Sacrament be Sacraments.

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And moreover I say, that being taken in such sense the words mean to import, it is not only crucifixion, but wishful so much to the derogation and defacing of the Death and Passion of Christ, that I judge it may and ought most worthily to be counted wicked and blasphemous against the most precious Blood of our Saviour Christ.

Anno

1554.

The Exposition.

Concerning the Romish Mass which is used at this day, or the lively Sacrifice thereof, propitiatory and available for the sins of the quick and the dead, the Holy Scripture hath not so much as one syllable.

There is Ambiguity also in the name of Mass: what it signifies, and whether at this day there any such Church indeed as the ancient Fathers used; seeing that now there be neither *Catholici* nor *Pascentes* to be sent away.

Again, touching these words *The lively Sacrifice of the Church*: This is double whether they are to be understood figuratively and sacramentally, for the Sacrament of the lively Sacrifice (after which way we deny it is not to be in the Lords Supper) or properly and without any figure: of the which manner there was but one Mass of the Cross.

Moreover, in these words (as well as) it may be that this he is set as well in conditions as in knowledge, being apt indeed in neither of them both.

There is also a doubt in the word (*Propitiabile*) whether it signify here that which taketh away sin, or that which may be made available for the taking away of sin; that is to say, whether it is to be taken in the active, or in the passive signification.

Now the falseness of the Proposition, after the meaning of the Schoolmen and the Romish Church, and in this that he is set as well in conditions as in knowledge, being apt indeed in neither of them both.

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Anno 1554. Saviour did that fully and perfectly once for all. co. Ergo, To do the same in the Mass it is vain.

Another Argument.

Fe. After that Eternal Redemption is found and obtained, there needeth no more daily Offering for the same. But Christ coming in High Bishop, &c. found and obtained for us Eternal Redemption.

Ergo, Their needeth now no more daily Oblation for the sins of the quick and the dead.

Another Argument.

Ca. All Remission of Sins cometh only by shedding of Blood.

me. In the Mass there is no shedding of Blood.

tes. Ergo, In the Mass there is no Remission of Sins: and it followeth also that there is no Propitiatory Sacrifice.

Another Argument.

In the Mass the Passion of Christ is not in Verity, but in a Mytery representing the same: Yes, even there where the Lords Supper is daily ministered.

But where Christ suffereth not, there he is not offered in Verity: For the Apostle faith, *Not that he might offer up himself often times (for thus shall he have suffered once since the beginning of the world)* now where Christ is not offered, there is no Propitiatory Sacrifice.

Ergo, In the Mass there is no Propitiatory Sacrifice: For Christ appeared once in the later end of the world to put sin to flight by the offering up of himself. And as it is appointed to all men that they shall have their own portion of the Judgment, even so Christ was once offered to take away the sins of many. And whom then that look for him shall be appear again without sin unto Salvation.

Another Argument.

Da. Where there is any Sacrifice that can make the comers thereunto perfect, there ought men to cease from offering any more Expiatory and Propitiatory Sacrifices.

ti. But in the New Testament there is one only Sacrifice more than once offered, which is able to make the comers thereto perfect for ever.

Ergo, In the New Testament they ought to cease from offering any more Propitiatory Sacrifices.

Sentences of the Scripture tending to the same end and purpose, out of which alway may be gathered other many Arguments for more confirmation thereof.

ti. But the which will (with the Apostle) we are sanctified by the offering up of the Body of Jesus Christ once for all. And in the same place, But thus manner after that he had offered one Sacrifice for sins, sitteth for ever at the right hand of God, &c. For which one offering hath he made perfect for ever them that are sanctified, and by himself hath he purged our sins. I beseech you to mark these words (by himself) the which well weighed, will without doubt cease all Controversie.

The Apostle plainly denieth any other Sacrifice to remain for them that treadeth under his feet the Realm of the Testament, by the which he was made holy. Christ will not be crucified again, he will not his Death to be had in reiteration.

He hath consecrated in the Body of his Flesh. Mark, I beseech you, he faith not, in the Mytery of his Body; but in the Body of his Flesh.

If any man say, we have an Advocate with the Father, Jesus Christ the righteous, and he is the propitiator for our sins, we say for ourselves only, but for the sins of the whole world. I know that all these places of the Scripture are avoided by two manner of subtilties: The one is by the distinction of the bloody and unbloody Sacrifice, as though our unbloody Sacrifice of the Church were any other than the Sacrifice of Christ: Transfiguring, thus a Commemoration, a shewing forth, and a Sacramental Representation of that one only bloody Sacrifice, offered up once for all.

The other is by depraving and wresting the sayings of the ancient Fathers unto such a strange kind of sense, as the Fathers themselves indeed never meant. For

what the meaning of the Fathers was, it is evident by that which S. Augustin writeth in his Epistle to Boniface, and in the 82. Chapter of his Ninth Book against the *Faustini* the Manichees, besides many other places likewise by *Eusebius*, *Emeline*, *Cyprian*, *Chrysostom*, *Julian*, *Jerome*, *Bernard*, and others, which do wholly concur and agree together in this thing in the Lord: that the Redemption, once made in verity for the Salvation of man, continueth in full effect for ever, and worketh without ceasing unto the end of the World, that the Sacrifice once offered cannot be consumed; That the Lords Death and Passion is as effectual, the virtue of that Blood once shed, as fresh at this day for the washing away of sins, as it was even the same day that it flowed out of the blessed side of our Saviour: And finally, That the whole substance of our Sacrifice, which is frequented of the Church in the Lords Supper, consisteth in Prayer, in Praise, and giving of Thanks, and in remembering and shewing forth of that Sacrifice once offered upon the Altar of the Cross; that the same might continually be had in reverence by Mythery, which one only, and no more, was offered for the Price of our Redemption.

These are the things (right worshipful Mr. Procurator, and ye the rest of the Commissioners) which I could presently prepare to the answering of your three fore said Propositions being difficult of all help in this barren time, sudden warning, and wait of Books.

Wherefore I appeal to my first Protestation, and most humbly desiring the help of the same (as much as may be) to be granted unto me. And because ye have lately given most unjust and cruel Sentence against me, I do here Appeal (to far forth as I may) to a more indifferent and just Confessure and Judgment of some other Superior, competent, and lawful Judge; and that according to the approved state of the Church of England. Howbeit, I confess, that I am ignorant what that it is at this present, through the trouble and alteration of the state of the Realm. But if this Appeal may not be granted to me upon Earth, then do I lay (even as to my only Refuge) to God, and also Heaven, that I will not be silent in this eternal Judge, that is, of the Almighty God, who will most mercifully Judge towards us, and most justly Mercifulness, I do wholly commit my self and all my Cause, nothing at all despairing of the Defence of mine Advocate and above Saviour Jesus Christ, to whom, with the Everlasting Father, and the Holy Spirit, the Sanctifier of us all, be now and for ever all Honour and Glory, Amen.

Albeit this Learned Bishop was not suffered to read all that was afore produced before the Disputations, yet because he had it then ready, and offered it too to the Procurator after the Disputations and Sentence pronounced, I thought here the place not unmeet to annex the same together with the rest. Now let us hear the Arguments and Answers between Dr. Smith and him.

Dr. Smith beginneth to Oppose.

S. Mith. You have occasioned me to go otherwise to work with you, than I had thought to have done. Me furnished you did in your Supplication above the Testimonies of Scripture concerning the Attention of Christ, to take away his Presence in the Sacraments, as though this were a strong Argument to enforce your matter without.

Ergo, He is not in the Sacrament. Now therefore I will go about to disprove this reason of yours.

Christ's Attention is no let to his Real Presence in the Sacrament.

Ergo, you are deceived, whereas you do ground your selfe upon those things.

And. You import as though I had made a strong Argument by Christs going up into Heaven. But however mine Argument is made, you collect it not rightly. For it doth not only say that upon his Ascension, but that he abiding there also.

S. Smith. Christs going up to Heaven, and his abiding there, hinder not his Real Presence in the Sacrament.

Ergo.

The verity of Mr. Ridley answer touching the real being of Christ is forth to be refuted by his attending and coming into Heaven. But he doth not say so, which we call (transubstantiation) frequently by his declaration.

Ergo.

Ergo.

Ergo.

Ergo.

Ergo.

Ergo.

Ergo.

D. Wafar

of Mr. Doctor *Wetson* to and

the Scripture saith, *Postquam coenatum est* ; i. After they had

44.

West. How

long have ye been in Prison?

they thought he meant: for if he had thought as you do
feign, it had been an easy matter for him to have said:
"You

and changed fo often your Communion and Altars, and all for this one, to spoil and rob the Church.

Lat. These things pertain nothing to me, I must not answer other mens doeds, but only for mine own. **Welf.** Well, Mr. Latimer, this is our intent, to will you, and to exhort you to come to your self, and remember, that without *Nobis* Ark there is no health. Remember what they have been that were the beginners of your Doctrine, none but a few flying Apostles, running out of Germany for fear of the Fagot. Remember what they have been which have felt forth the flame in this Realm: A fort of fling-binders and light heads, which were never content in any one thing, as it was to be seen in the turning of the Table, where like a fort of Apes they could not tell which way to turn their tails, looking one way Welf, and another way Latimer, that one way, and another this way. They will be like (they say) to the Apostles, they will have no Churches. A Hovel is good enough for them. They come to the Communion with no reverence. They get them a Tankard, and one faith, I drink, and I am thankful; the more joy of they, fith another. And in them was it true that *Hilary* faith, *Annus & mensuris de Dio facti facimus*; that is, We make every Year and every Month a Faith. A Runagate *Scot* did take away their adoration, or worshiping of Christ in the Sacrament, by whole procurement that Heretic was put into the last Communion-Brook; so much prevailed that one Mans Authority at that time. You never agreed with the *Tyngers* or *Germanys*, or with the Church, or with your self. Your flubbernott cometh of a vain glory, which is to no purpose: For it will do you no good when a Fagot is in your Beard. And we fees all, by your own Confession, how little could you away; that have to be flubborn, for your being in is Fodder both get them (Tandards) this make it worthy to be in the Church in all the steps men and dead the people.

Lat. You shall have no hope in me. I pray for the Queen daily, even from the bottom of my heart, that she may turn to the right way. **Welf.** Here you lay the weakness of Heretic against the Truth: he denieth all Truthfull and all the Fathers. **H**ere all good Readers may see how this glorious Prolocutor blundereth; but whether he leads the Victory or no, that I suppose they have yet neither heard nor seen. And give that he had the Victory; yet what great marvel was, disputing as he did, *Non fuit in Thesoro*, that is, not without his tipping Cup standing in his Elbow all the time of his Disputation; not without a privy noting and smiling of them that beheld the matter, but especially at that time, when Dr. Ridley disputing with one of the Opponents, the said Prolocutor took the Cup and holding it in his hand, said to the Opponent, *Urgo hoc, ergo hoc, Nam hoc facit pro nobis*. In which words, as he moved no little matter of laughter to the beholders thereof, so I thought here also not to leave the same unmentioned, somewhat also to delight the Reader withal, after his tedious weariness in reading the theory thereof.

To the Reader.

And thus last thou (loving Reader) the whole Addition and Stage of this Doctrinary Disputation followed forth unto thee against these worthy Confessors and Martyrs of the Lord, wherein thou shalt behold the disordered order of the University-men, the unmanly manner of the School, the rude tumult of the Multitude, the ferocious and outrageous rage of the Doctrinaires, the pitch and ground of all their Arguments, the Controversies of the Judges, the railing Language of the Oblivator, with his blab of Triumph in the latter end, being both the Actor, the Moderator, and the Judge himself. What marvel that if the course of this vicious Conduict, having the Law in his own hands, to do and say what him liked, would lay for himself, *Vix veritas*, although he said never a true word nor made a true Conduict on almost in all this Disputation.

If followed forthward after Disputation of these three days being ended, that Mr. Harpsfield the next day after, which was the Nineth of April, should dispute for his Form, to be made Doctor. To which Disputation the Archbishop of Canterbury was brought forthward and permitted

among the rest to utter an Argument or two in defence of his cause. As in fequell here may appear.

Disputation of Mr. Harpsfield Bachelor of Divinity, answering for his Form to be made Doctor.

Harpsfield.

I Am not ignorant what a weighty matter it is to open the whole order and trade of the Scriptures; and hold hard it is too, in the great contention of Religion, to shew the ready way whereby the Scriptures may be best understood. For the often reading of them will bring the true understanding of them. What other thing is there then? Verily this is the ready way, not to follow our own Heads and Senses, but to give over our Judgment unto the holy Catholic Church, who hath had of olden years the Truth, and always delivered the time to their posterity; But if the often reading of Scriptures, and never to painful comparing of places should bring the true understanding, then drives Heretics might prevail even against the whole General Councils. The Jews did so, and greatly brag of the knowledge of the Law, and of the Saviour that they waited for. But what availed it them? Nevertheless, I know right-well, that divers places of the Scripture do much warn us of the often reading of the same, and what fruit doth thereby follow, as *Sermones*, &c. Search the Scriptures; for they do bear witness of me, &c. *Les Domini*, &c. The Law of the Lord is pure, able to turn Sinne, and the flying of *S. Pauli*, *Omnia Scriptura*, &c. All Scripture inspired from above, doth make that a man may be instructed to all good Works. Howbeit doth the Law of the Jews contribute? Are they by their reading instructed to every good Work? The Letter of the Old Testament is the same that we have.

The Heretics all have ever had the false Scriptures for their guides, and have been misled by them. They are ferved with *Zanabars*, that the Poets speak of, who, in the place of things to eat and drink, is faid to be oppressed with hunger and thirst. The swifter that men do seek the Scriptures without the Catholic Church, the deeper they fall, and find Hell for their labour. *S. Cyprian* never swerving from the Catholic Church, faith, *He that doth not acknowledge the Church to be his Master, shall not have God to his Father*. Therefore it is true Divinity, to be with the Church, where Christ faith, *Nisi manducaveritis, &c. Unles ye eat my Flesh, and drink my Blood, ye have life in you*.

If he had meat of only eating Bread and drinking Wine, nothing had been more pleasant to the *Cyprian*, neither would they have forsaken him. The *Cyprian* faith, nothing to them that do so fake it. For the *Capernaites* did imagine Christ to be given in fish flesh to be lived. But Christ faith high things; not that they should have him as Flesh in the Market, but to consider his Prefence with the Spirit (as) under the forms whereby it is given. As there is an alteration of Bodies for causes of time of Ages, so there is no less (a) variety in eating of Bodies.

These things which I have recited briefly, Mr. Harpsfield did with many more words fit out; and hereupon Dr. Welfon disputed that he speak of. **Welf.** Christ's Real Body is not in the Sacrament. **Ergo**, You are deceived. **Harps.** I deny the Antecedent. **Welf.** John 16, *Dico veritatem vobis, &c. I speak the truth unto you. It is better me that I go away from you. For unless I do depart, that Comforter cannot come, &c.* Upon this I will make this Argument.

Christ is gone away, as he did feed the Holy Ghost; who is the Holy Ghost truly come into the World. **Ergo**, Christ is verily gone. **Harps.** He is verily gone, and yet remaineth here. **Welf.** *S. Augustine* faith, that these words, *Ego vero*, &c. I will be with you even to the end of the World, &c. are accomplished, *secundum Manifestationem*, according to his Manifest; but *secundum praesentiam carnis non est*, according to the presence of his Flesh he is not here. The question of the Church hath him not in Flesh, but by Belief.

Harps.

Harps. We must diligently weigh that there are two Natures in Christ: the Divine Nature, and Humane Nature. The Divine Nature is of such fort, that it cannot choose but be in all places. The Humane Nature is not such, that of force it must be in all places, although it be in divers after a divers manner. So where the Doctour doth instruct of his Prefence by Majesty, they do commend the Majesty of the Divine Nature, not to hinder us of the Doctrinal Prefence here in the Sacrament.

Welf. He faith further, *Me autem non semper habebitis*, *Ye shall not have me always with you*, it is to be understood in this sense.

Harps. The Prefence of the Flesh is to be considered, that he is not here as he was wont to live in conversation with them to be seen, talked withal or in flesh fort as it is present by me thim (a) any thing: after that fort he is not present as we then see.

Welf. But what say you to this *Augustine*, *Non est hic, sed non est hic*.

Harps. I do answer out of *S. Augustine* upon *John*, *Trinitas*, &c. upon these words, *Non vidistis me, & vado ad Patrem, &c.* I go to the Father, ye shall not see me; that is, Such as I am now. Therefore I do deny the manner of his Prefence.

Welf. I will overthrow *S. Augustine* with *S. Augustine*, who he faith this also, *Quomodo quo possit tenere Christum? quid sit, fides mite, &c.* *Tamen*; I how may a man hold Christ? he can't find Faith, and thou holdest him.

So be, brethren, that by ending our Faith, we do hold him in Christ.

Harps. Indeed no man holdeth Christ unless he be living in him; but it is another thing to have Christ present in the Sacrament, and to have him present in the Sacrament.

There *S. Augustine* speaketh of holding him by Faith; as it is favourable unto us.

Welf. Nay, he speaketh there how the Fathers had him in their hearts, which Faith teachers that we have him not in the Flesh, as he had him long time, saying, *Tunc Patres did hold Christ present in the Flesh*. Do you hold him in your heart? What words can be more true? Further he faith, *He is gone and is not here: he hath left us, and yet hath*.

He is gone and is not here: he hath left us, and yet hath in his Majesty, and yet touching the Flesh.

Harps. I do understand *Augustine* thus, that Christ is here in his Flesh to them that receive him worthily, as he is in the Flesh. I judge *S. Augustine* meaneth so. We have him, and have him not: we have him in receiving him worthily otherwise not.

Welf. Nay, *Tunc carnis est tunc carnis litera*, *litera*. I will prosecute another Argument. *Cyrl* doth say, *By the Majesty of his Divinity he is ever here, but the Prefence of his High body has taken away*.

Harps. The sense of *Cyrl* is thus to be understood: The most true Flesh of Christ is at the right hand of the Father. Thus the Fathers taught, and so they believed.

Thus said *Cyrl*: Thus said *Augustine*; and because this Foundation of our Faith, they did oftentimes teach it. Therefore when they prove this, (the Body to be in Heaven) they do not make against the Prefence in the Sacrament.

If the Body of Christ can plainly fere, that the Fathers do thus, so he is not in the Sacrament, you make nothing against me: For I have shewed why the Fathers so spoke.

Harps. They did teach the great difference between the Divine Nature, and the Humane Nature, as I have before said. **Welf.** I will then prove, that he is not in the Sacrament.

Harps. Against the Heretic *Enriches*, upon these words, *Me autem non semper habebitis*, faith, *The Son of God, in teaching his Humanity, he is gone from us*, by his Divine Majesty he is remained with us. And the same *Vigilius* in his fourth Book, faith, *He that is in Heaven, is not in the flesh*, speaking of Christ.

Harps. I will shew you the reason of these words. The Fathers did not believe that the Divine Nature of Christ was fleshed on the Cross, and believed that Christ was not without a Natural Body. To this *Vigilius* said, That the Humane Nature was taken up and ascended, which could not do otherwise, unless he had a Body. This he did not, as the Fathers take away the Prefence in the Sacrament.

For what had he to refer this Sentence to the Sacrament? He never did so much as dream of the Sacrament. **Welf.** *Cyrl* faith, *Although he be absent from us in specie*, *Body, yet are we governed by his Spirit*.

Harps. By these words he gave us a cheerful look to the body of Christ upwards, looking thenceforth our help-for as touching his conversation, he is not in the Sacrament at one moment, to be lived withal. But let him not teach us that he is not in us, there to feed us; for what that fort he is there.

Welf. You have finished me with your Answer; in doing the same learnedly and catolically. But now to another Argument.

Christ is now so absent from the Earth by his Body, as he was absent from Heaven when he lived here. But when he did live bodily on Earth, the same Natural Body was out of Heaven.

Ergo, Now whilst this Natural Body is in Heaven, it is not in the Earth.

Welf. I deny the Major.

Welf. *Vulgencius ad Transfigurationem Regem, libro secundo, faith, Secundum humanam substantiam absens erat calce, cum descendit de celo*. These are *Vulgencius*'s words touching his Humane Substantie, when he was absent from Heaven, when he descended from Heaven, and touching the same Substantie, now he is in Heaven, he is never far off, neither Heaven nor Earth.

After these words, now we may Harpsfield have offered Mr. Cranmer to dispute; who began in this wise.

Cranmer. I have heard you right learnedly and eloquently treat of the Dignity of the Scriptures, which I do both commend and have marvelled therat within myself. But whereas you refer the true sense and judgment of the Scriptures to the Catholic Church as Judge thereof, you are much deceived; especially for that under the Name of the Church you suppose such Judges as have corruptly judged, and contrary to the sense of the Scriptures. I wonder likewise why you attribute to the little of the reading of the Scriptures, and confounding of places; seeing the Scriptures do so much commend the sense, as well in divers other places, as also in those which you your self have already alleged. And as touching your Opinion of these Questions, it seemeth to me neither to have spoken of the Word of God, nor of the Primitive Church. And to say the truth, the Schoolmen have spoken diversely of them, and do not agree thereof among themselves. Wherefore, minding here briefly to show my Judgment also, I must desire you first to answer to me a few Questions which I shall demand of you. Which being done, we shall the better proceed in our Disputation. Moreover, I must desire you to bear also with my rudeness in the Latin Tongue, which through long idleness is not now so prompt and ready with me as it hath been. And now all other things left apart, I mind chiefly to have regard to the Truth. My first question is this, *How Christ's Body is in the Sacrament, according to your mind or determination*.

Then answered a Doctor, he is there as touching his Substance, but not after the manner of his Substance.

Harps. He is there in such fort and manner as he may be eaten.

Cran. My next Question is, *Whether he hath his quantity and qualities, form, figure, and such like properties*.

Harps. Are these your Questions, said Mr. Harpsfield? I may likewise ask you, When Christ passed through the Virgin Womb, was he reputed to be a Child?

While contended, there were divers questions in this matter. All the Doctors fell in a buzzing, uncertain what to answer: Some thought one way, some another; and thus the Doctors could not agree.

Then Mr. Cranmer said to you: You put off questions with questions, and not with answers, I ask one thing of you, and you answer another. Once again I ask? *Whether he have those Properties which he hath in the Sacrament*.

Welf. No, he hath not all the quantities and qualities belonging to a Body.

Smith says Mr. *Tresham*. I will answer you Mr. Doctor, with the words of *Damasius*, *Transformatio panis est*. The Bread is transformed, &c. But if thou wilt inquire how, *Modo impo*, I am constrained to be impossible.

Then two or three others added their Answers to this Question, some affirming one thing, and some another.

Cran. Do you suppose, that a Body, and cannot tell what manner of Body? Either he hath not his quantity, or else you are ignorant how to answer it.

Harsf. These are vain Questions, and it is not meet to spend the time on them.

Harsf. Hear me a while, *Lanfrancus*, sometime Bishop of Canterbury, doth answer in this wise unto *Berengarius* upon such like Questions, *Salubriter credit possunt, falsiter quare negantur*. They may be well believed, but never faithfully asked.

Cran. If you think good to answer it, some of you do clear it.

Harsf. He is there as pleases him to do. Therefore, *Cran.* would be best contented with that answer, if that your appointing of a Carnal Preference had not driven me of necessity to have inquired for disputations false, how you place him there, since you will have a Natural Body.

When again he was answered of divers at one time, some saying they were a *quantum*, some saying it to be *quantitativum*, some affirming it to have *modum quantitatis*, some denying it, some one thing, some another. Up thus *Dr. Harsf.* and dogmatically decided, as he thought, all the matter, saying, it is *Corpus quantum*, *sed non per modum quantitatis*. It is a Body, *fatis* he, having quantity, but not according to the manner of quantity.

Whereunto *Mr. Ward*, a gentleman, thinking the matter not fully answered, did largely declare and discourse his Sentence. How learnedly and truly I cannot tell, nor think he himself neither, nor yet the better learned of us there. For he said false, that for better learned than he, laid as good care to him as they could, and yet could by no means perceive to what end all his talk tended. Indeed he told a formal Tale to the effect, upon the matter. He was full of conceits, and of a conceit, that that follows was, as it is thought, a fly, yet others think no. Howbeit we will rehearse the fum of his words, as it is thought he spake them.

Ward. We must consider, faith he, that there are *due Positiones*, two Positions. The one standeth by the order of parts, with respect of the whole. The other in respect of that which containeth Christ, is in the Sacrament in respect of the whole. This Proposition is in one of *de rebus* Propositions, called *Similes*. I remember I did in great these matters very largely, when I did rule and moderate the Philosophical Disputations in the Publick Schools. This Position is the *secundum quantum*, as by me, for example, you can never bring Heaven to a quantity, so conclude that he is in the *secundum quantum*, *non per modum quantitatis*.

These words be amplified very largely and so high he climbed in the Matter, with *Dani's* Ladder, and not with the Scriptures, that it is to be marvelled how he could come down again without falling. To whom *Mr. Cranmer* said, Then thus do I make my Argument.

Cran. In Heaven his Body had quantity, in Earth it hath none by your saying.

Ergo. He hath two Bodies, the one in Heaven, the other in Earth.

Here some would have answered him, that he had quantity in both, and had put off the Antecedent; But thus said *Mr. Harsfield*.

Harsf. I deny your Argument, though some would not have had him say so.

Cran. The Argument is good. It standeth upon Contradictions, which is the most false hold.

Harsf. I deny that there are Contradictions.

Cran. I thus prove it. *Debetur medium quantitativum & non indere, non est dictum, habet medium quantitativum, in terra non habet*.

Ergo. *Idem corpus est in qua cadunt licet non traditur, in qua non cadere non possunt.*

Ward. I deny the Minor.

Cran. I answer that the Major is not true. For *Habere quantum, & non habere, non sunt contradiCTORIA, sed sunt contradiCTORIA, non sunt contradiCTORIA, sed sunt contradiCTORIA.*

Ward. I confirm the line: For one Body may have *modum quantitativum*, and not have; and *idem corpus* was

possible and impossible; one Body may have wounds and Anno not wounds.

Cran. This cannot be at one time.

Ward. The doctrine of the Father doth prove that which I say; who of that which is Clay now, maketh a Pot or Cup forthwith.

Cran. By say again, that it is so, but at other times: As one piece of Meat to be raw and bidden, cannot be at one time together. But you would have it otherwise, that Christ should be here and in Heaven at one time, and that Christ should have *modum quantitativum*, and not have; which cannot be.

Ward. But I say, Christ's Body was possible and not possible at one (A) instant.

Stetson. You may ask as well other Questions, how he is in Heaven? whether he sit or stand? and whether he be there as he lived here?

Cran. You your self by putting a Natural Preference, do force me to question, how he is here. Therefore next I do ask this Question, Whether good and evil men do eat the Body in the Sacrament?

Harsf. Yes, they do so, (B) even as the Sun doth shine upon Kings Palaces, and on Dunge-houses.

Cran. Then do I inquire, how long Christ tarrieth in the eater?

Harsf. These are curious Questions, unmeet to be asked.

Cran. I have taken them out of your Schools and Schoollmen, which you your selves do make use to.

Harsf. We know that the Body of Christ is received to nourish the whole Man, both Body and Soul: *Esque progrederetur corpus quousque (C) flocus.*

Cran. How long doth he abide in the Body?

Stetson. *S. Augustine* faith, our flesh goes into his flesh. But after he is once received into the stomach, it maketh no more for us to know how far he doth pierce, where he is conveyed.

Mr. Mr. Treham and one *Mr. London* answered, that Christ being given there under *just form* and *quantitas* as *pled* him, it was not to be *inquired* of his *transgressions*, or of his *descending* into his *Body*.

Harsf. You were wont to lay to our charge, that we added to the Scripture, saying always that we should teach the truth out of the Scripture, and now you your self bring Questions out of the Schoollmen, which you have disallowed in us.

Cran. I say as I have said afore, that I am contented to ask their Questions, because of this Carnal Preference, which you imagine; and yet I know right well that their Questions be answered out of the Scriptures. As to my last Question, How long he abideth in the Body? *de* the Scripture answereth plainly, that Christ doth so long dwell in his People, as they are his Members. Whereupon I may say this Argument.

Be. They which eat the Flesh of Christ do dwell in him, and he in them.

ro. But the wicked do not remain in him, nor he in them: *Ergo*, The wicked do not eat his Flesh, nor drink his Blood.

Harsf. I will answer unto you as *S. Augustine* faith, that not howsoever a man do eat, he eateth the Body; but he that eateth after a certain manner.

Cran. I cannot tell what manner ye appoint, but I am sure that evil men do not eat the Flesh, and drink the Blood of Christ, as Christ speaketh in the sixth of *John*.

Harsf. In the sixth of *John* some things are to be received to the glory, and some to the glory.

Cran. Whatsoever he doth intend there of eating, doth pertain unto good men.

Harsf. If you do mean only of the word of eating, it is true; but if you mean of the thing it is not so; And if your meaning be of that which is contained under the word of eating, may be so taken, I grant.

Cran. Now to the Argument, *He that eateth my Flesh, drinketh my Blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him*. Doth that of not this prove sufficiently, that evil men do not eat the good God?

Treham. You must add, *Qui manducat dignus, Habet etiam* worthily.

Cran. I speak of the same manner of eating that Christ speaketh of.

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Ward. *Augustinus ad Praxem in Exer.* *Sermo*, 28. *Ep. quam manducandi munda*; That is, There is a certain manner of eating. *Augustinus* speaketh of two manners of eating; the one of them that eat worthily, the other that eat unworthily.

All things in the sixth of *John* are not to be referred to the Sacrament, but to the receiving of Christ by Faith. The Father doth agree, that there is not intreaty made of the Supper of the Lord, before they come unto *Panem quem dabo vobis, caro mea est, &c.*

Cran. There is intreaty of *Manna* both before and after.

Harsf. I will apply another Answer. This Argument hath a kind of Poyson in it, which must be thus bitten away; that *Manna* and this Sacrament be not both one. *Manna* hath not his Efficacy of himself, but of God.

Cran. But they that did take *Manna* worthily had laid the Faith of Christ, and by your Affirmation, he that doth eat the Flesh of Christ worthily, hath his Faith by that.

Therefore the like doth follow of them both, and so there should be no difference between *Manna* and this Sacrament, by your Reason.

Harsf. When it is said, that they which did eat *Manna* are dead, it is to be understood, that they did want the virtue of *Manna*.

Mr. Harsfield doth mean of *Bodily Life*, they which eat the Sacrament do dye as well as they which did eat the *Manna*. If he mean of *Spiritual Life*, neither he, nor they that did eat *Manna*, nor all, do dye.

Therefore the Truth is, that neither the eating of *Manna* bringeth Death, nor the eating of the Sacrament bringeth Salvation: But only the *Spiritual* believing upon Christ's *Bodily* Talism, which is the *Spiritual* believing, which Christ speaketh of in his Chapter; so is the Cause of our *Spiritual* believing, which he meaneth, which is our *Spiritual* believing in him, and so our *Bodily* eating of him.

They then which do eat either of them worthily, do live.

Harsf. They do live which do eat *Manna* worthily, not by *Manna*, but by the Power of God given by it.

The other which do eat this Sacrament, do live by the same.

Cran. Christ did not intend of the Cause, but the Effect which followed: He doth not speak of the Cause, whereof the Effect proceedeth.

Harsf. I do say. The Effects are divers, Life, and Death, which do follow the Worthy and Unworthy eating thereof.

Cran. Since you will needs have an Addition to it, we must use both in *Manna* and in the Sacrament, indifferently, either worthily, or unworthily.

Christ spake absolutely of *Manna*, and of the Supper, so that, after that absolute speaking of the Supper, wicked men can in no wise eat the Flesh of Christ, and drink his Blood.

Further, *Augustinus* upon *John*, *Tractat.* 26. upon the fifth Words, *Qui manducat, &c.* faith, *There is no such thing as eating unworthily, as in the Lord's Body. For who that eateth other Meats, hath full blessing, and needeth to be justified daily; but he that doth eat the Flesh of Christ, and drinketh his Blood, doth live for ever.* But you know Wicked Men do not live.

Ergo, Wicked Men do not receive.

Harsf. *S. Augustine* meaneth, That he who eateth Christ's Flesh, &c. after a certain manner, should live for ever. Wicked Men do eat, but not after that manner.

Cran. Only they which participate Christ be of the Mystical Body.

But the Evil Men are not of the Mystical Body. *Itres.* *Ergo*, They do not participate Christ.

Ward. Your wonderful gentle Behaviour and Modesty (good *Mr. Doctor Cranmer*) is worthy much commendation; and I give you most hearty thanks in my own name, and in the name of all my Brethren. At which saying, all the Doctors gently put their Caps. Then *Mr. Welfon* did oppose the Respondent on this wise.

Ward. *Theologus* doth call the Sacrament the Sign and Figure of the Lord's Body. *S. Augustinus* ad *Daradum* faith, *Non debemus dominum dicere, Hoc est Corpus meum, cum daret figuram corporis, i. The Lord* did not think to say, This is my Body, when he gave a Sign of his Body.

Besides this, he gives rules how to understand the Scriptures; as if the Scriptures seem to command some thing that is figurative; as by example; *Manducare Augustus de carne, & idem sanguinem de trophæo fero*. To eat Christ's Flesh, and drink the Blood, is a Tropical Speech.

Harsf. *Tertullian* did write in that place against *Marcellinus* as *Hæretic*, who denoted Christ to have a True Body, and flesh; had only a Figurative Body. He meant about to show, that he had Christ both in Heaven and in Earth; and though we have the True Body in the Sacrament, yet he would not go about to so confound him, as to say, That Christ was truly in the Sacrament; for that *Hæretic* would have thereof rather marvelled, than believed it. Therefore he shewed him, that it was the Figure of Christ: And a Figure cannot be but of a thing that is, or hath been extant.

To the Text of *Augustinus*, the Church hath never taught the contrary. There is an outward thing in the Sacrament, which sometimes hath findry names. For it may be called a Figure in this Declaration, That Body which is in the Sacrament, is a Figure of Christ dwelling in Heaven.

To the Third, which is brought by *Augustinus* for example about the understanding of the Scriptures, is thus to be understood, tending to a general manner of eating; *de Manducare carum, & idem sanguinem*. To eat the Flesh, and drink the Blood, may be a figurative Speech to exclude *Anthropophagi*, i. The eating of *Man's* Flesh. The which, as we see *Man's* Flesh cut in Morfels, as we eat common Meat; so as we neither have, nor can Christ in the Sacrament.

Ward. I understand your short and learned Answer, and think this sufficiently content me. But now to the second Question, which is of Transubstantiation.

The Scripture calleth it Bread.

Ergo, It is Bread.

Harsf. In the Name of Bread all is signified which we do eat.

Ward. *Theodoretus* an Ancient Writer, in his first Dialogue, faith, That Christ changed not the Nature, but called it his Body.

Harsf. He doth there speak of Symbols, which is *Externa* (pious Sacraments), i. The outward form of the Sacrament. He meaneth, that that doth tarry in his own Nature. Moreover, as it was reported, he brought for his Answer *Augustinus* in *sententia* *Prophetæ*.

Ward. *Theodoretus* also in his second Dialogue of those kinds of Bread and Wine, faith, *Nec naturam gradumque, manent etiam in sua substantia, i. They go not out of their own Nature, but they tarry in their own Substance.*

Harsf. They are understood to be of the same Substance wherein they are (C) turned.

Ward. But what say you to this? *Manent in prior substantia, i. They remain in their former Substance.*

Harsf. Symbols manent, i. The outward form of the Sacrament. But what is meant here by this word *Symbols*? *Symbols*.

Harsf. The outward form or shape only of the Nature.

Therefore, you cannot call them a Substance.

Harsf. Yes, Sir, every thing hath a certain Substance in his kind.

Ward. That is true, but Accidents are not Substances in their kind.

Harsf. *Sunt quid in suo genere.* Of this they contented much.

Ward. *Chrysostomus* ad *Corinthios* *Monachum*, faith, *Si enim, integram confecturam, panis est, sic patrum confecturam, literaturus est et applicationis panis, domusque de applicatione Corporis Domini, cum natura remanet*; That is, Like as before it is consecrated, it is Bread; so that it is consecrated, it is delivered from the name of Bread, and is joined with the name of the Lord's Body, whereas the Nature doth remain.

Harsf. Where read you this place, I pray you?

Ward. Here in *Peter Martyr* I find it; I have his Book in my Hand.

Disparities
in Cancer
Incidence

1997, 1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 26

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The Archbishop of Canterbury

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Dr. Osgood
reads the
Great
Proclamation
of the
Queen
concerning
the
Execution
of the
Prisoners.

and Lord Chancellor of England. At the time of the Coronation Doctor Day Bishop of *Chichester* made a Sermon to the Queen Majesty, and to the rest of the Nobility.

Also there was a general Pardon proclaimed within the *Shire* at the same time of her Coronation, out of which Proclamation all the Judges of the *Tower* and of the *Exchequer* were excepted, and 62. more. Whereof *M. Whit* church and *M. Griffin* were two.

The third of *October*, the Vicechancellor of *Cambridge* did challenge one *Mr. Weyling* that he misliked the Communion in his own Parish, and did receive Strangers of other Parishes to the same, and would not fly *Mafk*. Whereupon within two days after, he was clean diffracted from further ministering in his Cure.

Upon the Wednesday following, the Archbishop of *Tork* was committed to the *Tower*.

Upon Thursday, being the 5. of *October*, 1554, the Queen rode to the Parliament in her Robes, and all the Nobility with her, and when they were met in the Parliament House, the Bishop of *Winchester* made to them a solemn Oration, and Sergeant *Pollard* was chosen Speaker of the Parliament. The same day the Bishops of *Lincoln*, *Hertford*, and *Wells* were discharged from the Parliament and Convocation.

Also the 10. day of *October*, the Earl of *Huntington* was delivered out of the *Tower*.

Upon the Sunday after, being the 15. of *October*, *M. Laurence Saunders* preached at *Abchurch-lane* in *Breadstreet* in the Morning: Where he declared the Abomination of the *Mafk*, with divers other Matters, very notably and godly. Whereof the chief he heard (by the Lord's leave) hereafter when we come to his Story. In which his doing, as he himself might be to God Faithful Ministry, he is here not to be defended of Gods Faithful Protestants, who him *contra* *confitebor* *me coram hominibus, confitebor* *ego illam coram te coram deo* *quod* *est* *Calis*, 21. But about Noon of the same day, he was sent for by the Bishop of *London*, and from thence committed to the *Marshalsea*.

Upon the Sunday following, being the 20. of *October*, Doctor *Weyling* preached at *Pauls* Church. Who in the beginning of his Sermon willed the People to pray for the South departed, on this wise: You shall pray for all them that be departed, that be neither in Heaven, nor Hell, but in a place not yet sufficiently purged to come to Heaven, that may be relieved by your devout Prayers. He named the Lords Table an Oyl-bread. He said, that the Catechism in Latin, lately set out, was abominable Heresie, and likened the letters out of the same Catechism to *Julianus Apostata*, and the Book to a Dialogue let out by the said *Julianus Apostata*, wherein Clit and Pile were the Speakers: with many other things. Which Sermon, with all the points thereof, Master *Crescende* the same time learnedly concluded by writings, which remaineth yet in my hands to be seen.

In the Week following between the Disputations in the Convocation House in *Pauls* Church, whether sufficient hath been before declared.

The 26. day of *October*, the Vicechancellor of *Cambridge* went to *Clare-hall*, and in the presence of Doctor *Walker*, displaced Doctor *Madew*, and placed Master *Sydney* in the Mastership thereof, by force of the Lord Chancellors Letters, for that he was (as they termed it) *Unsanctus*, that is, married.

The 28. day of *October*, the Papists in the Kings College in *Cambridge* (not tarrying the making of any Law, but of their blind Zeal) had their whole Service again in the Latin Tongue, contrary to the Law then in force.

The last of *October*, the Vicechancellor of *Cambridge* did flurriedly propose and threaten one *M. Throckmole*, for that he challenged the said Vicechancellor, who had suffered Master *Brevill* (contrary to the Statutes then in force) quietly without punishment to depart, notwithstanding that he refused to swear to the Supremacy of the Queen, and the Abrogation of the Bishop of *Rome*.

The third day of *November*, the Vicechancellor fell for the Curate of the Round Parish in *Cambridge*, com-

manding him not to minister any more in the English Tongue, saying, he would have one Uniform Order of Service throughout the Town, and that in Latin, with *Mafk*, which was established the *Twelfth* day of this Month.

The sixth day of *November*, Master *Pollard* preached at *Saint Michaels*, and in his Sermon offered Purgatory.

The 28. day of *November*, the Archdeacon Official visited in *Hinton*, where he gave in charge to prefer all such as did disturb the Queens Proceedings, in letting the Latin Service, the setting up of their Altars, and flying the *Mafk*, or any part thereof: Whereby it was extended to let how these good Fellows meant to proceed, having the Law once on their Side, that thus readily against a manifest Law, would attempt the Punishment of any Man.

The 15. day of *December* there were two Proclamations at *London*: the one for the Repealing of certain Acts made by King *Edward* and for the letting up of the *Mafk*, the 20. day of *December* then next following: The other was, That no Man should interrupt any of those that would fly *Mafk*.

The Parliament beginning about the 5. day of *October*, continued till the 5. of *December*. In the which Parliament were dissolved as well all the Statutes made of *Procurance*, in the time of *K. Henry* the Eighth, &c. As also the Laws and Statutes concerning Religion and Administration of Sacraments, decreed under King *Edward* the Sixth, as is partly above touched. In the which Parliament moreover was appointed the 20. day of *December* next ensuing the same year 1553: That all the old Form and Manner of Church-Services used in the last year of King *Henry*, should now again be reformed.

On New-years-Even being the last of *December*, the Lord Marquis of *Northampton* was delivered out of the *Tower*.

About this time a Priest of *Canterbury* said *Mafk* on a Friday the one day, and the next day after he came into the *Palace*, and desired all the People to forgive him; for he said, that he had betrayed Christ, not as *Judas* did, but as *Peter* did, and then made a long Sermon against the *Mafk*.

The day after New-years day, being the second day of *January*, in the Year of our Lord, 1554. Four Ambassadors came into *London* from the Emperour, and were Honourably received. Their Names were these: *Le Comte de Egmont*, *Le Comte de Lalen*, *Monsieur de Cere*, *Le Chancelier Nigre*.

About this time a great Number of New Bishops, Deans, &c. were chosen, more than were made at one time since the Conquest. Their Names are these:

- D. Holym Bishop of Bristol.
- D. Coates Bishop of Winchester.
- D. Hoxton Bishop of Norwich.
- D. Bourne Bishop of Bath.
- D. White Bishop of Lincoln.
- D. Mores Bishop of Rochester.
- D. Morgan Bishop of S. David.
- D. Poole Bishop of S. Asaph.
- D. Brookes Bishop of Gloucester.
- D. Moreton, Chancelor to the Bishop of Exeter, and after by decree Bishop of Exeter.
- D. Ginn Bishop of Bangor.
- Master Fecknam Dean of Pauls.
- D. Rainolds Dean of Bristol, with others.

The 12. day of *January*, the Vicechancellor of *Cambridge* called a Congregation general, wherein amongst other things he willed, that the Queen would have there a Mass of the Holy Ghost upon the 18. day of *February* then next following, for that it was her Birthday: which was fulfilled the day appointed, and that very solemnly.

Upon the Saturday, being the 13. of *January*, Doctor *Crome* was committed to the *Fleet*. Also upon the Friday following, one Mr. *Addington* was committed to the *Tower*. Also this same Sunday knowledge was given in the Court open by the Bishop of *Winchester*, that the Marriage between the Queens Majesty and the King of *Spain* was concluded, and the day following, being

Anno
1554.

being *Monday*, and the 15th of *January*, the Mayor with the Aldermen and certain Commons were at the Court, and there they were commanded by the Lord Chancellor to prepare the City ready to receive the said King of *Spain*; who declared unto them what a Catholick, mighty, prudent, and wife Prince the said King was, with many other commendations of him.

Upon the Saturday following, being the 20th of *January*, the Court of the First-Fruits and Tithes was dissolved.

Upon the Thursday at night following, the 25th day of *January*, the Lord Marquis of *Northampton* was again committed to the *Tower*, and Sir Edward *Warner* with him. Who were brought to the *Tower* by the Mayor.

Upon the Saturday following, being the 26th of *January*, Justice *Hales* was committed to the *Marshalsea*, and the same day Mr. *Rogers* was committed to the *Newgate*. Upon this Saturday, Sunday and Monday following, the *Landmores* prepared a number of *Souldiers*, (by the Queens Commandment) to go into *Kent* against the Commons: whereof were chief Captains the Duke of *Norfolk*, the Earl of *Worcester*, Sir *Henry* *Jerningham*, Sir *George* *Harward* and ten other Captains.

Which day the Duke of *Norfolk* and his *Souldiers* when they came to *Rochester*, where they should have set upon their Enemies, most of them were laid in their retreats, and came wholly to the rescue of the *Knights* Men, and to the forward Captain returned to the Court both void of Men and Victory, leaving behind them both six pieces of Ordnance and Treasure.

About the latter end of *January*, the Duke of *Suffolk* with his Brethren departed from *London*, and took his Voyage into *Leicester-fair*. After whom was sent the Earl of *Huntington* to take him and bring him to *London*, who proclaimed the said Duke *Traitor* by the way as he rode.

And thus passing to the Month of *February*, he is to be noted by way of story, that upon the 15th day of the said Month, being *Thursday*, there were seen within the City of *London* three black Clouds in the Air, Forenoon strange lights. There were seen two Suns both shining at once, the one a good pretty way distant from the other. At the same time was also seen a Rainbow turned contrary, and a greater height than hath been seen, and the common standing of the Rainbow is thus: but this flood thus with the Head downwards, and the Feet is there upward. Both these lights were seen as well at *Weymouth*, in *Cheapside*, and in the South-side of *Pauls*, as in very many other places, and that by a great number of honest Men. Also certain Aldermen went out of the *Guild-Hall* to behold the light.

As touching the ruling of Mr. *Wyat*, with Sir *William* *Cobham* and others in *Kent*, and their coming to *London* in the Month of *February*; also of the Queens coming to *Guild-Hall*, and her Oration there made; and after of the taking of the said *Wyat* and his Company, and the wife of the apprehension of the Duke of *Suffolk* with his Brother *John* *Gray*; and the next day after of the Beholding of the Lord *Gildford* and Lady *Jane*, which was the 12th day of *February*, and how the Duke before which was the 12th of the said Month, Lord *William* *Howard*, and Sir *Edward* *Hoford* were sent for the Lady *Elizabeth*; and how the same Sunday, Sir *Henry* *Jerningham*, Sir *George* *Harward*, and Sir *William* *Cobham* were committed to the *Tower*, the Bishop of *Winchester* the 12th day, being the 11th of *February*, preaching before the Queen, and perswading her to use no mercy toward their Enemies: but few Executions notwithstanding were briefly touched before or else may be found in other Chronicles, I will cease to make any further story of them: having forewarned notwithstanding to declare the Duke of *Suffolk* was Arraigned at *Weymouth*, and the same day condemned to dye by his Peers; the Earl of *Arundel* was chief Judge for this day.

Upon the Saturday following, which was the 18th day of the said Month, Sessions was kept in *London*, which hath not before been kept upon the Sunday.

Upon the Monday, the 19th of *February*, the Lord *Cobham* three Sons, and four other Men were Arraigned at *Weymouth*: of which Sons the youngest was condemned, whose name was *Thomas*, and the other two came not at the Bar, and the other four were condemned.

Upon the Tuesday, being the 20th of *February*, the Lord *John* *Gray* was Arraigned at *Weymouth*; and there he was condemned the same day, and other three Men, whereof one was named *Nader*.

Upon Wednesday, the 21. of *February*, the Lord *Thomas* *Gray* and Sir *George* *Harward* were brought through *London* to the *Tower* with a number of *Harbours*.

Upon the Thursday, being the 22. of *February*, Sir *Nicholas* *Thurgomston* was committed to the *Tower*.

Upon the Friday, being the 23. of *February*, 1554, the Duke of *Suffolk* was beheaded at the *Tower-Hill*, the order of whose Death here followed.

The gaily End and Death of the Duke of Suffolk Beheaded at *Tower-Hill*, An. 1554. February 23.

ON Friday the 23. of *February*, 1554. about Nine the Duke of *Suffolk*, was brought forth of the *Tower* of *London* upon the Scaffold on the *Tower-Hill*, with a great Company, &c. and in his coming thither, there accompanied him Dr. *Weyling* as his ghostly Father, not a ghostly Father, as it would be, but a ghostly Father, the Duke of *Suffolk*. For when the Duke went up to the Scaffold, the said *Weyling* being on the left hand, pressed to go with him. The Duke with his hand, put him down a while, and Sir *Edward* *Warner*, asking him the Duke back by the neck, and forced him down likewise. And as they ascended the Scaffold, the Duke again put him down.

Then *Weyling* said, that it was the Queens pleasure he should do so. Whereupon the Duke calling his hands before, alighted, ascended up the Scaffold, and put a pretty while after. And then he said: *Majesty, I have offended the Queen, and her Laws, and thereby am justly condemned to dye, and am willing to dye, desiring all Men to be obedient, and I pray God that the Duke may be an example to all Men, beseeching you all to bear me witness, that I dye in the Faith of Christ, trusting to the Mercy of God, and by no other Trumpets, God's will which did for me, and for all them that truly repent, and themselves trust in him. And I do repent, desiring you all to pray for God for me; and that when you see my Breath departs from me, you will pray to God that he may receive my Soul.* And then he desired all Men to forgive him, saying, that the Duke had forgiven him.

Then Mr. *Weyling* declared with a loud Voice, that the Queens Majesty had forgiven him. With that divers of the Standers-by said with much good and audible Voice: *Such Forgiveness God send thee*, meaning Dr. *Weyling*. Then the Duke knelt down upon his Knees, and said the Psalm *Alleluia* *me* *Deus* unto the end, holding up his hands, and looking up to Heaven. And when he had ended the Psalm, he said, *In manus tuas Domine commendo Spiritum meum*, &c. Then he arose, and stood up, and delivered his Cap and his Scarf unto the Executioners.

Then the said Executioners knelt down, and asked the Duke forgiveness. And the Duke said, God forgive thee, and I do: and when thou shalt thine Office, I pray the Duke do it well, and bring me to my death quickly, but to God have mercy to thee. Then stood there a while, and said, My Lord, how shall I do for the Money that you owe me? And the Duke said, Also good Fellow, I pray thee make me no more, but go thy way to my Officers. Then he knit a Kercher about his Face, and knelt down and said, *Our Father* which art in Heaven, unto the end. And then he said, *Christ* have the soul of every one me, and laid down his Head on the Block, of which the Executioner took the Ax, and at the first clap strook off his Head, and held it up to the People.

The same day a number of Prisoners had their Parole at the door, and came through the City with their Halters about their necks, and laid down their Heads on the Block, of which the Executioner took the Ax, and at the first clap strook off their Heads, and held them up to the People.

Upon

as about their Necks passed through the City to *Weymouth*, and had their Heads

about their Necks passed through the City to *Weymouth*, and had their Heads

Wherefore say the tender Mercy of God in Christ (which you look for at the day of Judgment) your fair poor Subjects on Bonds must needs infinitely affect your most excellent Majesty, and your High Court of Parliament, being and necessarily in fear and great thank your Curation, therefore secretly to raise the Glory of God, to the raising of his Church, to the Honour of your Majesty, to the commendation and maintenance of Justice, Right, and Equity before God and Man, and your very Subjects, according to their bounden duty, shall not cease to pray most humbly for you, for the furtherance of your nation of your most excellent Majesty does long to endure.

The end of the Tenth Book.

Anno
1555.

THE ELEVENTH BOOK:

WHEREIN

Is discoursed the bloody Murthering of God's Saints, with the particular Procceses and Names of such good Martyrs, both Men and Women, as in this time of Queen **MART** were put to Death.

The Story, Life, and Martyrdom of Mr. John Rogers.

Relates A. This is the story of Mr. John Rogers.

THE Fourth day of February suffered the constant Martyr of God, Master **John Rogers**, concerning whose Life, Examinations, and Suffering, here followeth in order first. And first touching his Life and bringing up, John Rogers brought up in the University of Cambridge, where he probably travelled in good Learning, at the length was chosen and called by the **Merchants Adventurers** to be their Chaplain at **Antwerp in Brabant**, where he served to their good contentation many years. It chanced him there to fall in Company with that worthy Servant and Martyr of God **William Tindal**, and with **Miles Coverdale**, which both for the hatred they bare to Popish Superstition and Idolatry, and love to true Religion, had forsaken their Native Country. In conferring with them the Scriptures he came to great knowledge in the Gospel of God, informed that he call off the heavy Yoke of Popery, perceiving it to be impure and filthy Idolatry, and joyning himself with them two in that painful and most profitable labour of translating the Bible into the English Tongue, which is intitled, *The Translation of Thomas Matthew*. He knowing by the Scriptures, that unlawful Vows may lawfully be broken, and that Matrimony is both honest and honourable among all men, joyning himself in lawful Matrimony, and so went to **Wittenberg in Saxony**, where he with much sobriety of living did not only greatly increase in all good and godly Learning, but also to much profit in the knowledge of the Dutch Tongue, that the Charge of a Congregation was orderly committed to his Cure.

In which Ministry he diligently and faithfully served many years, until such time as it pleased Godly the faithful travel of his chosen and dear Servant, King **Edward** the Sixth, utterly to banish all Popery forth of **England**, and to receive in true Religion, setting Gods Gospel at liberty. He then being orderly called, having both a Confidence and a ready good will to help forward the Work of the Lord in his Native Country, left his honest and certain Conditions as he had in **Saxony**, and came into **England** to preach the Gospel, without contrary of any Condition. In which Office, after he had a space diligently and faithfully travelled, **Nicholas Ridley**, then Bishop of **London**, gave him a Prebend in the Cathedral Church of **Paul**; and the Dean and the Chapter chose him to be the Reader of the Divinity Lesson there, wherein he diligently travelled, until such time as Queen **Mary** obtaining the Crown, banished the Gospel and true Religion, and brought in the Antichrist of **Rome**, with his Idolatry and Superstition.

After the Queen was come to the **Tower of London**, he being orderly called thereunto, made a godly and vehement Sermon at **Pauls Cross**, confirming such true Doctrine as he and other had there taught in King **Edward's** days, exhorting the People constantly to remain in the same, and to beware of all peccant Popery, Idolatry, and Superstition. The Council being then over-matched with Popish and Bloody Bishops, cal-

led him to account for his Sermon: To whom he made a stout, witty, and godly Answer, and yet in such fort handled himself, that at that time he was clearly diffinited. But after that Proclamation was set forth by the Queen to prohibit true Preaching, he was called again before the Council; for the Bishops thirled after his Blood. The Council quarrelled with him concerning his Doctrine, and in conclusion commanded him as Prisoner to keep his own House, and so he did: although by flying he might easily have escaped their cruel hands, and many things there were which might have moved him thereunto. He did the Recovery of Religion in **England**, for that present, desperate: He knew he could not want a Living in **Germany**, and he could not forget his Wife and ten Children, and to seek means to flourish them. But all these things set apart, after he was called to answer in **Christ's Cause**, he would not depart, but stoutly stood in defence of the same, and for the trial of that Truth, was content to hazard his Life.

Thus he remained in his own House as Prisoner a long time, till at the length, through the uncharitable procurement of **Boner Bishop of London**, who could not abide such honest Neighbours to dwell by him, he was removed from his own House to the Prison called **Newgate**, where he was lodged among Thieves and Murderers for a great space: During which time, what business he had with the Adversaries of **Christ's** will is not known, neither yet any certainty of his Examinations, further than he himself did leave in Writing, which God would not be lost, but to remain for a perpetual Testimony in the Cause of Gods Truth, as here followeth recorded and testified by his own writing.

The Examination and Answer of John Rogers made to the Lord Chancellor, and to the rest of the Council, the 22. of January, Anno 1555.

The Lord Chancellor.

I left the Lord Chancellor said unto me thus: Sir, we have heard the state of the Realm in which it standeth now.

Rogers. No, my Lord, I have been kept in close Prison, and except there have been some general thing said at the Table when I was at Dinner or Supper, I have heard nothing; and there have I heard nothing whereupon any special thing might be grounded.

The Chancellor then said the Lord Chancellor; General things, general things, mockingly. Ye have heard of my Lord Cardinals coming, and that the Parliament hath received his Blessing, not one refuting unto it, but one man which did speak against it. Such an Unity, and such a Miracle hath not been seen. And all they of which there are Eight four in one House, said one that was by, whose name I know not, have with one assent and consent received Partition of their Offices, for the Schiff that we have had in **England**, in refusing the holy Father of

Mr. Rogers called in account for his Sermon as Paul Cross.

Mr. Rogers called before the Council and commanded to keep his House.

Mr. Rogers first of all.

Examination and answer of Mr. John Rogers.

Rome

Anno **Rome** to be Head of the Catholic Church. How say ye? Are ye content that you shall refer to the Faith of the Catholic Church with us, in the state in which it is now in **England**? Will ye do that?

Rog. The Catholic Church I never did nor will differ from.

L. Chan. Nay, but I speak of the state of the Catholic Church, in that will in which we stand now in **England**, having received the Pope to be Supreme Head.

Rog. I know none other Head but **Christ** of his Catholic Church, neither will I acknowledge the Bishop of **Rome** to have any more Authority than the Bishop hath by the Word of God, and by the Doctrine of the old pure Catholic Church four hundred years after **Christ**.

L. Chan. Why didst thou then acknowledge **K. Henry** the Eighth to be the Supreme Head of the Church; and **Christ** be the only Head?

Rog. I never granted him to have any Supremacy in Spiritual things, as are the Forgiveness of Sins, Giving of the Holy Ghost, Authority to be a Judge above the Word of God.

L. Chan. Yes, said he, and **Tenishall** Bishop of **Dorchester**, and **Bishop of Worcester**, if thou hadst said so, in his day (and they nodded the head at me with a laughter) thou hadst not been alive now.

Rog. Which thing I denied, and would have told how he was said and meant to be Supreme Head. But they looked and laughed on upon another, and made such a business, that I was constrained to let it pass. There knoweth what the meaning was. The Lord Chancellor also said to the Lord **William Howard**, that there was no inconvenience therein, to have **Christ** to be Supreme Head and the Bishop of **Rome** also: And when I was ready to have answered that there could not be two Heads of one Church, and have more plainly declared the vanity of that his Reason, the Lord Chancellor said, What saidst thou? Make us a direct Answer whether thou wilt be one of this Catholic Church or not, with us in that time in which we are now?

Rog. My Lord, without fail I cannot believe, that ye say yourselves do think in your hearts that he is Supreme Head in forgiving of Sin, &c. (as is before said) being you, and all the Bishops of the Realm have now twenty years long preached, and some of you also written to the contrary, and the Parliament hath so long ago condemned unto it. And these he interrupted me thus.

L. Chan. Truly, that Parliament was with most great cruelty constrained to abolish and put away the Primacy from the Bishop of **Rome**.

Rog. With cruelty? why then I perceive that you take a wrong way with cruelty to pervert mine Conferences. For it should appear by your things now, that the cruelty then used hath not perverted your Conferences. How would you then have our Conferences perverted with cruelty?

L. Chan. I talk to thee of no cruelty, but that they were so often and so cruelly called upon in that Parliament, to let the Act go forward; yes, and even with force driven thereunto, whereas in this Parliament it was so uniformly received as in **England**.

Rog. Here my Lord **Paget** told me more plainly, what the Lord Chancellor meant. Unto whom I answered: My Lord, what will ye conclude thereby; that the first Parliament was of less Authority, because few Conferences, because more condemned unto it? It is good to my Lord, by more or less part, but by the will, rather, and godlier part: And I would have said more, but the Lord Chancellor interrupted me with his question, willing me once again to answer him. For, said he, we have more to speak with thee, which must come in after.

And so there were indeed ten persons more out of **Windsor**, besides those that were not called. Of which ten, one was a Citizen of **London**, which granted unto them, and nine were contrary: which all came to Prison again, and suffered the Cardinal's Blessing, and the Authority of his Holy Father's Church, saying that one of these things was not asked the question, otherwise than thus, whether he would be an honest man as his Father was before

him, and he answering Yes, he was so discharged by the friendship of my **L. William Howard**, as I have understood. He bade me tell him what I would do; whether I would enter into the one Church with the whole Realm as it is now, or not? No, said I, I will first let it proved by the Scriptures. Let me have Pen, Ink, and Books, &c. And I shall take upon me plainly to set out the matter so that the contrary shall be proved to be true, and let any man that will confer with me by writing.

L. Chan. Nay, that shall not be permitted thee? Thou shalt never have so much professed thee as thou hast now, if thou refuse it, and will not now condemn and agree to be the Catholic Church. Here are two things, Mercy and Justice: If thou refuse the Queens Mercy now, then shalt thou have Justice ministered unto thee.

Rog. I never offered; nor was disobedient unto her Grace, and yet I will not refuse her Mercy. But if this shall be denied me to confer by writing, and to try out the truth, then it is not well, but too far off the way. Ye your selves (all the Bishops of the Realm) brought me to the knowledge of the pretended Primacy of the Bishop of **Rome**, when I was a young man twenty years past: And will ye now without collusion have me to say and do the contrary? I cannot be so perverted.

L. Chan. If thou wilt not receive the Bishop of **Rome** to be Supreme Head of the Catholic Church, then thou shalt never have her Mercy thou mayest be free. And as touching conferring and trial I am forbidden by the Scriptures to sit any conferring and trial with thee. For **S. Paul** teacheth me, that I should stand and observe an Heretic after one or two Monitions, knowing that such an one is overthrown, and is faulty, inasmuch as he is condemned by his own judgment.

Rog. My Lord, I deny that I am an Heretic: Prove ye that first, and then I will allege the *fundamental Text* but the Lord Chancellor played on one firing, saying:

L. Chan. If thou wilt enter into one Church with us, &c. tell us that, or else thou shalt never have so much professed thee again as thou hast now.

Rogers. I will find it first in the Scripture, and then I need thereby, before I receive him to be Supreme Head.

Why? Why? Do ye not know what is in your Creed: *Credo Ecclesiam sanctam Catholicam*; I believe the whole Catholic Church.

Rog. I find not the Bishop of **Rome** there. For (Catholic) I signifyeth not the Romish Church: It signifyeth the consent of all true Teaching Churches of all times, and all ages: But how should the Bishop of **Rome's** Church be one of them, which teacheth so many Doctrines that are plainly and directly against the Word of God? Can that Bishop be the true Head of the Catholic Church that doth so? that is not possible.

L. Chan. Shew me one of them, one, let me hear one.

Rog. I remembered my self that amongst so many I were beth to their one, and said, I will tell you one.

L. Chan. Let me hear that, let me hear that.

Rog. The Bishop of **Rome** and his Church, say, read, and sing, all that they do in their Congregations, in Latin, which is directly and plainly against the first to the *Consensus*, the fourteenth Chapter.

L. Chan. I deny that, I deny that that is against the Word of God. Let me see you prove that; how prove you that?

Rog. Thus I began to say the Text from the beginning of the Chapter, *Qui loquuntur in ecclesia*, to speak with tongue, said I, is to speak with a strange tongue, as Latin, Greek, &c. and so to speak, is not to speak unto men, but to God. But ye speak in Latin, which is a strange tongue, wherefore ye speak not unto men, but unto God, (meaning God only at the most). This he granted that they said not unto men, but unto God.

L. Chan. Well, then it is vain unto men.

Rog. No, not in vain. For one man speaketh in one tongue, and another in another tongue, and all well.

L. Chan. Nays, I will prove them, that he speaketh neither to God nor to Men, but unto the Wind.

Rog. I was willing to have declared how and after what sort these two Texts do agree (for they must agree) they be both the sayings of the Holy Ghost, spoken

A file present to be taken out of the original.

Gravely will compel which be attended to by the court.

Latin Sermon.

Speaking in a strange tongue.

Impressed.

1 Cor. 14. To speak of God only.

by the Apostle Paul) as to wife, to speak not to Men, but unto God, and to speak into the Wind; and so to have gone forward with the proof of my matter begun, but here arose a noise and a confusion. Then said the Lord Chancellor:

L. Chan. To speak unto God, and not unto God, were impossible.

Reg. I will prove them possible.

L. Howard. No, said my Lord William Howard to my Lord Chancellor: now will he bear you witness that he is out of the way for I heard first, that they which speak in a strange speech unto God; and now he faith the contrary, that they speak neither to God nor to Man.

Reg. I have not granted nor said (turning me to my Lord Howard) as you report. I alleged me to my Text, and now I am come to the other. They must answer, and I can make them to agree. But as for you, you understand not the matter.

L. Howard. Understand I do much, that is not possible. This is a point of Sophistry, quoth Secretary Borne.

L. Chan. Then the Lord Chancellor began to tell the Lord Howard, that when he was in *Haps* *Danish*, that in *Hals*, which had before prayed and used their Service all in Dutch, began then to turn part into Latin, and part into Dutch.

Worcest. Yes, and at *Wittenberg* too.

Reg. Yes, (but I could not be heard for the noise) in an University, where men for the most part understand the Latin, and yet not all in Latin. And I would have told the Order, and have gone forward but to have answered my Lord, and to have proved the thing that I had taken in hand: but perceiving their talk and noise to be too noisome, I was fain to think this in my heart, suffering them in the mean while to talk one of them to this, and another another. Alas! neither will they hear me if I speak, neither yet will they suffer me to write. There is no remedy, but let them alone, and commit the matter to God. Yet I began to go forward, and said, that I would make the Texts to agree, and to prove my purpose well enough.

L. Chan. No, no, that can't prove nothing by the Scripture. The Scripture is dead: it must have a lively Expofitor.

Reg. No, the Scripture is alive. But let me go forward with my purpose.

Wor. All Hereticks have alledged the Scriptures for them, and therefore we must have a lively Expofitor for them.

Reg. Yes, all Hereticks have alledged the Scriptures for them: but they were confuted by the Scriptures, and by none other Expofitor.

Wor. But they would not confute that they were overcome by the Scriptures, I am fure of that.

Reg. I believe that: and yet were they overcome by them, and in all Councils they were difputed with and overthrown by the Scriptures. And here I would have declared how they ought to proceed in their days, and to have come again to my purpose, but it was impossible: for one asked one things, another said another, so that I was fain to hold my peace, and let them talk. And even when I would have taken hold on my proof, the Lord Chancellor, bade to Prison with me again; and away, a way, said he, we have more to talk: which if I would not be reformed (fo he termed it) away away. Then up I stood, for I had kneeled all the while.

Then Sir Richard Southwell, who stood by a Window, said to me, Thou wilt not burn in this gear when it cometh to the purpose, I know well that.

Reg. Sir, I cannot tell, but I trust in my Lord God, yes, lifting up mine eyes unto Heaven.

Then Sir Lord of *Ely* told me much of the Queens Majesties pleasure and meaning, and fet it out with large words, saying, That he took them that would not receive the Bishop of *Rome's* Supremacy, to be unworthy to have Mercy, &c.

Reg. I said I would not refuse her Mercy, and yet I never offended her in all my life: And that I besought her Grace, and all their Honours, to be good to me, receiving my Confidence.

Divers spake at once. No, quoth they then, a great fort of blasphemy, and filthy Secretary Borne, a married Priest, and have not offended the Law?

Reg. I said, I had not broken the Queens Law nor yet any point of the Law of the Realm therein: For I married where it was lawful.

Divers at once. Where was that, said they? thinking that that to be unlawful in all places.

Rogers. In *Dutchland*. And if ye had not here in *England* made an open Law that Priests might have had Wives, I would never have come home again: for they brought a Wife and eight Children with me: which thing ye might be fure that I would not have done, if the Laws of the Realm had not permitted it before.

Then there was a great noise, some saying that I was come too soon with such a fort: I should find a worse coming of it; and some one thing, and some another. And one said (I could not well perceive who) that there was never a Catholic man or Country, that ever granted that a Priest might have a Wife.

Rogers. I said, The Catholic Church never denied Marriage to Priests, nor yet to any other man; and therewith was I going out of the Chamber: the Sergeant which brought me thither having me by the Arm.

Wor. Then the Bishop of *Worcester* turned his face towards me, and said that I wilt not where that Church was as *Rogers*.

Reg. I said, yes, that I could tell where it was, but therewith went the Sergeant with me out of the Door.

This was the very true effect of all that was spoken unto me, and of all that I answered thereto.

And here would I gladly make a more perfect Answer to all the former Objections, as also a due proof of that which I had taken in hand: but at this present I am informed that I should to morrow come to further Answer. Wherefore I am compelled to leave out that which I would most gladly have done, desiring here the hearty and unforgotten help of the Prayers of all Christs true Members, the true Imps of the true unfeigned Catholic Church, that the Lord God of all Creation will use me by my Comfort, Aid, Strength, Buckler and Shield: As also of all my Brethren that are in the same Cafe and Distress, that I and they all may despise all manner of threats and cruelty, and even the bitter burning Fire, and the dreadful dart of Death, and flick like true Soldiers to our dear and loving Captain, Christ, our only Redeemer and Saviour, and also the only true Head of the Church, that doth all in us, which is the very property of an Head (and is a thing that all the Bishops of *Rome* cannot do) and that we do not traitorously run out of his Tents, or out of the plain Field from him, in the most popery of the Babel, but that we may persevere in the Fight (if he will not otherwise deliver us) till we be most cruelly slain of his Enemies.

For this I most heartily, and at this present, with weeping tears most infinitely and earnestly desire and beseech you all to pray: And also if ye, to be good to my poor and most honest Wife, being a poor Stranger, and all my little Souls, hers and my Children. Whom, with all the whole faithful and true Catholic Congregation of Christs, the Lord of Life and Death, have kept, and defend in all the troubles and afflicts of this vain World, and Love and all of celestial Salvation on the true and fure Inheritance of all crested Christians, Amen, Amen.

The 27. day of January at night.

The second Confession of John Rogers, made, and that should have been made (if it might have been heard) the 28. and 29. day of January, 1555.

I first, being asked again by the Lord Chancellor, whether I would come into Church with the Bishops and whole Realm, as now was concluded by Parliament (in the which all the Realm was converted to the Catholic Church of *Rome*) and so receive the mercy be fore proffered me, arising again with the whole Realm without the Schism and Error in which we had long been, with Recantation of my Errors I answered, That before I could tell what his mercy meant, but now I understand that

that it was a mercy of the Antichristian Church of *Rome*, which I utterly refused, and that the riting which he spake of, was a very fall into Error and false Doctrine. Also that I had and would be able, by Gods grace, to prove that all the Doctrine which I had ever taught was true and Catholic, and that by the Scriptures and the Authority of the Fathers that lived 400 years after Christs Death. He answered, That should not, might not, ought not to be granted me: for I was but a private man, and might not be heard against the Determination of the whole Realm. Should, quoth he, when a perfect have Authority to dispute, whether they had done or could be right or wrong? No, that may not be.

I answered shortly, That all the Laws of men might not, neither could rule the Word of God, but that they all must be difputed and judged thereof, and obey thereof: and neither my Confidence, nor any Christian mans, could be satisfied with such Laws as disagreed from that Word: and so was willing to have said much more. But the Lord Chancellor began a long Tale to very small purpose, concerning mine Answer, to have defiled me, that there was nothing in me wherefore I should be heard, but Arrogancy, Pride, and Vain-glory all granted mine Ignorance to be greater than I could express, or than he took it: but yet that I feared not, by Gods assistance and strength, to be able by writing to perform my work, neither was I (I thanked God) too utterly ignorant as he would make me; but all was of God, to whom he thanks rendered therefore. Proud man was I never, nor yet vain-glorious. All the world knew well, where and on which side Pride, Arrogancy, and Vain-glory was: it was a poor Pride, that was or in us, God I knoweth.

Then said he, That let the first darts condemned the Queen and the whole Realm to be of the Church of Antichrist, burdened me highly therewithal. I answered, That the Queens Majesty (God gave her Grace) would have done well enough, if it had been for his counsel. He said, the Queen went before him, and it was her own motion. I said, without fail I neither could, nor would I ever believe it.

Then said Dr. *Admiral* the Bishop of *Carlisle*, that they the Bishops would bear him witness. Yes, quoth I, that I believe well, and with that the People laughed: For that day there were many, but on the morrow they kept the Doors shut, and would let none in, but the Bishops Adherents and Servants in a manner, yea, and the first day the thousand man came not in. Then Mr. Comptroller and Secretary Borne would have stood up also to bear witness, and did.

I said it was too great matter: and to say the truth, I thought that they were good helpers thereto themselves: but I feared to say any more therein, knowing that they were too strong and mighty of power, and that they should be believed before me, yea, and before our Saviour Christ, and all his Prophets and Apostles too, in their days.

Then after many words, He asked me what I thought of the blessed Sacrament, and stood up, and put me off his Cap, and all his fellow Bishops (of which there were a great sort, new men, of whom I knew few) were either I believed in the Sacrament to be the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, that was born of the Virgin Mary, and banded on the Cross, really and substantially.

I answered, I had often told them that it was a matter of Brethren to be of a contrary Opinion. Notwithstanding, even as the most part of your Doctrine in other Points is false, and the defence thereof only by force and cruelty: so in this matter I think it to be as false as the rest.

I cannot understand (really and substantially) the figure otherwise than corporally: but corporally Christ is only in Heaven, and so cannot Christ be corporally also in your Sacrament. And here I somewhat let in his Charity after this sort: My Lord, quoth I, ye have dealt with me most graciously: For ye have put me in Prison without Law, and kept me there now almost a year in my House, and a half. For I was almost half a year in my House, where I was obedient to you, God knoweth, and spake with you with no man. And now have I been a full year in Newgate at great Coils and Charges, having a Wife and ten

Children to find and I had never a penny of my Livings; which was against the Law.

He answered, That Dr. *Ridley* which had given them me, was an Ulfurper, and therefore I was the unjust Poffessor of them.

Was the King then an Ulfurper, quoth I, which gave Dr. *Ridley* the Bishoprick?

Yes, quoth he, and began to fet out the wrongs that the King had done to the Bishop of *London*, and to himself also. But yet I do mislike my terms, quoth he, to call the King Ulfurper. But the word was gone out of the abundance of the heart before: and I think that he was not very forry for it in heart. I might have said more concerning that matter, but I did not.

I asked him wherefore he put me in Prison. He said, because I preached against the Queen.

I answered that it was not true: and I would be bound to prove it, and to stand to the trial of the Law, that no man should be able to disprove it, and thereupon would that for my life. I preached (quoth I) a Sermon at the Cross, after the Queen came to the Tower; but therein was nothing said against the Queen. I take witness of all the Audience, which was not present. I alledged also that he had, after Examination, let me go at liberty after the preaching of that Sermon.

Yes, but thou didst read thy Lectures after, quoth he, against the commandment of the Council.

That did I not, quoth I, let that be proved: and let me die for it. Thus have you now against the Law of God and Man handled me, and never felt for me, never conferred with me, never spoke of any learnings till now that ye have gotten a whip to whip me with, and a sword to cut off my neck, if I will not consented to your mind. This Charity doth all the World understand.

I might and would have added, if I could have been suffered to speak, that it had been time enough to take away mens Livings, and therto to have imprisoned them, after that they had offended the Law. For they be good Citizens that break not Laws, and worthy of praise, and not of punishment. But their purpose is to keep men in Prison, until they may catch them in their Laws, and so Mr. *Rogers* kill them. I could and would have added the Example free any man that by a crafty device, as Mr. *Calander* was, had broken the Laws, and was worthy of praise, and not of punishment. But their purpose is to keep men in Prison, until they may catch them in their Laws, and so Mr. *Rogers* kill them. I could and would have added the Example free any man that by a crafty device, as Mr. *Calander* was, had broken the Laws, and was worthy of praise, and not of punishment. But their purpose is to keep men in Prison, until they may catch them in their Laws, and so Mr. *Rogers* kill them.

Then wrote two Supplications to him out of *Newgate*, and sent me my Wife many times to him. *Mr. Gos* laboured for me, and so I did divers other worthy men also take pains in the matter. They these declare my Lord Chancellors Antichristian Charity, which is, that he hath and doth seek my Blood, and the destruction of my poor Wife and my ten Children.

This is a short fum of the words which were spoken on the 28. day of January at Afternoon, after that Mr. *Hoper* had been first, and Mr. *Calander* the second in Examination before me. The Lord grant us Grace to stand together, fighting lawfully in his cause, till we be beaten down together, if the Lords will to permit it. For there shall not a hair of our heads perish against his will, but with his will. Whereunto the end, Amen, and I am bound to be obedient unto the ends, and in ter in which I was no mediator, and therefore judged of the end, Amen: Sweet, mighty, and merciful Lord Jesus, Son of David and of God: Amen, Amen, let every true Christian fay and pray.

Then the Clock being, as I guessed, about four, the Lord Chancellor said, That he and the Church must yet of use Charity with what manner of Charity it is: all for, no left than the Christians do well understand, as to wit, the same Fox hath that the Fox doth with the Chickens, and the Wolf with the Lambs, and gave me residue till to morrow, to know whether I would remember my fall well to morrow, and seek the health his Antichristian fall Church again: and repent, and they would receive me to Mercy.

I said that I was never out of the true Catholic Church.

The Pope
Church in
the Church
of Anti-
christ.

Church, nor would be: but into his Church would lye Gods Grace, never come.

Well, quoth he, then is our Church false: and Antichristian.

Yes, quoth I.

And what is the Doctrine of the Sacrament?

False, quoth I, and call my hands abroad.

Then said one, that I was a Player. To whom I answered not: for I pulled not upon my mock.

Come again, quoth the Lord Chancellor, to morrow between nine and ten.

I am ready to come again, whenever ye call, quoth I.

And thus I brought up by the Sheriffs to the *Compter in Southwark*. Mr. Hooper being called in by a great multitude of People being present, that we had much to do to go in the Streets.

Thus much was done the 28. day of *January*.

Mr. Rogers
and Mr.
Hooper
being
again
before
the
Chancery.

The second day, which was the 29. of *January*, we were first in the Morning about 9. of the Clock, and by the Sheriffs fetched from the *Compter in Southwark* to the Church again, as to wit, to *St. Mary Overie*, where we were the day before in the Afternoon, as is said. And when Mr. Hooper was condemned, as I understood afterwards, then first they for me. Then my Lord Chancellor said unto me:

And now
words
to Mr. Rogers.

Rogers, quoth he, here thou wast yesterday, and we gave thee liberty to remember thy self this night, whether thou wouldst come to the Holy Catholic Church of Christ, again or not. Tell us now what thou hast determined, whether thou wilt be repentant and sorry, and wilt return again and take mercy.

My Lord, quoth I, I have remembered my self right-well, what you yesterday said to me, and desire you to give me leave to declare my mind, what I have to say thereunto; and that done I shall answer you to your determined question.

Mr. Rogers
had to do
best himself
in writing.

When I yesterday declared that I might be suffered by the Scripture and Authority of the first, both; and published the Church to defend my Doctrine by writing (meaning not only of the Primacy, but also of all the Doctrine that ever I had preached) ye answered me, that it might not, nor ought not to be granted me, for I was a private person; and that the Parliament was above the Authority of all private persons, and therefore the Sentence thereof might not be found faulty and valuable by me being but a private person. And yet my Lord, quoth I, I am liable to these Examples, that one man hath come into a General Council, and after the whole had determined and agreed upon an Act or Article, some one man coming in afterwards, hath by the Word of God declared to pilshly, that the Council had erred in decreeing the said Article, that he caused the whole Council to change and alter their Act or Article before determined. And of these Examples, said I, I am able to shew two. I can also shew the Authority of *S. Augustine*, that when he disputed with an Heretic, he would neither himself, nor yet have the Heretic to lean upon the determination of two former Councils, of which the one made for him, and the other for the Heretic that disputed against him: but said that he would have the Sentence of God with him, which were common and indifferent for them both, and so yet proceed to either of them.

Contra Ma.
sola 1. 4. 4.

Item, I could shew, said I, the Authority of a learned Lawyer *Prænotarius*, which saith, that unto a simple Lay-man that brings the Word of God with him, he ought more credit to be given, than to a whole Council gathered together. By these things will I prove that I ought not to be denied to say my mind, and to be heard against a whole Parliament, bringing the Word of God for me, and the Authority of the old Church 300. years after Christ, albeit that every man in the Parliament had willingly and without respect of fear and favour agreed thereunto, which thing I doubt not a little of; specially fearing the like had been permitted in the old Church, even in General Councils, yea, and that in one of the chiefest Councils that ever was, unto which neither any Acts of this Parliament, nor yet any of the late General Councils of the Bishops of Rome ought to be compared. For, said I, if *Henry the Eighth* were alive, and should

A Cid per
to the R. W.
Woolf.

call a Parliament, and begin to determine a thing (and Anno 1555) here I would have alleged the example of the Act of making the Queen a *Bastard*, and of making himself the Superior Head; but I could not, being interrupted by one whom God forgives) then will ye (pointing to my This was the Lord Chancellor) and ye, and ye, and ye to all (pointing to the rest of the Bishops) say, Amen: yea, and it like your Grace, it is meet that it be so enacted.

Here my Lord Chancellor would suffer me to speak no more; but bade me sit down meekly, saying, that I was not to be instructed of them, and I would make to speak unto me to be their Instructor.

My Lord, quoth I, I stand and fit not: Shall I not be suffered to speak for my life?

Shall we suffer thee to sell a Tale, and to praye, quoth Mark here the Spirit of this Priest. And what that he stood up, and began to face me? And when that he stood up, and began to face me? After his old arrogant proud fashion, for he perceived that I was in a way to have touched them somewhat, which he thought to hinder by dalling me out of my Tale; and did he did for I could never be suffered to come out of my Tale again, nor to one word of it; but he had much like, like communication with us, as he had the day before, and as his manner is, taunt upon taunt, and check upon check. For in that case, being Gods cause, I told him he should not make me afraid to speak.

Lord, then I said a Spirit this Fellow hath, he finding fault at mine accustomed earnestness, and hearty manner of speaking.

Rogers. I have a true Spirit, quoth I, agreeing or Obedience the Word of God, and would further have said, Spirit of the Holy Ghost, which is the Spirit of the Lord. That I was never the worse, but by letters, to be earnest in a just and true Cause, and in my Master Christs matters; but I could not be heard. And at the length he proceeded towards his Excommunication and Renunciation, after that I had told him that his Church of Rome was the Church of Antichrist, by setting the false Doctrines and Tyrannical Laws, with the renunciation thereof by cruel persecutions used by the Bishops of the said Church (of which the Bishop of Winchester and the rest of his fellow Bishops, that are now in England, are the chief Members) of Laws I mean, quoth I, and not all men and women which are in the Pope Church. Likewise when I was said to have denied their Sacrament (whereof he made his wonted reverent mention, more to maintain his Kingdom thereby, than for the true reverence of Christs Institution; more for his own and his Popish Generations sake, than for Religion or Gods sake) I told him what order I did speak of it (for the Church is not contented, but he said the Audience whether I had not simply denied the Sacrament. They would have said, and did, what he lusted, for the most of them were of his own Servants at that day, the 29. of *January* 1. year. At the last I said, I will never deny that I said, that is, that your Doctrine of the Sacrament is false; but yet I tell you after what order I said it.

To be short, he read my Condemnation before me, particularly mentioning therein but two Articles; first, that I affirmed the Romish Catholic Church to be the Church of Antichrist; and that I denied the Reality of their Sacrament. His cause may be degraded and condemned, and put into the hands of the Laity, and so he gave me over into the Sheriffs hands, which were much better than his.

The Copy of which his Condemnation here I thought good to put down in English, to the intent that the same being here expressed, may serve for all other Sentences Condemnatory throw the whole Story to be referred unto.

The Sentence Condemnatory against Mr. Rogers. In the Name of God, Amen. We Steven by the permission of God Bishop of Winchester, lawfully and rightly proceeding with all godly favour by Authority and Verdict of our Officers against the said John Rogers Priest, alias called Matthew, before us personally here presented, accused and detected, and notoriously slandered of Heretic, having heard, seen, and understood, and with

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all diligent deliberation weighed, discussed, and considered the merits of the cause, all things being observed, which by us in this behalf in order of Law ought to be observed, sitting in our Judgment Seat, the Name of Christ being first called upon and having only God before our eyes, because by the Acts enacted, propounded, and exhibited in this matter, and by three own Confession Judiciously made before us, we do find that thou hast taught, holden, and affirmed, and obstinately defended divers Errors, Heresies, and Damnable Opinions, contrary to the Doctrine and Determination of the Holy Church, as namely these: That the Catholic Church of Rome is the Church of Antichrist; Item, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is not substantially nor really the Natural Body and Blood of Christ. The which aforesaid Heresies and Damnable Opinions being contrary to the Law of God, and Determination of the Universal and Apostolical Church, thou hast arrogantly, hubbubly, and wittingly maintained, held and affirmed, as also defended before us, as well in this Judgment, as also elsewhere; and with the like obstinacy, hubbubness, malice and blindness of heart, both wittingly and willingly hath affirmed, that thou wilt believe, maintain and uphold, affirm and declare the same. We therefore S. Hieronimus Bishop, Ordinary, and Diocesan aforesaid, by the consent and assent as well of our Reverend Brethren the Lord Bishops here present and assitant, as also by the Counsel and Judgment of divers worshipful Lawyers and Professors of Divinity, with whom we have communicated in this behalf, do declare and pronounce thee the said John Rogers, otherwise called Matthew, through thy demerits, transgressions, obstinacies, and wilfulness (which through manifold ways thou hast incurred by thine own wicked and hubbub obstinacy) to have been guilty to be guilty of the detestable, horrible, and vitious offences of Heretical Pravity and execrable Doctrine; and that thou hast done us sundry times spoken, maintained, and willingly and hubbubly defended the said cursed and execrable Doctrine of the false Confections, Adorations, and Recognitions here Judiciously before us often repeated, and yet still dost maintain, affirm and believe the same, and that thou hast been and art lawfully and ordinarily convicted in this behalf: We therefore lay athen following the example of Christ, *Whom would not the death of a Sinner, but rather that he should convert and live*; we have gone about oftentimes to correct thee, and by all lawful means that we could, and all wholesome admonitions that we did know, to reduce thee again unto the true Faith and Unity of the Universal Catholic Church, notwithstanding have found thee obstinate and stiff-necked, willingly continuing in thy Damnable Opinions and Heresies, and; refusing to return again unto the true Faith and Unity of the Holy Mother Church, and as the Child of wickedness and darkness to be hatched thy heart, that thou wilt not understand the voice of thy Shepherd, which with a Fatherly affection doth seek after thee, nor wilt be altered with his Fatherly and Godly Admonitions: we therefore Steven the Bishop aforesaid, not willing that thou which art wicked shouldst now become more wicked; and infect the Lords Flock with thine Heretic (which we are greatly afraid of) with Error of mind and bitterness of heart do judge thee, and definitively condemn thee the said John Rogers, otherwise called Matthew, thy demerits and faults being aggravated through thy damnable obstinacy, as guilty of most detestable Heresies, and as an obstinate impenitent sinner, refusing penitently to return to the lap and Unity of the Holy Mother Church, and that thou hast been and art by Law Excommunicate, and do pronounce and declare thee to be an Excommunicate person. Also we pronounce and declare thee being an Heretic, to be cut off from the Church and left unto the Judgment of the Secular Power, and now presently so do leave thee as an obstinate Heretic, and a person wrapped in the Sentence of the Great Curie, to be degraded worthily for thy demerits; requiring them that dwell within in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that this excommunication and punishment worthy to be done upon thee, may be moderated, that the Rigor thereof be not too extreme, nor yet the gentleness too much mitigated, but that it may be to the Salvation of thy Soul to the excitation, terror, and conversion

of the Heretics; to the Unity of the Catholic Faith) by this our Sentence Definitive which here lay upon thee, and against thee; and do with sorrow of heart promulgate in this form aforesaid.

After this Sentence being read, he sent us (Mr. Hooper, I mean, and me) to the Clerk, there to remain till night, and when it was dark, they carried us, Mr. Hooper going before with the one Sheriff, and I coming after with the other, with bills and weapons cased, out of the Clerk, and led us thorow the Bishops House, and so into Southwark S. Mary Overie Church-yard, and so into Southwark, and over the bridge on Procecion to Newgate through the City. But I must shew you this also, that when he had read the Condemnation, he declared that I was in the Great Curie, and what a vengeable dangerous matter it was to eat and drink with us that were accursed, or to give us any thing; for all that do did, should be partakers of the same Great Curie.

Well my Lord, quoth I, here I stand before God and you, and all this Honourable Audience, and take him to witnes, that I never wittingly or willingly taught any false Doctrine; and therefore have I a good Confidence before God and all good men. I am sure that you and I shall come before a Judge that is righteous, before whom I shall be as good a man as you; and I nothing doubt but that I shall be found there a true Member of the true Catholic Church of Christ, and everlastingly saved. And as for your false Church, ye need not to Excommunicate me forth of it. I have not said in it these twenty years, the Lord be thanked therefore. But now ye have done what ye can my Lord, I pray you yet grant me one thing.

What is that, quoth he?

That my poor Wife being a franger, may come and speak with me so long as I live. For the hath ten Children that are hers and mine, and somewhat I would counsel her, where were best for her to do.

Yes, quoth he, he is not thy Wife.

Yes my Lord, quoth I, and hath been thine 18. years.

Should I grant her to be thy Wife, quoth he?

Chafe you my Lord, I whether ye will or not, she shall be no feverishless.

She shall not come at all, your quoth he.

Then I have tried out all three, Chafe I. You make your self highly displeased with the Marriages of Priests, but you maintain open Whoredom: as in *Palmer*, where every Priest hath his Whore openly dwelling with him, and lying by him: even as your Holy Father suffereth all the Priests in *Dutchland* and in *France* to do the like. Thereto he answered not, but looked as it were a faine at it: and then I departed, and saw him last.

Other good matter there is denied by Mr. Rogers in the Prison, which he thought and would have answered, if he might have been permitted: which matter hereunder followeth to be seen by his own saying down.

Thereto, dearly beloved, ye have heard what was said: now hear what I purposed the night before to have said, if I could have been permitted. Two things I purposed to have touched: the one, how I was lawfully a private man to reason and write against a wicked Act of Parliament, or ungodly Council, which the Lord Chancellor the day before denied me. The other was to prove that Propriety was not always a token of Gods Love.

And this I purposed to speak of, because the Lord Chancellor boasted of himself, that he was delivered forth of Prison as by miracle, and preserved of God to retire into Religion; and to punish me and such others, whom he termed Heretics. Concerning these two points, I say this matter I purposed to have proceeded. It is not unknown to you, that King Henry the eighth in his time made his daughter, the Queen that now is, a *Bastard*: he abolished the Authority of the Bishop of Rome: he pulled down Abbeys: And all this he did by the consent of Parliament.

King Edward the sixth in his time made lawful the marriage of Priests, turned the Service into English, abolished the Idolatrous Matri, with all like Superstitious Trumpery,

A vengeable thing to be in the Pope Curie.

Mr. Rogers would not sit down.

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Now

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of Bread say what ye will have him, & And another said in the same place, He seemeth to be a Preacher of new Devils, &c. *And Ait. 21.* the Jews say by Paul, laying hands on him, help O ye Israelites, say they, this is the man that teacheth all men every where against the Law, *(meaning the Jews)* and the Law of this place. *(meaning Jerusalem)* and yet was never a word of their trueing. *And Ait. 22.* the same Jews said of Paul: Out of the Earth with that man, or away with him: For it is not lawful for him to live, or he is not worthy to live. And how many more of these Examples are to be found in the Bible? Although I say, these men were in their days taken for Heretics of them that were then in Authority, and of the great multitude of the World; yet it is now well known, & yet very shortly after their deaths this was known, & yet even in their lives also was the true Catholic Church, that they were not only the chief and special Members of the true Catholic Church, but also the founders and builders thereof (notwithstanding the sinister Judgment that the wife and mad of ty men, and the great multitude of the World had of them) and in their Confessions they were always affirmed certified of the same. Even the same shall the World find them in, shortly after our deaths, as also there be at this hour (the Lord be thanked therefore) not a few that already know it, as we our selves also are by Gods Grace affinely certified in our Conferences that we are not Here, and that our Adversaries the Bishops and Popish Clergy, which will have that Title, are the Members of Satans Church, and their Antichristian Head of Rome with them. But here they will cry out: Lo, these men will be ill John Baptist, the Apostles, and Prophets, &c.

I answer, We make not our selves like unto them, in the singular virtues and gifts of God given unto them; as of doing miracles, and of many other things. This I shew & likewise of their lives, which are not in all things, but only in this, that we be like them in Doctrine, and in the suffering of Persecution and Injury for the same.

We have Preached their very Doctrine, and none other thing: That we are absolutely to declare by their writings; and by writing for my part, I have proffered to prove the same, as is now often said. And for this cause we suffer the like reproach, blame, and rebuke of the Woodland the like persecution, loss of our Lives and Goods, forliking as our Master Christ commandeth Father, Mother, Siblings, Brethren, Wives, Children, and all that there is, being assured of a Joyful Resurrection, and to be Crowned in Glory with them, according to the infallible promises made unto us in Christ, our only and sufficient Mediator, Reconciler, Priest, and Sacrifice, which hath pleased the Father, and quieted and pacified his wrath against our Sins, and made us without spot or wrinkle in his sight by imputation, although we, of and in our selves, are bespotted, and bespotted with many filthy Sins, which if the great Mercy granted in Christ did not put away, by not imputing them unto us of his meekness unpardonable Mercy and Love to save us, they would have brought us to everlasting Damnation, and Death perpetual: Herein, and in no other way, do we offer our selves to be like unto our Head Christ, and all his Apostles, Prophets, Martyrs, and Saints. And herein ought all Christian men to be like them, and herein are all true Christian men and women like them every one, according to the measure of the Faith that God hath dealt unto them, and to the diversity of the gifts of the Spirit given unto them. But let us now consider, that if it be Gods good will and pleasure to give his own beloved heart, that is his beloved Church, and the Members thereof, into the hands of their Enemies, to a chaffney and prove them, and to bring them to the true unfeigned acknowledging of their own natural stubbornness, disobedience towards God and his Commandment, as touching the Love of God and of their Brethren or Neighbours, and their natural inclination, readiness, and desire to love Creatures, to seek their own lusts, pleasures, and things forbidden of God to

obtain a true and earnest repentance, and forrowfulness Anno therefore, & to make them to fight and cry for the forgiveness of the same, and for the aid of the Spirit, daily to mortify and kill the said evil desires and Lusts, and often falling into gross outward Sins, as did David, Peter, Magdalen, and others; rise again also therewith with a mighty crying for Mercy, with many other causes: let us also consider what he hereafter doth with the evil enemies, into whose hands he hath given them their beloved desires, to be chastened and tried. Forsooth, whereas he but chasteneth his dealings, and chasteneth them for a while, according to the good pleasures of all Fathers do with their Children, *Heb. 12. Proo. 3.* he utterly destroyeth, they and everlastingly damnable the unrepentant Enemies. Let Herod tell me what he won by killing John the Baptist, and the children of the tender dearlings and beloved Spouse of Wifely Church. Verily God thought him not worthy to have death ministered unto him by Men or Angels, or any worthy Creatures, but those small, and yet most vile vermin, lice, and worms must consume and kill his body, vile, and tyrannous Body; Pharaoh and Nebuchadnezzar at all their pride and might, and might power, must at the length let Gods dealings go freely away out of their land, out of their bands, and tyranny. For when it could not be obtained at their hands that Gods Congregation might have true mercy ministered unto them, but the counterfeits, mercy of their day, it is to say, extreme cruelty, and even the very day that most horrible and cruel death, God arose and awoke out of his sleep and destroyed those enemies of his Church with a mighty hand and stretched out arm. Pharaoh did with most great and insupportable labors and burdens oppress and bring under the poor lives, and yet did the Courtiers undoubtedly note abroad, that the King was merciful unto them, to suffer them to live in the land, and to let them work, that they might get them their livings. If he should thrust them out of his Land, whether should they go, like a few of Vagabonds and Runagates? This Title and Name of Tyrant would that Tyrant have found if he did slaying live the like examples now-a-days? O that I had now time to write certain things pertaining to our *Winchester* mercy! How merciful he hath been to me and to my good Brethren I will not speak of, neither yet unto the *St. Sepulchre* most innocent Daughter, and to her as innocent Husband. For although their Fathers were faulty, yet had their youth and lack of experience deserved a pardon by all true merciful Mens judgments. O that I had time to paint out this mercy, might but there be many alive that can do it much better when I am dead. Pharaoh had his Plagues, and his most flourishing Land was counterfeited mercy, which was indeed right cruelty and abominable Tyranny, utterly destroyed. And think ye that bloody butcherly Bishop of Winchester and his most bloody Brethren shall escape? Or that England shall for their offences and specially for the maintenance of their Idolatry, and willful following of them, not abide as great brunts? yes undoubtedly.

If God look not mercifully upon England, the seeds of utter destruction are sown in it already by the Hypocritical Tyrants, and Antichristian Prelates, Popish Papists, and double Traitors to their Natural Country. And yet they speak of Mercy, of Blessing, of the Catholic Church, of Unity, of Power, and Strengthening of the Realm. This double diffamation will flow it self one day when the Plague comes, and will undoubtedly light upon those Crown-thorn Captains, that shortly, whosoever the Godly and the poor Realm suffer in the mean while by Gods good diffidence and will.

Spice of *Nebuchadnezzar's* beard, and mangle his heart, the captive, thrall, and miserable Jews must come home again, and have their City and Temple builded up again by *Zerobabel, Eldar, and Nebemias*, &c. And the whole Kingdom of *Babylon* must go to ruin, and be taken in of strangers, the *Perfians* and the *Meds*. So shall the dispersed English Flock of Christ be brought again into their former estate, or to a better, I trust in the Lord God, than it was in innocent King *Edwards* days, and our bloody Babylonian Bishops, and the whole Crown-there Company brought to utter shame, rebuke,

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God Justice upon his Enemies and Persecutors.

rebuke, ruin, decay, and destruction. For God cannot, and undoubted will not for ever there a-
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gainable lying false Doctrine, their Hypocrite, Blood-thirst, whoredom, idleness, their pestilent Life, pampered in all kind of pleasure, their Thralldom boasting pride, their malicious, envious, and poisoned stomachs, which they bear towards his poor and miserable Christians. *Peter* truly saith, *where shall he be end of them that believe not the Gospel? If the righteous shall faint, where shall the ungodly and sinful appear?* Some shall have their punishment here in this World, and the World to come, and that do escape in this World, shall not escape Everlasting Damnation. This shall be your fawce, O ye wicked Papists, make ye merry here as long as ye may.

After that *John Rogers*, as ye have heard, had been long and traitly imprisoned, lodged in *Newgate* amongst Thieves, often examined, and very uncharitably interested, and at length unjustly and most cruelly by wicked *Winchester* condemned: The fourth of February in the year of our Lord 1555, being Monday in the morning he was warned suddenly, by the keepers wife of *Newgate*, to prepare himself to the fire: who being then found alive, leave with much hugging could we awake. At length being raised and waked, and bid to make halt, then, said he, if it be so, I need not tie my points: and so was had down, first to be degraded. That done, he crept of *Bower* by one Petition. And *Bower* asking what that should be Nothing (said he) but that he might take a few words with his wife before his burning. But could not be obtained of him. Then said he, you shall see your Charity what it is: and so he was brought unto *Smithfield*, by Mr. *Cheper*, and Mr. *Woodroffe*, then Sheriff of *London*, there to be burnt, where he showed most constant patience, not using many words, for he could not be permitted, but only exhorting the people constantly to remain in that Faith, and true Doctrine which he before had taught, and they had learned, and for the Confirmation whereof he was not only content patiently to suffer, but also to die. And thus the cruelty as had been shewed him, but also most gladly to resign up his Life, and to give his Flesh to the consuming fire, for the Testimony of the same.

Briefly, and in few words to comprehend the whole order of his Life, doings and Maryings. Fifth, this Godly *Mr. Rogers* was committed to Prison, as is above said, and there continued a year and half. In Prison he was merry, and earnest in all he went about: He wrote much; his examinations he penned, with his own hand, which else had never come to light. Wherein it is to be noted, by the way a memorable working of Gods Providence. Ye heard a little above, how *Mr. Rogers* crept of *Bower*, going to his burnings, that he might speak a few words before with his wife, which could not be granted. What these words were, which he had to say to his wife, it is for no man certainly to know. Likewise it may be supposed that his purpose was, amongst other things, to signify unto her of the Book written by his Examinations and Answers, which he had privily hid in a secret corner of the Prison where he lay. But where man power lacketh, see how Gods providence worketh. For notwithstanding that during the time of his Imprisonment, first search there was to take away his Letters and writings; yet after his death, his wife and one of her Sons called *Daniel*, coming into the place where he lay, to seek for his Books and writings, and now ready to go away, it chanced her Son discerned, calling his eye aside, to spy a Black thing, (for it had a black cover so black because it should not be known) lying in a blind corner under a pair of Stairs. Who, willing his Mother to see what it was, found it to be the Book written with his own hand, containing his Examinations and Answers with other matter above specified. In the latter end whereof, this also was contained; which because it concerned a Propheatical Forewarning of things pertaining to the Church, I thought to place the same his words, as they he then written, & which are these: If God look not mercifully upon England, the seeds of utter destruction are sown in it already by these Hypocritical Tyrants, and Antichristian Prelates, Popish Papists,

and double Traitors to their Natural Country. And yet they speak of Mercy, of Blessings, of the Catholic Church, of Unity, of Power, and Strengthening of the Realm. This double diffamation will flow it self one day when the plague comes, which undoubtedly will light upon those Crown-thorn Captains, and that shortly, whosoever the Godly and the poor Realm suffer in the mean while by Gods diffidence and will.

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Furthermore, amongst other things, sayings, which may seem Propheatical, as the same sayings, this also may be added, and it should be noted, that he spake being then in Prison, and in the face of this present plague, which then also was upon the like cause of Religion. Thus, said he, this plague, which is now upon the Religion, and the Gospel, to be preached against. And therefore, have me commended to my Brethren, as well in exile as others, and had them be circumpect in displacing the Papists, and putting good Ministers into Churches, or else their craft will be worse than ours. And for lack of good Ministers to furnish Churches, his device was (*Mr. Hooper* also agreeing to the same) that for every ten Churches some one good and learned Superintendent should be appointed, which should have under him Faithful Readers, such as might well be got, by the good Priests should clear his put out, and the Bishop one year to oversee the preaching of the Parishes, and if the Minister did not his duty, as well in preaching himself in his Book, and his Parititioners in good admonitions, that they may be trained by little and little to give a reckoning how they do profit, then they to be expelled, and others put in his place. And the Bishop to do the like with the Superintendents: This was his Council and request: Shewing moreover, and protesting in his commendations to his Brethren by the Printer afterwards, that if they would not do so, their end, he said, would be worse than ours.

Over and besides divers things touching *Mr. Rogers*, which are not to be forgotten, how in the days of King *Edward* the sixth, there was a controversy among the Bishops and Clergy, for wearing of Petticoats Caps, &c. then it should also be decreed withal, that the Caps, for a difference between them and others, should be constrained to wear upon their sleeves a Chalice with an Host upon it. Whereupon if they would consent, he would agree to the other otherwise he would not, he said, consent to the setting forth of his name, nor ever wear the Cap, as indeed he never did.

Provided by
this man,
during the time
while he remained
Prisoner.

Alexander
Andrews,
Coffer of
Bishoprics,
conspired to
abolish the
Copper-
min.

The words
of M. Rogers
to Mr. Rogers.

To proceed now further in describing the doings of this man, during the time while he remained Prisoner in *Newgate*, he was to the Prisoners beneficial and liberal; for whom he had that deviled, that he with his Fellows should have but one Meal a day, they paying nothing towards the Charges of the whole; the other Meal should be given to them that lacked on the other side of the Prison. But *Alexander* their Keeper, a fustian man, and a right *Alexander*, a Coppermin indeed, of whose doing more shall be said God-willing hereafter, would in no case suffer that. The *Sunday* before he suffered, he drunk to Mr. *Hopps*, being then underneath him, and bade them congregate him into him, and tell him, There was never like Fellow better would stick to a man, than he would stick to him, presupposing they should both be burned together, although it happened otherwise; for Mr. *Rogers* was turned alone. And thus much briefly concerning the Life and rich Acts of Mr. *Rogers*, as I thought worthy noting.

Now when the time came, that he being delivered to the Sheriff, should be brought out of *Newgate* to *Smithfield*, the place of his Execution, first came to him Mr. *Widdows*, one of the aldermen Sheriff, and calling Mr. *Rogers* unto him, asked him if he would revoke his abominable Doctrine, and his evil Opinion of the Sacrament of the Altar. Mr. *Rogers* answered and

said, That which I have Preached I will Seal with my Anno Blood. Then, quoth Mr. *Widdows*, thou art an Heretic. That shall be known, quoth Mr. *Rogers*, at the Day of Judgment. Well, (quoth Mr. *Widdows*) I will never pray for thee. But I will pray for you, quoth Mr. *Rogers*; and so he brought the same day, which was *Monday the Fourth of February*, by the Sheriff towards *Smithfield*, saying the Psalm *Miserere* by the way, all the People wonderfully rejoicing at his Confraternity with great Praises and Thanks to God for the same: And they in the Presence of Mr. *Redcliffe*, Comptroller of the Queens Household, Sir *Richard Savellew*, both the Sheriff, and a wonderful number of People he was burned into *Albes*, walking his hands in the flame as he was burning. A Mr. *Widdows* stood by him, and the Stake, his Pardon was brought. If he would have Recanted, but he utterly refused it. He was the first *Reverend* of all the blessed Company that suffered in *Queen Mary's* time, that gave the first adventure upon the Fire. His Wife and Children, being eleven in number, and ten able to go, and one sucking on her Breast, meeting by the way as he went towards *Smithfield*, this fearful sight of his own Blood and blood could nothing move him, but that he constantly and cheerfully took his Death with wonderful Patience in the defence and guard of Christ's Gospel.



The History and Martyrdom of Laurence Sanders, burned for the Defence of the Gospel, at Coventry, Anno 1555. February 6.

Anno
1555.

For that *Queen Mary*, by public Proclamation in the first year of her Reign, had inhibited the sincere preaching of Gods holy Word, as is before declared, drives godly Ministers of the Word, which had the Cure and Charge of Souls committed to them, did notwithstanding, according to their bounden Duty, feed their Flock faithfully, not as Preachers authorized by public Authority, (as the Godly Order of the Realm was in the happy days of blessed King *Edward*) but as the private Pastors of particular Flocks, among whom *Laurence Sanders* was one, a man of worshipful Perseverance. His bringing up was in Learning from his Youth, in places meet for that purpose, as namely in the School of *Elam*. From whence (according to the manner there used) he was chosen to go to the *Kings College* in *Cambridge*, where he continued Scholar of the College three whole years, and there profited in knowledge and learning ve-

ry much for that time: Shortly after that, he did forsake the University, and went to his Parents, upon which his mind he minded to become a Merchant, for that his Mother, who was a Gentlewoman of good estimation, being left a Widow, and having a good Portion for him among his other Brethren, he thought to fit him up wealthily, and so he coming up to *London*, was bound Apprentice with a Merchant, named Sir *William Claffer* (who afterwards changed to be Sheriff of *London* the same year that *Sanders* was burned at *Coventry*). Thus by the mind of his Friends *Laurence* should needs have been a Merchant; but Almighty God, which hath his secret working in all things, far better for his Servant, as it fell out in the end. For although that *Sanders* was bound by said Indenture to play the Merchant, yet the Lord so wrought inwardly in his heart, that he could find no liking in that Vocation: So that when his other Fellows were busily occupied about that kind of Trade, he would secretly withdraw himself into some privy Corner, and there fall into his solitary Lamentations, as one not liking with that kind and trade of life.

Q. Mary.

Anno
1555.

M. Sanders
appealed
the cause of
his death
away with
him to the
Land of Life.

M. Sanders
from Inter-
diction
to his Body.

M. Sanders
in the
College of
Faber.

M. Sanders
in the
College of
Faber.

M. Sanders
in the
College of
Faber.

The con-
fession
of M. Sanders.

It happened that his Master, being a good man, and hearing his Prentice thus in his secret Prayers inwardly to mourn by himself, called him unto him, to know what the cause was of that his solitariness and lamentation upon who then perceiving he minded nothing to forsake that kind of Life, (for so *Sanders* declared unto him) and perceiving also his whole purpose to be bent to the study of his book, and spiritual contemplation, like a good man directed his Letters incontinently unto his friends, and giving him his Indenture for to set him free and thus *Laurence Sanders*, being ravished with the love of learning, and especially with the reading of Gods Word, tarried not long time in the traffick of Merchandize, but shortly returned to *Cambridge* again to his study, where he began to couple to the knowledge of the Latin, the study of the Greek, wherein he profited in the small time very much. Thewithal also he joyed the study of the Hebrew. Then gave he himself wholly to the study of the holy Scripture, to furnish himself to the Office of a Preacher.

In study he was diligent and painful, in Godly Life he declared the fruits of a well exercised Conscience, he prayed often and with great fervor, and in his Prayers as also at other times, he had his part of spiritual exercises, which his hearty fighting to God declared in which when any special affluir did come by Prayer he felt perfect relief: thus was his company marvellous comfortable. For as his exercises were special teachings, so in the end they proved singular Confortations: wherein he became so expert, that within short space he was able to comfort others which were in any Affliction, by the consolation wherewith the Lord comforted him. Thus continued he in the University till he proceeded Master of Arts, and a long space after.

In the beginning of King *Edward's* Reign, when Gods true Religion was begun to be restored, after Licence obtained, he began to preach, and was so well liked of them which then had Authority, that they appointed him to read a Divinity Lecture in the College at *Faber*, where by Doctrine and Life he edified the God-fearing, drew many ignorant to Gods true knowledge, and flopped the mouth of the Adversaries. He married about that time, and in the midst thereof a little unbelieve before all men. The College of *Faber* being dissolved, he was placed to be reader in the *Mint* at *Lichfield*: where he behaved himself in teaching and living, that the very Adversaries did give him a full report as well of Learning, as of much Godliness. After a certain space, he departed from *Lichfield* to a Benefice in *Leicestershire*, called *Charlborough*, whereupon he keeping residence taught diligently, and kept a liberal house. From thence he was orderly called to take a Benefice in the City of *London*, named *Allhallows in Breadstreet*. Then minded he to give over his Cure in the Countrey and therefore after he had taken possession of his Benefice in *London*, he departed from *London* into the Countrey, clearly to discharge himself thereof. And even at that time began the broyl about the claim that *Queen Mary* made to the Crown, by reason whereof he could not accomplish his purpose.

In this trouble, and even among the beginners of it, (such time as were for the Queen) he preached at *Norwich*, nothing meddling with the State, but boldly uttering his Conscience against *Papish* Doctrine and Antichristian damnable Errors, which were like to spring up again in *England*, as a first plague for the little Love which the *English* Nation did beare to the Blessed Word of God, which had been so plentifully offered unto them. The Queens men which were there and heard him, were highly delighted with him for his Sermon, and for it kept him among them as Prisoner. But partly for love of his Brethren and Friends, which were chief doers for the Queen among them, partly because there was no Law broken by his Preaching, they dismissed him. He feiring the dreadful day at hand, armed with the fire of Godly zeal, preached with Diligence at both those Benefices, as time could serve him, feeing he could refuse neither of them now, but into the land of a Papist.

Thus passed he to and fro Preaching, until that Proclamation was put forth, of which anon is made

Sanders preaching at his Cure, is apprehended.

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in the beginning. At which time he was at his Benefice in the Countrey, where he (notwithstanding the Proclamation aforesaid) taught diligently Gods truth, confirming the people therein, and arming them against false Doctrine; until he was so only commended to cease, but also with force resisted, so that he could not proceed there in Preaching. Some of his Friends, perceiving such fearful menacing, counselled him to flee out of the Realm, which he refused to do. But feeing he was with violence kept from doing good in that place, he returned towards *London* to visit the Flock, of which he had there the charge.

On *Saturday*, the 14. of *October*, as he was coming night to the City of *London*, Sir *John Mordant*, a Counselor to *Queen Mary*, did overtake him, and asked him whether he went. I have I will say, I am in *London*, and now I go to instruct my People according to my duty. If you will follow my Council, quoth Mr. *Mordant*, let them alone, and come not at them. To this *Sanders* answered: how shall I then be discharged before God, if any be sick, and desire Confession, if any want good Council and need instruction, or if any should slip into Error and receive false Doctrine? Did you not, quoth *Mordant*, Preach such a day, and named the day, in *Breadstreet* in *London*? Yes verily, said *Sanders*, that same is my Cure. I heard you my self, quoth Mr. *Mordant*: and will you Preach now there again? If it please you, said *Sanders* to morrow you may hear me again in that same place, where I will confirm by the Authority of Gods Word, all that I said there, and whatsoever before that time I taught them.

I would counsel you (quoth the other) not to Preach. If you can and will forbid me by lawfull Authority, then must I obey, said *Sanders*. Nay (quoth he) I will not forbid you, but I do give you Council. And thus entered they both the City, and departed each from other. Mr. *Mordant*, of an unchangeable mind went to give warning to *Bauer Bishop of London*, that *Sanders* would Preach in his Cure the next day. *Sanders* referred to his lodgings, with a mind bent to do his duty. Where because he seemed to be somewhat troubled, one which was there about him, asked him how he did. In very deed, said he, I am in Prison, said he in Prison: meaning that his mind was unquiet until he had Preached, and that he should have quietness of mind, though he were put in Prison.

The next day, which was Sunday in the forenoon, he made a Sermon in his Parish, entering on that place which *Paul* writeth to the *Corinthians*: I have coupled a chaste virgin unto Christ: But I fear lest it come to pass, that the Serpent beguile thee; even so your evil would be corrupted from the Engles which ye look towards Christ. He recited a sum of that true Christian Doctrine, through which they were coupled to Christ, to receive of him true justification through Faith in his Blood. The Papistical Doctrine he compared to the Serpents deceiving and left they should be deceived by it, he made a comparison between the voice of God, and the voice of the Papist Serpent; defending to more particular Declaration thereof, as were to let them plainly fee the difference that is between the Order of the Church Service set forth by King *Edward* in the *English Tongue*, and comparing it with the Papist Service then used in the Latine Tongue.

The first he said was good, because it was according to the Word of God, *Corinth*. 14. and the order of the Primitive Church. The other he said was bad, because in that evil he intermingled some good Latine words, yet was it but as a little honey or milk mingled with a great deal of Poyson, to make them drink up all. This wasteful mix of his Sermon.

In the Afternoon he was ready in his Church to have his Sermon given to his exhortation to his people. But the Bishop of *London* interrupted him by sending an Officer for him. This Officer charged him, upon the pain of *Dissobedience* and Contumacy, forthwith to come to the Bishop. *Sanders* was ready, as the Apostles were brought out of chains into the Temple, where they were teaching, unto the Rulers of the Priesthood was *Laurence Sanders* brought before this Bishop of this place of *London*, who had

And now most Reverend Fathers, that you may understand the truth of us, and our estate how we stand in the Lord; I do assure your Reverences, partly by that I perceive by such of your Brethren as be here in Bonds with me, partly by that I hear of them which be in other places; and partly by that inward experience which I, most unworthy, have of Gods good comfort (more abundance wherof I know there is in others) you may be assured (I say) by Gods Grace, that you shall not be frustrate of your hope of our constant continuance in the cheerful confession of Gods everlasting verity. For even

Another Letter written to his wife, wherein is to be
seen how this worthy Warriour prepared himself to the
appointed fight, and to keep his standing in Christs Camp.

Grace and Comfort in Christ Jesus, our only Comfort in all extrem affluents, Amen.

Fain would this Fleck make fratch of that which the Pain doth embrace; Oh Lord, how loath is this lysterling luggard to pati forth in Gods path? He plantifieth forth much fear of fray-hugs; and were it not for the foreknowledge of which pulch it forward by the reh of Gods most pure promise, he would hope which pricketh on behind, great adventures there would be finding out. But bleffed and everlastingly bleffed be that Heavenly Father of ours, who in his Christ, our sufficient Saviour, hath vouchsafed to shine in our Hearts, that he liveth in the light of the knowledge of the Glory of Gods true face of Jesus Christ; and having this true face of Gods face in our hearts, the sufficiency of the power in our ears, and the sufficiency of the power in our might be Gods and not ours, we are (according to his word) willabound on every side, yet are we not without sufficience; we are in poverty, but yet not without that is sufficient; we suffer persecution, but are not forsaken there; we are cast down, nevertheless we perish not; and yet we be able to sing the dying of the Lord Jesus, that the life of Jesus might also appear in our Body. Wherefore

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To you, good Reader, recite this saying, not only to let thee see what he thought of Priests marriage; but chiefly to let all married Couples and Parents learn to bear in their bofom true affections : natural, but yet seasoned with the true Salt of the Spirit, unfeignedly and thoroughly mortified to do the Natural Works and Offices of married Couples and Parents, fo long as with their doing they may keep Chrift with a free confenting Faith in a Conscience unifol : Otherwife both they and their own Lives are to be forfaken, as Chrift required them to be denied, and given in his caufe.

And now to come to the Examination of this good man, after that he had been laid one whole year and fourty in Prifon, I lengthen thy telled him, how he did the reſt of his days, openly to be examined. Of which the which his firft Examination the effect and purpozt thou followeth.

Being converted before the Queens most Honourable
Council, sundry Bishops being present, the L. Chancellor
began to speak in such form as followeth :

L. Chan. It is not unknown that you have been a
Prisoner, for such abominable Heresies and false Doctrine
as hath been sown by you; and now it is thought good
that mercy be shewed to such as seek for it. Wherefore
if now you will shew your self conformable, and come
home again, mercy is ready. We must say that you
have fallen in manner all; but now we be risen again
and returned to the Catholick Church; you multir
with us, and come home unto it. Give us forthwith
direct answer.

And thou shalt be able to say, I have now to paint. And as for Pride, there is no great cause why it should be me; My learning I confess to be but small; and as for riches or worldly wealth I have none at all. Notwithstanding, it flandeth me in hand to answer to your demand circumspectly, considering that one of these two extrem perils are like to fall upon me: the loosing of good Conscience, or the loving of this my Body and Life. And I tell you truly, I love both Life and Liberty, if I could enjoy them without the hurt of my Conscience.

Chan. Conscience? You have none at all; but pride and arrogancy, (a) dividing your selves by singularity from the Church.

Secs. The Lord is the knower of all mens Conscience and And where your Lordship layeth to my charge this dividing my self from the Church (as you do mean, and is now among you concluded upon; and I do understand I do assure you, that I live in the Faith wherein I have been brought up since I was fourteen years old: being taught that the Power of the Bishop of Rome is but of use, with many other abuses springing thereof. Yet, this I have received even at your hands that are here present as a thing agreed upon by the Catholick Church and Publick Authority.

to Chan. Yea marry, but I pray you, have you received b

As the said Master Sanders was in Prison, straight charge was given to the Keeper that no Person should speak with him. His Wife yet came to the Prison Gate with her young Child in her Arms, to visit her Husband. The Keeper, though for his charge he durst not suffer her

Laurence Sanders

Care of Children :
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What it is
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Doctrine he enjoyed due and different Correction, not so much fever to any, as to them which for abundance of riches, and wealthy state, thought they might do what they listed. And doubtless he spared no kind of People, but was indifferent to all men as well Rich as Poor, to the great shame of no small number of men now-a-days. Whereof many we see added to the pleasing of great and rich Men, that in the mean time they have no regard to the manner for of Poor people whom Christ hath bought so dearly as the others.

M. Hooper
aligns to the
Churchmen

But now again we will return our talk to M. Hooper, all whole Life, in fine, was such, that to the Church and all Churchmen, it might be a Light and Example to the rest a perpetual Lesson and Sermon. Finally, how virtuous and good a Bishop he was, ye may conceive and know evidently by this, That even as he was hated of none but of them which were evil, so yet the worst of them all could not remove his Life in any one jot.

The order
and govern-
ment of
M. Hooper's
House

I have now declared his usage and behaviour abroad in the public Affairs of the Church; and certainly there appeared in him at home no Example of a worse private Life. For though he belov'd and converted the most part of his care upon the publick Flock and Congregation of Christ, for the which also he spent his Blood; yet nevertheless there lacked no provision in him, to bring up his own Children in Learning and good Manners; in such that ye could not discern whether he deserved more praise for his Fatherly office at home, or for his Bishop-like doings abroad. For every where he kept one Religion in one uniform Doctrine and Integrity. So that if you entered into the Bishop's Palace, or you came to your self to have entered into some Church or Temple in every corner thereof there was some smell of Virtue, good Example, honest Conversation, and reading of Holy Scriptures. There was not to be seen in his House any courtly Rintling or Idleness: no Pomp at all, although Word, no Swearing could there be heard.

The care of
M. Hooper in
educating his
Family.

After the Revenues of both his Bishoprics, although they did not greatly exceed, as the matter was handled, yet if any thing furnished thereof, he purged himself, but bestowed it in hospitality. Twice I was, as I remember, in his House in Worcester, where, in common Hall, I saw a Table spread with good store of Meats and bread full of Beggars and poor Folk: and I asking his Servants what this meant, they told me, That every day their Lord and Masters manner was, to have customably to Dinner a certain number of poor Folk of the said City by course, who were served by four at a Meis, with whole and wholom Meats; and when they were served (before examined by him or his Deputies, of the Lords Prayer, the Articles of their Faith, and Ten Commandments) then he himself fate down to Dinner, and not before.

The hospital-
ity of
M. Hooper

After this sort and manner M. Hooper executed the Office of a most careful and vigilant Pastor, by the space of two years and more, so long as the state of Religion in K. Edwards time did safely flourish and take place: And would God that all other Bishops would use the like diligence, care, and obedience in their Function. After King Edward being dead, and Mary being Crowned Queen of England, Religion being subverted and changed, this good Bishop was one of the first that was sent for by a Purse-venter to be at London: and that for two causes.

M. Hooper
called up to
London at
K. Mary's
coming in.

First, To answer to D. Beale, then appointed Bishop of that Diocese, who was before in King Edwards days deprived thereof for Papistry.

M. Hooper
called up to
London at
K. Mary's
coming in.

Secondarily, To render account to D. Borer Bishop of London, for that he in King Edwards time was one of his Accusers, in that he thowed himself not conformable to such Ordinances as were prescribed to him by the King and his Council, openly at Pauls-Cross. And although the said M. Hooper was not ignorant of the Evils that should happen towards them, (for he was admonished by certain of his Friends to get him away, and shift himself) yet he would not prevent him, but tarried still, saying: *Once I did flee, and take me to my feet; but now, because I am called to this Place and Vocation, I am strongly persuaded to tarry, and to live and dye with my Sheep.*

M. Hooper
remains up
to London.

And when at the day of his appearance, which was the first of September, he was come to London, before he

could come to the aforesaid D. Heath and Borer, he was intercepted, and commanded violently against his will to appear before the Queen and her Council, to answer to certain Bonds and Obligations, wherein they said he was bound unto her. And when he came before them, Winchester, by and by, received him very opprobriously, and railing and rating of him, accused him of Religion. He again freely and boldly told his Tale, and purged himself. But in fine it came to this conclusion, that by them he was commanded to Ward (it being declared unto him at his departure, that the cause of his Imprisonment was only for certain sums of Money, for which he was indebted to the Queen, and not for Religion.) This, how false and untrue it was, shall in his place more plainly appear.

Anno
1555

M. Hooper
was charged to
appear before
the Queen.

The next year, being 1556, the 19th of March, he was called again to appear before Winchester, and other the Queens Commissioners: where, what for the Bishop, and what for the unruly Multitude, where he could not be permitted to plead his Cause, he was deprived of his Bishoprics. Which how, and in what order it was done, here now followeth to be seen by the Testimony and Report of one, which, being present at the doings, committed the fame to Writing.

M. Hooper
was committed
to Ward.

M. Hooper
was deprived of
his Bishoprics.

A Letter or Report of a certain godly man, declaring the order of M. Hoopers deprivation from his Bishoprics. Anno 1554. March 19.

Forasmuch as a Rumor is spread abroad of the Talk had at the Lord Chancellor, between him with other Commissioners there appointed, and M. Hooper, clean contrary to the verity and truth thereof; and indeed, therefore to be judged rather to be given of Malice, for the discrediting of the Truth by false Suggestions and evil Reports, than otherwise: I thought it my duty, being present at the same, partly that the Verity thereof may be known to the doubtful People, and partly also to advertise them, how uncharitably M. Hooper was handled at their hands, which with all humility used himself towards them, desiring, that with patience he might have been permitted to speak; after all manner that I stood in at a morning and dinner, which of the two Kingdoms to have credited, either that I set forth by the Kings Majesty that is dead, or else that now maintained by the Queens Majesty; their unbecomming behaviour towards M. Hooper did move me the rather to credit his Doctrine, than that which they with railing and cruel words defended, considering that Christ was so handled before. And that this which I have written here, was the effect of their Talk, at I acknowledge it to be true my self: (so I appeal to all the honest Consciences, that there were present) (so they put affection away) for the Winnowing of the same.

The Bishops of Winchester, of London, of Duresin, of Landaff, of Chichester, late as Commissioners.

Lord Chancellor.

At M. Hoopers coming in, the Lord Chancellor asked whether he was married.

M. Hooper
examined before
the Commis-
sioners.

Hooper. Ye a my Lord, and will not be unmarried, till Death unmarry me.

Duresin. That is matter enough to deprive you. Hooper. That it is not, my Lord, except ye do against the Law.

The matter concerning Marriage was no more talked of then for a great space: but as well the Commissioners, as such as stood by, began to make such outcries, and laughed, and used such gesture as was unfriendly for the place, and for such a matter. The Bishop of Chichester Doctor Doy, called M. Hooper Hypocrite, with vehement words, and scornful countenance. B. Tunstall called him Beale? by the Smith-sons of the Clerks of the Council, and divers other that stood by. At length the B. of Winchester said that all men might live chaste that would and brought in this Text, *Cælestium est propter regnum celorum.* That is, There be that have gilded themselves for the Kingdom of Heaven, Matth. 19.

M. Hooper said, that Text proved not that all Men live chaste; but such only to whom it was given; and read

read that which goeth before in the Text. But there was a clamour and cry, mocking and scornings, with calling him Beale? that the Text could not be examined. Then M. Hooper said, that it did appear by the old Canon, that Marriage was not forbidden unto Priests, named the Deceives, But the Bishop of Winchester sent for another part, namely the Clementines or Extravagants. But Bishop Hooper said, that book was not it which he named.

Then cried out the Bishop of Winchester and said; You shall not have any other, until ye be Judged by this. And then began such a Noise, Tumult, and speaking together of a great many that favoured not the cause, that nothing was done, nor spoken orderly, or Charitably. Afterwards Judge Morgan began to rail at Master Hooper a long time, with many opprobrious and foul words of his doing at Gloucester, in punishing of men, and said, there was never such a Tyrant as he was. After that D. Doy Bishop of Chichester said, that the Council of Ancona, which was before the Council of Nice, was against the Marriage of Priests.

Then cried out my Lord Chancellor, and many with him, that M. Hooper had never read the Councils.

Ye a my Lord, quoth Master Hooper, and my Lord Duresin, I have read the Council of Ancona, which was by the means of one Tappinus, decreed that no Minister should be separated from his Wife. But such Clamours and cries were used, that the Council of Nice was not seen.

After this long brutish talk; Tunstall Bishop of Duresin asked M. Hooper, whether he believed the Corporal preference the Sacrament. And M. Hooper said plainly, that there was none such, neither did he believe any such thing.

Then would the Bishop of Duresin have read out of a book, for his purpose, but what book was I cannot tell; but there was such a Noise and confused talk on every side, that he did not read it. Then asked Winchester of M. Hooper, what Authority moved him not to believe the Corporal preference? He said, the Authority of Gods Word, and alleged this Text, *Quem oportet calare iugiter, a iugum ad corpus relaxationem nonium: si Whom Heaven must hold until the Later day.*

Then the Bishop of Winchester would have made that Text have served nothing for his purpose, and he said, he might be heaven, and in the Sacramentally.

Master Hooper would have said more to have opened the Text, but all men that stood next about the Bishop, allowed for his saying with Clamors and cries, that M. Hooper was not permitted to say any more against the Bishop. Whereupon they bad the Notaries write that he was Married, and said, that he would not goe from his Wife, and that he believed not the Corporal preference in the Sacrament, therefore he was worthy to be deprived of his Bishopric.

This is the Truth of the matter (as far as I can truly remember) of the confused and troublesome talk that was between them, and except it were truly and uncharitably wrote, this is the whole matter of their talk at that time. *Aque hæc illa belluina.*

The true report of M. Hoopers entertainment in the Fleet, written with his own hand the seventh of January 1554.

I The first of September, 1553. I was committed unto the Fleet from Richmond, to have the liberty of the Prison: and within six dayes after I paid for my liberty five pounds Sterling to the Warden for Fees who, immediately upon the payment thereof, complained unto Steven Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, and so was I committed to close prison one Quarter of a Year in the Tower Chamber of the Fleet, and used very extremely. Then by the means of a good Gentlewoman, had liberty to come down to Dinner and Supper, not suffered to be kept with any of my friends, but as soon as Dinner and Supper was done, to repair to my Chamber again. Notwithstanding whilst I came down thus to Dinner and Supper, the Warden and his Wife picked quarrels with me, and complained untruly of me to their great friend the Bishop of Winchester.

After one quarter of a year and some what more, Barington the Warden and his Wife fell out with me for the twelfth Meis: and thereupon the Warden referred to the Bishop of Winchester, and desired to put me in to the Wards where I had continued a long time, having nothing appointed to me for my bed, but a little pad of straw and a rotten covering, with a tick and a few feathers therein, the Chamber being full and flinking, until by Gods means good People (but me bedding to lie in. Of the one side of which prin little ink and fish of the House, and on the other side the Town ditch, so that the stench of the House hath infected me with sundry diseases.

During which time I have been sick; and the Doors, Bars, Halps, and Chains being all closed, I made full upon me, I have mourned, called and cried for help. But the Warden when he hath known me many times ready to dye, and when the poor men of the Wards have called to help me, hath commanded the Doors to be kept full and charged that none of his men should come at me, saying; Let him alone, it were a good ridance of him. And, amongst many other times, he did thus the 18. of October, 1553. as many can witness.

I paid alwaies like a Baron to the said Warden, as well in fees, as for my Board, which was 20. Shillings a week, besides my new Table, until I was wrongfully deprived of my Bishoprick, and since that time, I have payed him as the best Gentleman doth in his House; yet hath he ever me worse, and more vilely than the veriest slave that ever came to the Hall Commons.

The said Warden hath also imprisoned my man William Dawtons, and stripped him out of his clothes to search for stolen letters, and could find none but only a little remembrance of good People's names, that gave me their aims to relieve me in prison; and to undo them also, the Warden delivered the same bill unto the said Steven Gardiner, Gods enemy and mine.

I have suffered imprisonment almost eighteen Months; my goods, living, friends, and comfort taken from me; the Queen owing me by just account 80. pounds or so, of Money. She hath put me in prison, and giveneth nothing to find me, neither is there suffered any one come to me whereby I might have relief from a wicked man, a Woman, so that I see no remedy (saying Gods help) but I shall be cast away in prison before I come to Judgment. But commit my life cause to God, who will be done, whether it be by life or death.

Thus much wrote he himself to the matter.

Another Examination of M. Hooper.

The 22. of January following, 1555. Barington M. Hooper the Warden of the Fleet was commanded to bring M. Hooper before the Bishop of Winchester, with other the Bishops and Commissioners at the said Winchester House at Saint Mary Overies, whereas in effect thus much was done.

The Bishop of Winchester in the name of himself and others, moved Master Hooper earnestly to forsake the evil heretick and corrupt Doctrine (as he termed it) preached in the days of King Edward the sixth, and to return to the unity of the Catholic Church, and to acknowledge the Popes Holiness to be head of the same Church, according to the determination of the whole Parliaments, concluding that as he himself, and other his Brethren, had received the Popes Blessing, and the Queens mercy; even so mercy was ready to be shewed to him and others, if he would arise with them, and confederate to the Popes Holiness.

M. Hooper answered, that forasmuch as the Pope taught the Doctrine altogether contrary to the Doctrine of Christ, he was not worthy to be accounted as a member of Christs Church, much less to be head thereof, wherefore he would be in no wise confederate to any such unlawful Jurisdiction, neither esteemed he the Church, whereof they call him head, to be the Catholic Church of Christ; forasmuch as he himself heard the voice of the five Councils, and lieth the strangers howbeit (faith he) it is in any point, to me unknown, have offended the Queens Majesty, I shall most humbly submit my self to her mercy, if mercy may be had with faculty of confidence, and without the disfigurement of God.

Yes, *M. Kingdon*, I do now know you well, and am glad to see you in health, and do pray for God for the same.

But I am sorry to see you in this case; for as I understand you to come hither to die. But (alas) considering this life is sweet, and death is bitter. Therefore (saying life may be had, true to live; for life hereafter may do good).

Indeed it is true, *M. Kingdon*, I am come hither to end this life, and to suffer death here, because I will not gain say the former. Therefore I have heretofore taught as I thought you in this Doctrin, and elsewhere; and I thank you for your friendly Counsel, although it be not so friendly as I could have wished it. True it is, *M. Kingdon*, that death is bitter, and life is sweet; but (alas) consider that the death to come is more bitter, and the life to come is more sweet. Therefore for the defence I have to the one, and the terror and fear of the other; I do not so much regard this death, nor esteem this life, but have letted my self, through the freighth of Gods Holy Spirits, patiently to pass through the Torments and Extremities of the Fire now prepared for me, rather than to deny the Truth of His Word, defining you and others, in the mean time, to commend me to Gods Mercy in your Prayers.

Well, my Lord, then I perceive there is no Remedy, and therefore I will take my leave of you; and I thank you to God that ever I knew you, for God did appoint you to be a Father to a lost Child; and by your good Instructions, where before I was both an Adulterer and a Fornicator, God hath brought me to the forsaking and detesting of the same.

If you have had the grace to do so, I do highly praise God for it. If you have not, I pray God you may have, and that you may continually live in His Fear. After these and many other words the one took leave of the other, *M. Kingdon* with bitter tears, *M. Hooper* with tears also trickling down his Cheeks. At which departure, *M. Hooper* desired him, that all the Troublers, and he had been in Prison, had not caused him to utter so much sorrow.

The same day in the Afternoon, a blind Boy after long intercession made to the Guard, obtained Licence to be brought unto *M. Hoopers* Prison. The same Boy not long after had suffered Imprisonment at *Gloucester* for the cause of the Truth. *M. Hooper*, after he had examined him of his Faith, and the Cause of his Imprisonment, beheld him steadfastly (and the water appearing in his Eyes) laid unto him, Ah poor Boy, God hath taken from thee thy outward light; for what reason he be kept in Prison; but he hath given thee another light more precious for he hath ended thy Soul with the eye of Knowledge and Faith. God give thee grace continually to pray unto him, that thou lovest not that fight, for then thou shalt be blind both in Body and Soul.

After that another came to him, whom he knew to be a very Papist and a wicked Man, which appeared to be *forry* for *M. Hoopers* trouble, saying; Sir, I am sorry to see you thus. To whom he said, Why, didst thou heartily *forry* to see you, faith the other, in this case. For I hear say, you are come hither to die, for the which I am sorry. He *forry* for thy fall man, said *M. Hooper*, and lamented thine own wickedness; for I am well, I thank God, and death to me for Christs sake is welcome.

The same Night he was committed by the Guard, their Commission being then expired, unto the custody of the Sheriff of *Gloucester*. The Name of the Sheriff was *Andrews*, who with the Mayor and Aldermen was appointed to *M. Hoopers* Lodgings, and at the first meeting laid him, and took him by the Hand. Unto whom *Hooper* spake on this manner. My Mayor, I give most hearty thanks to you, and to the rest of your Brethren, that you have vouchsafed to take me, a Prisoner and a condemned man by the hands, whereby to my rejoicing it is some deal apparent that your old Love and Friendship towards me is not altogether extinguished; and I trust also that all the things I have taught you in times past are not utterly forgotten, when I was here, by the goodly King that died, is appointed to be your Bishop and Pastor. For the which most true and sincere Doctrine, because I will not now account it Fallhood and Heresie, as many other men do, I am fatter him (as I am sure you know) by the Queens Commandment, to die, and am where I thought it to comfort it with my Blood. And now Mr. Sheriff, I under-

stand by these good Men, and my very Friends (meaning the Guard) at whose hands I have found so much favour and gentleness by the way hitherward, as a Prisoner could not reasonably require (for the which also I most heartily thank them) that I am committed to your custody, as unto them that must fee me brought to morrow to the place of Execution. My Request therefore to you shall be only, that there may be a quick Fire, shortly to make an end in the mean time I will be as obedient unto you, as your selves would wish. If you think I do amiss in any thing, hold up your Finger, and I have done. For I am not come hither as one enforced or compelled to die: For it is well known, I might have had my Life with worldly gain; but as one willing to offer and give my Life for the Truth, rather than to confute to the wicked Popish Religion of the Bishop of Rome, received and fed forth by the Magistrates in England, to Gods high Displeasure and Dishonour; and I trust by Gods Grace to morrow to die a Faithful Servant of God, and a true obedient Subject to the Queen.

These and such-like words in effect said *M. Hooper* to the Mayor, Sheriffs, and Aldermen, whereat many of them mourned and lamented. Notwithstanding the two Sheriffs went aside to confute, and were determined to have lodged him in the common Gaol of the Town, called *Northgate*, if the Guard had not made earnest intercession for him; who declared as large, how quickly, mildly and patiently he had behaved himself in this way, adding thereto, that any Child might keep him well enough, and that they themselves would rather take pains to watch with him, than that we should be forced to the common Prison. So it was determined at the length he should remain in *Robert Ingrams* House; and the Sheriffs and the Serjants and other Officers did appoint to watch with him that Night themselves. His desire was, that he might go to bed that Night betimes, saying, he had many things to remember; and he did at five of the Clock, and slept one Night soundly, and betwixt the rest of the Night in Prayer. After he got up in the morning, he desired that no Man should be suffered to come into the Chamber, that he might be solitary till the hour of Execution.

About eight of the Clock came Sir *John Bridges* Lord *Shandelys*, with a great band of men, Sir *Anthony Kingdon*, Sir *Edmund Bridges*, and other Commissioners appointed to see Execution done. At nine of the Clock *M. Hooper* was willing to prepare himself to be in a readiness for the time was at hand. Immediately he was brought down from his Chamber by the Sheriffs, who were accompanied with Bills, Glives and Weapons. When he saw the multitude of Weapons, he spake to the Sheriffs on this wise; *M. Sheriffs* (said he) I am no Traitor, neither need you to have made such a busines to bring me to the place where I must suffer: For if ye had killed me, I would have gone alone to the Stake, and have troubled none of you all. Afterward looking upon the multitude of people that were assembled, being by estimation to the Number of 7000 (for it was Market-day, and many also came to see his Behaviour towards death) he spake unto those that were about him, saying; Alas, why be these people assembled and come together? Peradventure they think to have something of me now, as they have in times past, but alas! Speech is prohibited me. Notwithstanding the cause of my death is well known to many. When I was appointed to be here to be your Pastor, I preached unto them true and sincere Doctrine, and that out of the word of God: Because I will not now account the same to be Heresie and Untruth, this kind of death is prepared for me.

So went forward laid between the two Sheriffs (as it were a Lamb to the place of Slaughter) in a Gown of his Hoffs, his Hat upon his Head, and a Staff in his Hand to stay himself withal. For the grief of the *Sciaties*, which he had taken in Prison, caused him somewhat to halt. All the way, being stridly cautioned not to speak, he could not be prevailed once to open his Mouth, but he holding the People all the way, which moved bitterly for him; he would sometimes lift up his eyes towards Heaven, and look very cheerfully upon such as he knew; and he was never known, during the time of his journey, to moult them look with to cheerful and rudely a Countenance as he did at that present. When he came to the

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the place appointed where he should dye, faintly he beheld the Stake and preparation made for him, which was near unto the great Elm-Tre over against the College of Priests, where he was wont to Preach. The place round about the Houses, and the Boughs of the Trees were replenished with People, and in the Chamber over the College-Gate stood the Priests of the College. Then knelt he down (forasmuch as he could not be suffered to speak unto the People) to Prayers, and beckned six or seven times unto one whom he knew well, to hear the said Prayer, to make report thereof in time to come (pouring out Tears upon his Shoulders and in his Bosom.) Then knelt he down the fame: the which Prayer he made upon the whole Creed, wherein he continued the space of half an hour. Now after he was somewhat entered into his Prayer, a Box was brought and laid before him, upon a Stool, with his Pardon (or at least-wile it was him to be his Pardon) from the Queen, if he would turn. At the sight whereof he cried, *If you love my Soul, away with it; if you love my Soul, away with it.* The Box being taken away, the Lord *Shandelys* said, Seeing there is no remedy, dispatch him quickly. *Master Hooper* said, *Good my Lord, I trust your Lordship will give me leave to make an end of my Prayers.*

Then said the Lord *Shandelys* to Sir *Edmund Bridges* Son, which gave care unto *M. Hoopers* Prayer at his request: *Edmund*, I take heed that he do nothing else but Pray; if he do, he do, we will, and I shall quickly dispatch him. While this Talk was, there stepped one or two called, which heard him speak these words following:

I Ord, said he, *I am Hell, but thou art Heaven: I am Justice, and thou art Sin, but thou art a gracious God and a merciful Redeemer. Have mercy therefore upon me most miserable and wretched Offender, after thy great mercy, and according to thine infinite goodness. Thou art ascended into Heaven, receive me. I am to be partakers of thy Joy, where thou firstest it, and I shall be with thy Father. For wilt thou knowest thou, Lord, wherefore I am come hither to suffer, and why the wicked do persecute this poor Servant; not for my sins and transgressions committed against thee, but because I will not allow thee wicked things: in the consuming of thy Blood, and the denial of the knowledge of thy Truth, whereunto is did please thee by thy Holy Spirit to instruct me: the which with as much diligence as a poor Wretch might (being thereby called) I have set forth to thy glory. And well I trust, my Lord and God, what terrible Points and cruel Torments be prepared for thy Creatures, which Lord, as without thy strength none is able to reach, or patiently to pass: But all things, that are impossible with man, are possible with thee. Therefore strengthen me of thy goodness, that in the Fire I break not the rules of Patience; or else I will suffer the terror of the Flame, as I shall find most to thy glory.*

As soon as the Mayor had epied these men which made report of the former words, they were commanded away, and could not be suffered to hear any more. Prayer being done, he prepared him to the Stake, and put off his Holy Gown, and delivered it to the Sheriffs, requiring them to be it reformed unto the Owner, and put off the rest of his Gears, unto his Doubler and Hoffs, wherein he would have burned. But the Sheriffs would not permit that, (such was their greediness) unto whom the said good Man) he very obediently submitted himself, and his Doublet, Hoffs and Waistcoat were taken off. Then had he being in his Shirt, he took a Point from his Hoffs himself, and trusted his Shirt between his Legs, where he had a pound of Gun-powder in a Bladder and under each Arm the like quantity delivered him by the Guard. So doing the People to for the Lords Prayer with him, and to pray for him (who performed it with Tears, during the time of his Pain) he went up to the Stake. Now when he was at the Stake, three Irons, made to bind him to the Stake, were brought; one for his Neck, another for his Middle, and the third for his Legs. But he refusing them, *Ido, I have no need thus to trouble your selves. For I doubt not, but God will give strength sufficient to abide the extremity of the Fire, without Bands: not*

withstanding, submitting the fealty and integrity of the Fleth, but having a full confidence in Gods Mercy.

So the Hoop of Iron prepared for his Middle was brought, which being made loose was put on short. (The Hoop being soon with Imprisonment) he thrust and put in his Belly with his hand, until he was content, and when they offered to have bound his Neck and Legs with the other two Hoops of Iron he utterly refused them, and would have none, saying, *I am well assured I shall not trouble you.*

Thus being ready he looked upon the People of whom he might be well fien (for he was both tall, and stood aloft on an high Stool) and beheld round about him: and in every corner there was nothing to be seen but weeping and sorrowful People. Then lifting up his eyes and hands unto Heaven, he prayed to himself. By and by, he that was appointed to make the Fire, came to him, and did ask him forgiveness. Of whom he asked, why he should forgive him, saying, that he knew never any offence he had committed against him. O Sir, (said the Man) I am appointed to make the Fire, (wherein *Mr. Hooper*) I should do nothing offend me: God forgive thee thy sin, and do thine office I pray thee. Then the Reeds were cast up, and he received two bundles of them in his own hands, embraced them, kissed them, and put under either Arm one of them, and thrust with his hand how the reeds should be belidew, and pointed to the place where any did lack.

Anon commandment was given that the fire should be set to, and it was. But because there were put to no fewer green Faggots than twofold could carry upon their backs, it kindled not by and by, and was a pretty while also before it took the Reeds upon the Faggots. At length it burned about him, but the Wind having full strength in that place (it was a lowering and cold Morning) it blew the flame from him, so that he was in a manner more not touched by the Fire.

Within a space after, a few dry Faggots were brought, and a new Fire kindled with Faggots (for there were no more Reeds) and that burned at the Nether parts, but had small power above-head of the Wind, having that it did burn his Hair, and scorched his Skin little. In the time of which Fire, cryes as at the first flame, he prayed, saying mildly and not very loud (but as one without pain) *O Jesus the Spine of David, have mercy upon me, and receive my Soul.* After the second was spent, he did wipe both his Eyes with his hand, and beholding the People, he said with an indifferent loud voice, *For Gods love none here (good People) let me have more Fire.* And all this while his Nether parts did burn: for the Faggots were so few, that the flame did not burn strongly at his Upper Parts.

The third Fire was kindled within a while after, which was more exousant than the other two; and then the Bladders of Gun-powder broke, which did him small good, they were so placed, and the Wind had such power. In the which Fire he prayed with somewhat a loud voice, *Lord Jesus have mercy upon me, Lord Jesus have mercy upon me: Lord Jesus receive my Spirit.* And thus were the words, which he was heard to utter. But when he was black in the Mouth, and his Tongue swollen, that he could not speak, yet his Lips went till they were shrunk to the Gums; and he knocked his breast with his hands, until one of the Irons fell off. The second he knocked with the other, until the time the Fire was warm and Blod, dropped out at his fingers ends, until by removing of the Fire his strength was gone, and his hand did cleave fast in knocking to the Iron upon his breast. So immediately, bowing forward, he yielded up his Spirit.

In clarissimi Doctrina & Pietate Viri Johannis Hooperi Martyris, Comendati Gelferi carmen.

A Urone Hooperi flamma invicta & ignis. *Ardeat* (sunt) Coram Christum confusum ad divina viae. *Memento*, integras fidei praecursum, & ardens. *Exterius* flammis, devotum. *Martyr* at intus. *Eximio* fidei fervore accensus, ad astra. *Spiritus* ascendit, Coelestis luce beatiss.

and practised. Wherefore seeing they be Gods gifts, Anno
and none of ours, to have as our own when we would, 1555.
we must seek them at our Heavenly Fathers Hand, who

fect, and is privy how poor and wretched we be, and how naked, how spoiled, and destitute of all his blessed gifts we be by reason of sin. He did command therefore his Disciples, when he shewed them that they should take heed, lest they should fall into temptation, troubles and persecution, to pray that they might well escape all such troubles that were to come, and be able to stand before the Son of man. When you find your self too much oppressed (as every man shall be sometimes with the fear of Gods judgement) use the 77. Psalm that beginneth, *I will cry unto God with my voice, and he shall hearken unto me.* For this Psalm is both good doctrine and great consolation unto the man or woman that is in anguish of mind.

Life also in full trouble: the 88 *Psalms*, wherein is contained the prayer of a man, that was brought into extreme anguish and misery, and being vexed with devil, and with many troubles, and being brought forth and killed. And although he felt in himself grief, and sorrow, and pain, but also God angry towards him: yet he by prayer humbly referred unto God, as the only part of consolation, and in the midst of his desperate estate of trouble, put the hope of his salvation in him, whom he felt his enemy. And so to make of his trouble, a way to his comfort, for God, that afflicteth the man heart with fear, & prayer, for the man frightened and feared, with unfeakable groans. And when you feel your self or know any other oppressed after such sort, be glad; For after that God hath made you to be in such trouble, he will also give you comfort: doubtless, how you comforted him, he will comfort you. He will be in Christ his only Son; And us praye often, that is the means whereby God will be fought unto for his gifts. These *Psalms* be for the purpose, when the man is in such trouble, understanding, nor the heart any joyed. God promises: and therefore he saith, *Psalm 138*, *Psalm 139*, *Psalm 140*, *Psalm 141*, *Psalm 142*, *Psalm 143*, *Psalm 144*, *Psalm 145*, *Psalm 146*, *Psalm 147*, *Psalm 148*, *Psalm 149*, *Psalm 150*, *Psalm 151*, *Psalm 152*, *Psalm 153*, *Psalm 154*, *Psalm 155*, *Psalm 156*, *Psalm 157*, *Psalm 158*, *Psalm 159*, *Psalm 160*, *Psalm 161*, *Psalm 162*, *Psalm 163*, *Psalm 164*, *Psalm 165*, *Psalm 166*, *Psalm 167*, *Psalm 168*, *Psalm 169*, *Psalm 170*, *Psalm 171*, *Psalm 172*, *Psalm 173*, *Psalm 174*, *Psalm 175*, *Psalm 176*, *Psalm 177*, *Psalm 178*, *Psalm 179*, *Psalm 180*, *Psalm 181*, *Psalm 182*, *Psalm 183*, *Psalm 184*, *Psalm 185*, *Psalm 186*, *Psalm 187*, *Psalm 188*, *Psalm 189*, *Psalm 190*, *Psalm 191*, *Psalm 192*, *Psalm 193*, *Psalm 194*, *Psalm 195*, *Psalm 196*, *Psalm 197*, *Psalm 198*, *Psalm 199*, *Psalm 200*, *Psalm 201*, *Psalm 202*, *Psalm 203*, *Psalm 204*, *Psalm 205*, *Psalm 206*, *Psalm 207*, *Psalm 208*, *Psalm 209*, *Psalm 210*, *Psalm 211*, *Psalm 212*, *Psalm 213*, *Psalm 214*, *Psalm 215*, *Psalm 216*, *Psalm 217*, *Psalm 218*, *Psalm 219*, *Psalm 220*, *Psalm 221*, *Psalm 222*, *Psalm 223*, *Psalm 224*, *Psalm 225*, *Psalm 226*, *Psalm 227*, *Psalm 228*, *Psalm 229*, *Psalm 230*, *Psalm 231*, *Psalm 232*, *Psalm 233*, *Psalm 234*, *Psalm 235*, *Psalm 236*, *Psalm 237*, *Psalm 238*, *Psalm 239*, *Psalm 240*, *Psalm 241*, *Psalm 242*, *Psalm 243*, *Psalm 244*, *Psalm 245*, *Psalm 246*, *Psalm 247*, *Psalm 248*, *Psalm 249*, *Psalm 250*, *Psalm 251*, *Psalm 252*, *Psalm 253*, *Psalm 254*, *Psalm 255*, *Psalm 256*, *Psalm 257*, *Psalm 258*, *Psalm 259*, *Psalm 260*, *Psalm 261*, *Psalm 262*, *Psalm 263*, *Psalm 264*, *Psalm 265*, *Psalm 266*, *Psalm 267*, *Psalm 268*, *Psalm 269*, *Psalm 270*, *Psalm 271*, *Psalm 272*, *Psalm 273*, *Psalm 274*, *Psalm 275*, *Psalm 276*, *Psalm 277*, *Psalm 278*, *Psalm 279*, *Psalm 280*, *Psalm 281*, *Psalm 282*, *Psalm 283*, *Psalm 284*, *Psalm 285*, *Psalm 286*, *Psalm 287*, *Psalm 288*, *Psalm 289*, *Psalm 290*, *Psalm 291*, *Psalm 292*, *Psalm 293*, *Psalm 294*, *Psalm 295*, *Psalm 296*, *Psalm 297*, *Psalm 298*, *Psalm 299*, *Psalm 300*, *Psalm 301*, *Psalm 302*, *Psalm 303*, *Psalm 304*, *Psalm 305*, *Psalm 306*, *Psalm 307*, *Psalm 308*, *Psalm 309*, *Psalm 310*, *Psalm 311*, *Psalm 312*, *Psalm 313*, *Psalm 314*, *Psalm 315*, *Psalm 316*, *Psalm 317*, *Psalm 318*, *Psalm 319*, *Psalm 320*, *Psalm 321*, *Psalm 322*, *Psalm 323*, *Psalm 324*, *Psalm 325*, *Psalm 326*, *Psalm 327*, *Psalm 328*, *Psalm 329*, *Psalm 330*, *Psalm 331*, *Psalm 332*, *Psalm 333*, *Psalm 334*, *Psalm 335*, *Psalm 336*, *Psalm 337*, *Psalm 338*, *Psalm 339*, *Psalm 340*, *Psalm 341*, *Psalm 342*, *Psalm 343*, *Psalm 344*, *Psalm 345*, *Psalm 346*, *Psalm 347*, *Psalm 348*, *Psalm 349*, *Psalm 350*, *Psalm 351*, *Psalm 352*, *Psalm 353*, *Psalm 354*, *Psalm 355*, *Psalm 356*, *Psalm 357*, *Psalm 358*, *Psalm 359*, *Psalm 360*, *Psalm 361*, *Psalm 362*, *Psalm 363*, *Psalm 364*, *Psalm 365*, *Psalm 366*, *Psalm 367*, *Psalm 368*, *Psalm 369*, *Psalm 370*, *Psalm 371*, *Psalm 372*, *Psalm 373*, *Psalm 374*, *Psalm 375*, *Psalm 376*, *Psalm 377*, *Psalm 378*, *Psalm 379*, *Psalm 380*, *Psalm 381*, *Psalm 382*, *Psalm 383*, *Psalm 384*, *Psalm 385*, *Psalm 386*, *Psalm 387*, *Psalm 388*, *Psalm 389*, *Psalm 390*, *Psalm 391*, *Psalm 392*, *Psalm 393*, *Psalm 394*, *Psalm 395*, *Psalm 396*, *Psalm 397*, *Psalm 398*, *Psalm 399*, *Psalm 400*, *Psalm 401*, *Psalm 402*, *Psalm 403*, *Psalm 404*, *Psalm 405*, *Psalm 406*, *Psalm 407*, *Psalm 408*, *Psalm 409*, *Psalm 410*, *Psalm 411*, *Psalm 412*, *Psalm 413*, *Psalm 414*, *Psalm 415*, *Psalm 416*, *Psalm 417*, *Psalm 418*, *Psalm 419*, *Psalm 420*, *Psalm 421*, *Psalm 422*, *Psalm 423*, *Psalm 424*, *Psalm 425*, *Psalm 426*, *Psalm 427*, *Psalm 428*, *Psalm 429*, *Psalm 430*, *Psalm 431*, *Psalm 432*, *Psalm 433*, *Psalm 434*, *Psalm 435*, *Psalm 436*, *Psalm 437*, *Psalm 438*, *Psalm 439*, *Psalm 440*, *Psalm 441*, *Psalm 442*, *Psalm 443*, *Psalm 444*, *Psalm 445*, *Psalm 446*, *Psalm 447*, *Psalm 448*, *Psalm 449*, *Psalm 450*, *Psalm 451*, *Psalm 452*, *Psalm 453*, *Psalm 454*,

mean time with fecking and feting affections upon the things that he above, we mult patiently suffer what fevered Gall flend upon us in this Mortal life. Notwithstanding, it might fortune some worldly way, who is perfect, that can let all things: pass as they come, and have no care of them; suffer all things, and feel nothing, be tempted of the Devil, the World, and the flesh, and yet be perfect in Christ. But this I say, that in the strength of Ihu Christ things that come may pass with care, for we be worldly, and yet are not carried with them from Christ, for we be in Ihu gladly. We may suffer things, and feel them as mortal men, yet bear them and overcome them as Christian men. We may be tempted of the Devil, the flesh, and the world, but we be not overcome by them, for we do not pierceard although they pinch, they pierce not. Christ no damnation to those that be grieved in him. Here of may the Christian man learn both consolation and patience. Consolation, in that heis compelled both in his Body and goods to feel pain and loss, and in the foul

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mandemnt God requireth of every man and Woman this
patient obedience. He saith not, it is sufficient that other
Holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Evangelists and

relief. 3.
 Alesha how
 to car
 trouble,

Two things commanded by *S. Paul*, writing to the *Coloss.* The first is to see and know what things are above, and what things are beneath and to discern rightly between them,

The second is to set our affection upon them that are above, and not upon the other. And this lesson is harder than the other.

How things
of this
World may
be possible
and how

Scriptures would be mused upon rather than talked up.

Anno
1555.

C Mat. 24.
d Luke 21.

² *Psal.* 77.
Read also
M. Harper
expositor

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What prizes are to be used in contests and tribulations. Read also the fourth chap. of *Eccles.* *Catech.* 3

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Martyrs

Seed. *Tofeph* at the last came to that which God promised him, although in the mean time, after the Judgment of the world, he was never like to be (as God said he should be) *Lord over his Brethren*. When Christ would make the Blind man to see, he put Clay upon his Eyes, which after the Judgment of Man, was a means rather to make him double blind, than to give him his sight; but he obeyed, and knew that God could work his desire, what means soever he used contrary to mans Reason: and as touching this World, he useth all his after the same sort. If any faint, his People be the first; if any suffer flame they

begin; if any be subject to flander, it is those that he loveth; for that he sheweth no face or favour, nor love at all in this world outwardly to them, but layeth Clay up on their fore Eyes that be sorrowful: yet the Patient man *(S. Paul)* saith: Life liud under their miseries and adversities, and Slight under foul Clay; and in the mean time he hath the testimony of a good Confidence, and believeth Gods Promises to be his Consolation in the world to come, which is more worthy unto him, than all the world is worth befides; and blessed is that man in whom Gods Spirit beareth record that he is the Son of God, whatsoever troubles he suffer in this troublesome world.

And to judge things indifferently (my good Wife) the
 Troubles be not yet generally, as they were in our good
 Fathers time, after the Death and Redirection of
 our good King, the late King Iohn Chrift. *Memorab.*
 Of which place you and I have taken many
 great contentment, and especially of the latter part of
 the Chapters, wherein is contained the last Day and end of all
 troubles (I doubt not) both for you and me, and for such
 as love the coming of our Saviour Chrift to Judgment.
 Remember therefore that place and mark it again, and ye
 shall find therein the story of the last day, and how
 much pasture. Was there ever such Troubles? Chrift
 threatened upon *Jerusalem*? was there since the be-
 gining of the world such affliction? who was then best
 able? The Apostles that suffered in body Perfection and
 gathered of it ease and quietness in the Promises of God.
 And no marvel, for Chrift faith, *Lift up your heads, for* *Luca 14*
your redemption is at hand. And Chrift himself
 Refe approacheth and draweth near. The World is dark
 blind, and more foolish than Foolishness is fill; and be
 the People of the World. For when God faith, trouble

shall come, they will have ease. And when God faith, Be
merry and rejoyce in trouble, we lament and mourn, as *rich never*
though we were Calfe-aways. But this our flesh *merry with*
is never merry with Vertue, nor sorry with Vice; never *Vertue, not*
laugheth with Grace, nor ever weepeth with Sin; holdeth *sorry with*
faith with the World, and leteth God slip. But (my dearly
beloved Wife) you know how to perceive and to beware
of the vanity and crafts of the Devil well enough in
Christ. And that ye may the better have patience in the
Spirit of God, read again the 24. Chapter of *S. Matthew,*
and mark what difference is between the destruction of *Matthew 24.*
Destruction

Jerusalem, and the destruction of the whole World, and you shall see, that then here were left alive many Offenders to repent: but at the later Day there shall be absolute Judgment, and Sentence (never to be revoked) of Eternal life and Eternal death upon all men; and yet towards the end of the World we have nothing so much extremity as they had then, but even as we be able to

bear. So doth the merciful Father lay upon us now imprisonment, (and I suppose for your shortly Death) now spoil of Goods, loss of Friends, and the greatest loss of all, the knowledge of Gods Word. Gods will be done. I with in Christ Jesus our only Mediatour and Saviour, your Consolation and Confolation, that you may live for ever and everywhereof in Christ I doubt not; to whom, for his most blessed and painful Passion, I commend you. Amen.

Octob. 13. An. 1553.

To a certain godly Woman, instructing her how
she should behaue her self in the time of her Widow.

1998, 1999, 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003, 2004, 2005, 2006, 2007, 2008, 2009, 2010, 2011, 2012, 2013, 2014, 2015, 2016, 2017, 2018, 2019, 2020, 2021, 2022, 2023, 2024, 2025, 2026, 2027, 2028, 2029, 2030, 2031, 2032, 2033, 2034, 2035, 2036, 2037, 2038, 2039, 2040, 2041, 2042, 2043, 2044, 2045, 2046, 2047, 2048, 2049, 2050, 2051, 2052, 2053, 2054, 2055, 2056, 2057, 2058, 2059, 2060, 2061, 2062, 2063, 2064, 2065, 2066, 2067, 2068, 2069, 2070, 2071, 2072, 2073, 2074, 2075, 2076, 2077, 2078, 2079, 2080, 2081, 2082, 2083, 2084, 2085, 2086, 2087, 2088, 2089, 2090, 2091, 2092, 2093, 2094, 2095, 2096, 2097, 2098, 2099, 2100, 2101, 2102, 2103, 2104, 2105, 2106, 2107, 2108, 2109, 2110, 2111, 2112, 2113, 2114, 2115, 2116, 2117, 2118, 2119, 2120, 2121, 2122, 2123, 2124, 2125, 2126, 2127, 2128, 2129, 2130, 2131, 2132, 2133, 2134, 2135, 2136, 2137, 2138, 2139, 2140, 2141, 2142, 2143, 2144, 2145, 2146, 2147, 2148, 2149, 2150, 2151, 2152, 2153, 2154, 2155, 2156, 2157, 2158, 2159, 2160, 2161, 2162, 2163, 2164, 2165, 2166, 2167, 2168, 2169, 2170, 2171, 2172, 2173, 2174, 2175, 2176, 2177, 2178, 2179, 2180, 2181, 2182, 2183, 2184, 2185, 2186, 2187, 2188, 2189, 2190, 2191, 2192, 2193, 2194, 2195, 2196, 2197, 2198, 2199, 2200, 2201, 2202, 2203, 2204, 2205, 2206, 2207, 2208, 2209, 2210, 2211, 2212, 2213, 2214, 2215, 2216, 2217, 2218, 2219, 2220, 2221, 2222, 2223, 2224, 2225, 2226, 2227, 2228, 2229, 2230, 2231, 2232, 2233, 2234, 2235, 2236, 2237, 2238, 2239, 2240, 2241, 2242, 2243, 2244, 2245, 2246, 2247, 2248, 2249, 2250, 2251, 2252, 2253, 2254, 2255, 2256, 2257, 2258, 2259, 2260, 2261, 2262, 2263, 2264, 2265, 2266, 2267, 2268, 2269, 2270, 2271, 2272, 2273, 2274, 2275, 2276, 2277, 2278, 2279, 2280, 2281, 2282, 2283, 2284, 2285, 2286, 2287, 2288, 2289, 2290, 2291, 2292, 2293, 2294, 2295, 2296, 2297, 2298, 2299, 2300, 2301, 2302, 2303, 2304, 2305, 2306, 2307, 2308, 2309, 2310, 2311, 2312, 2313, 2314, 2315, 2316, 2317, 2318, 2319, 2320, 2321, 2322, 2323, 2324, 2325, 2326, 2327, 2328, 2329, 2330, 2331, 2332, 2333, 2334, 2335, 2336, 2337, 2338, 2339, 2340, 2341, 2342, 2343, 2344, 2345, 2346, 2347, 2348, 2349, 2350, 2351, 2352, 2353, 2354, 2355, 2356, 2357, 2358, 2359, 2360, 2361, 2362, 2363, 2364, 2365, 2366, 2367, 2368, 2369, 2370, 2371, 2372, 2373, 2374, 2375, 2376, 2377, 2378, 2379, 2380, 2381, 2382, 2383, 2384, 2385, 2386, 2387, 2388, 2389, 2390, 2391, 2392, 2393, 2394, 2395, 2396, 2397, 2398, 2399, 2400, 2401, 2402, 2403, 2404, 2405, 2406, 2407, 2408, 2409, 2410, 2411, 2412, 2413, 2414, 2415, 2416, 2417, 2418, 2419, 2420, 2421, 2422, 2423, 2424, 2425, 2426, 2427, 2428, 2429, 2430, 2431, 2432, 2433, 2434, 2435, 2436, 2437, 2438, 2439, 2440, 2441, 2442, 2443, 2444, 2445, 2446, 2447, 2448, 2449, 2450, 2451, 2452, 2453, 2454, 2455, 2456, 2457, 2458, 2459, 2460, 2461, 2462, 2463, 2464, 2465, 2466, 2467, 2468, 2469, 2470, 2471, 2472, 2473, 2474, 2475, 2476, 2477, 2478, 2479, 2480, 2481, 2482, 2483, 2484, 2485, 2486, 2487, 2488, 2489, 2490, 2491, 2492, 2493, 2494, 2495, 2496, 2497, 2498, 2499, 2500, 2501, 2502, 2503, 2504, 2505, 2506, 2507, 2508, 2509, 2510, 2511, 2512, 2513, 2514, 2515, 2516, 2517, 2518, 2519, 2520, 2521, 2522, 2523, 2524, 2525, 2526, 2527, 2528, 2529, 2530, 2531, 2532, 2533, 2534, 2535, 2536, 2537, 2538, 2539, 2540, 2541, 2542, 2543, 2544, 2545, 2546, 2547, 2548, 2549, 2550, 2551, 2552, 2553, 2554, 2555, 2556, 2557, 2558, 2559, 2560, 2561, 2562, 2563, 2564, 2565, 2566, 2567, 2568, 2569, 2570, 2571, 2572, 2573, 2574, 2575, 2576, 2577, 2578, 2579, 2580, 2581, 2582, 2583, 2584, 2585, 2586, 2587, 2588, 2589, 2590, 2591, 2592, 2593, 2594, 2595, 2596, 2597, 2598, 2599, 2600, 2601, 2602, 2603, 2604, 2605, 2606, 2607, 2608, 2609, 2610, 2611, 2612, 2613, 2614, 2615, 2616, 2617, 2618, 2619, 2620, 2621, 2622, 2623, 2624, 2625, 2626, 2627, 2628, 2629, 2630, 2631, 2632, 2633, 2634, 2635, 2636, 2637, 2638, 2639, 2640, 2641, 2642, 2643, 2644, 2645, 2646, 2647, 2648, 2649, 2650, 2651, 2652, 2653, 2654, 2655, 2656, 2657, 2658, 2659, 2660, 2661, 2662, 2663, 2664, 2665, 2666, 2667, 2668, 2669, 2670, 2671, 2672, 2673, 2674, 2675, 2676, 2677, 2678, 2679, 26

Octob. 13. An. 1553.

To a certain godly Woman, instructing her how
she should behave her self in the time of her Widows-
hood.

THe grace of God, and the comfort of his Holy Spirit be with you, and all them that unfeignedly love his holy Gospel. *Amen.* Another Letter of M. Hepper,

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Another
Letter of
M. Heppner

I thank you, dear Sister, for your most loving remembrance; and although I cannot recompense the same yet I with all my heart, that God would do it, requiring you not to forget your duty towards God in these perilous days in which the Lord will try us. I know you do increase by reading of the Scriptures, the truth of which you have of God, and that you diligently apply your self to follow the same, for the Knowledge begetteth not, except the Life be according thereto. Further, I do heartily pray you, to consider the state of your Widowhood, and if God shall put in your mind to change it, remember the saying of *S. Paul*, *1 Cor. 7. It is lawfull for the Widow or Maiden to marry to whom they list, as to the Lord; that is to say, to such an one as is of Christ's Religion*. Dearly beloved in Christ, remember these words, for you shall find thereby great joy and comfort, if you change your state. Wherein I will when I have better leisure (as now I have none at all) further advise you. In the mean time I commend you to God, and the guiding of his good Spirit, who stablish and confirm you in all well-doing, and keep you blameless to the day of the Lord. Watch and pray, for this day is at hand.

Yours assured in Christ,
John Hooper.

To all my dear Brethren, my Relievers and Helpers in the City of London.

THE Grace of God be with you, Amen. I have received from you (dearly Beloved in our Saviour Jesus Christ) by the hands of my Servant *William Down-ton*, your liberality, for the which I must heartily thank you, and I praise God highly in you for you, who hath moved your hearts to these kindred words, may be praying him to preserve you from all famine, scarcity and lack of the Truth of his Word, which is the lively food of your Soules, as you preserve my Body from hunger, and other necessities which should happen unto me; were it not cared for by the benevolence and charity of godly People. Such as have taken all worldly Goods and Lands from me, and spoiled me of all that I had, have imprisoned my Body and appointed not one half-penny to feed or relieve me: withal: but I do forgive them and pray for them daily in my poor Prayer unto God, and with my heart I wish their salvation, and quietly and patiently bear their injuries, willing no farther extremity to be used towards us. Yet if the contrary fell unto our Heavenly Father, I have made my reckoning, and fully resolved my self to suffer the utmost that they are able to do against me; yea, Death it self, by the aid of Christ Jesus, who died the most vile death of the Cross for us Wretches and miserable Sinners. But of this I am assured, that the wicked World, with all his force and power, shall not touch one of the hairs of our Heads without leave and licence of our heavenly Father, whose will be done in all things. If he will life, Life be it: if he will death, Death be it. Only we pray, that our wills may be subject unto his will, and then although both he and the World fence one thing but death, yet if we think life best, we shall not die, no, although the Sword be drawn out over our heads: as *Abraham* thought to kill his Son *Isaac*, yet when God perceived that *Abraham* had surrendered his will to God's will, and was content to kill his Son, God then spared his Son.

Dearly beloved, if we were contented to obey Gods will, and for his commandments take to surrender our Goods and our Lives to be at his pleasure, it maketh no matter whether we keep Goods and Life, or lose them. Nothing can hurt us that is taken from us for Gods cause, nor can any thing at length do us good, that is preferred contrary unto Gods Commandment. Let us wholly suffer God to use us and ourselves his holy widows, and beware we neither use nor govern our selves contrary to his will by proud foolishness. It is kept to no good purpose, that we keep contrary unto his Commandments. It can by no means be taken from us, that he would think tarry with us. He is no good Christian that ruleth himself and his, as worldly means ferveth: for he that do that hath as many changes as chanceth in the World. To day

with the World he shall live and praise the Truth of God to morrow as the World will, so will he like and praise the falsehood of man; to day with Christ, and to morrow with Antichrist. Wherefore, dear Brethren, as touching your behaviour towards God, your inward Spirit and your outward Bodies; your inward and your outward Man (I say) not after the manners of the world after the infallible Word of God.

Refrain from Evil in both; and glorify your heavenly Father in both. For if ye think ye can inwardly in the heart serve him, and yet outwardly serve with the world in external Service the thing that is not God, ye deceive your selves; for both the Body and the Soul must together consent in the honour of God, as *S. Paul* plainly teacheth, *1 Cor. 6*. For if an honest wife be bound to give both Heart and Body to lawful service in Marriage, and if an honest Wifes Faith in the heart cannot stand with an whorish or defiled Body outwardly; much less can the true Faith of a Christian, in the service of Christianity, stand with the bodily service of external Idolatry: for the mystery of Marriage is not to honourable between Man and Wife, as it is between Christ and every Christian man, as *S. Paul* faith.

Therefore (dear Brethren) pray to the heavenly Father, that as he spared not the Soul nor the Body of his dearly Beloved Son, but applied both of them with extreme pains to our Salvation both of Body and Soul; so he will give us his grace to apply our Bodies and Souls to be Servants unto him; for doubtless he requireth as well the one as the other, and cannot be discontented with the one and well pleased with the other. Either he hateth both, or loveth both; he divideth not his love to one, and his hatred to the other. Let not us therefore, good Brethren, divide our selves, and fay our Souls for him, whatsoever our Bodies do to the contrary for civil Order and Policy.

But (alas) I know, by my self, what troubleth you, that is, the great danger of the World, that will revenge (if ye think) your Service to God with Sword and with loss of Goods and Lands. But (dear Brethren) weigh of the other side, that your Enemies and God Enemies shall not do you much as they would, but as much as God shall suffer them, who can trap them in their own counsels, and destroy them in the midst of their furies. Remember ye be the Workmen of the Lord, and called into his Vineyard, there to labour till evening-side, that you may receive your penny, which is more worth than all the Kingdoms of the Earth. But he that calleth us into his Vineyard, hath not told us how fore and how fervently the Sun shall trouble us in our labour: but hath bid us labour and commit the bitterness thereof unto him; who can and will to moderate all Afflictions, that no man shall have more laid upon him, than in Christ he shall be able to bear. Unto whose merciful tuition and defence I commend both your Souls and Bodies. *Septemb. 2.*

Ann. 1554.

Yours with my poor Prayer,
John Hooper.

To a Merchant of London, by whose means he had received much Comfort in his great Necessity in the Fleet.

GRACE, Mercy, and Peace in Christ Jesus our Lord. I thank God and you for the great help and consolation I have received in the time of adversity by your charitable means; but most joyfully that you are not altered of Truth, although Falshood cruelly seeketh to defile her. Judge not, my Brother, Truth by outward appearance; for Truth now we are we are, and more vitally is rejected than Falshood. Leave the outward show, and see by the Word of God what Truth is, and accept Truth, and dislike her not, though man call her Falshood. As it is now, so it hath been heretofore, that Truth rejected and Falshood received. Such as have professed Truth, for Truth have incurred, and the friends of Falshood laughed them to scorn. The trial of both hath been by contrary success: the one having the commendation of Truth by man, but the condemnation of Falshood by God, flourishing for a time with crafty deceit, but the other afflicted a little season, but ending with immortal joys. Wherefore, dear Brother, ask and demand

THE demand of your Book, the Testament of Jesus Christ, in those woful and wretched days what you should think, and pray unto you should pray upon for a certain Truth, and whatsoever you hear taught, try it by your Book, whether it be true or false. The days be dangerous and full of peril, not only for the World and worldly things, but for Heaven and heavenly things. It is a trouble to keep with the offence of God. Cry, call, pray, and in Christ daily require help, succour, mercy, wisdom, grace and defence, that the wickedness of this World prevail not against us. We began well, God preserve us until the day, and I would write more often unto you; but I perceive you be at so much Charges with me, that I fear you would think when I write, I Crave. Send me nothing till I find to you for it; and to tell the good men, your Partners: and when I need, I will be bold with you. *Decemb. 3. Ann. 1554.*

Yours with my Prayer, John Hooper.

To Mrs. Wilkinson, a Woman hearty in Gods Cause, and comfortable to his afflicted Members.

THE Grace of God, and the comfort of his Holy Spirit be with you, Amen.

I am very glad to hear of your health, and do thank you for your loving Token, but I am a great deal more glad to hear how Christianly you avoid Idolatry, and prepare your self to suffer the extremity of the World, rather than to endanger your self to God. You do as you ought to do in this behalf, and in suffering of transitory Pains, you shall avoid permanent Torments in the World. *Use your life, and keep it with as much quietness as you can, so that you offend not God. The ease that cometh of his discipline, turneth at length to unshakable Pains; and the gains of the World, with the loss of his Favour, a beggary and wretchedness.* Keep the light of the Star that led them before. Whereof we learn, again and again, will be going in this life to seek Christ that is above, to beware that we lose not the Star of Gods Word, that is only the mark that leads us where Christ is, and whither way we may come unto him. But as *Jerusalem* stood in the way, and was an impediment to these Wile men: so doth the Synagogue of Antichrist, that teacheth the name of *Jerusalem*, which by *Isaiah* interpretation is called the Village of Peace, and amongst the People now is called the Catholic Church, hinder us the way the Pilgrims must go by through this world to *Bethlehem*, the House of fatuity and plentifulness, and is an impediment to all Christian Travellers; yea, and except the more grace of God be, will keep the Pilgrims still in here, that they shall not leave where Christ is at all. And to they them indeed, they take away the Star of Light, which is Gods Word, that it cannot be seen: as you may see how the Celestial Star was hid from the Wile men, when they asked of the Pharisees at *Jerusalem*, where Christ was born. Ye may see what great dangers happened unto these Wile men, whilst they were of their way, and next they lost their Guide and Conductor, the heavenly Star. Christ is mounted from us into Heaven, and there we seek him (as we say) and let us go forthward by the Star of his Word, because he hath not come into *Jerusalem*, the Church of Men, as he said for him. If we do go out of the way, and lose also our Conductor and Guide that only leadeth us thither.

To my dear Friends in God, Mr. John Hall and his Wife.

THE Grace of God be with you, Amen. I thank you for your loving and gentle friendship at all times, praying to God to bestow unto you such favours, that whatsoever trouble and adversity happens, ye go not back from him. These days be dangerous and full of peril, but yet let us comfort our selves in calling to remembrance the days of our Forefathers, upon whom the Lord sent such troubles, that many hundreds, yea, many thousands died for the Testimony of Jesus Christ both Men and Women, suffering with patience and constancy as much Cruelly as Tyrants could devise, and so departed out of this mortal World to the blissful Kingdom, whereas now they remain for ever, looking always for the end of this sinful World, when they shall receive their Bodies again in Immortality, and see the number of the Elect assigned with them in full and consummate joys: and as our men men suffering martyrdom, and leaving a little while in this World with pains, by and by, rested in joys everlasting; and as their pains ended their sorrows and began ease, so did their constancy and steadfastness animate and confirm all good People in the Truth, and gave them encouragement and light to suffer the like, rather than to fall with the World to content unrighteousness and Idolatry. Wherefore, my dear Friends, seeing God of his part hath illuminated you with the same gift and knowledge of true Faith, wherein the Apostles and Evan-

gelist, and all Martyrs, suffered most cruel death; thank him for his grace in knowledge; and pray unto him for strength and perseverance, that through your own faith ye be not ashamed afraid to confess in the day of the Truth and the gates of Hell shall never prevail against you, neither Antichrist with all his Imps can prove it to the false. They may kill and persecute, but never overcome. Be of good comfort, and fear God more than man. This life is short and miserable; happy be they that can spend it to the glory of God. Pray for me, as I pray for you, and commend me to all good Men and Women. *Decemb. 22. Ann. 1554.*

Your Brother in Christ, John Hooper.

To my dearly Beloved Sister in the Lord, Mrs. Anne Warcup.

THE Grace of God be with you, Amen. I thank you for your loving Token. I pray you brethren, not to your self too much. I meet more for me rather to be a pain, than to be a hindrance to my duty. I did rejoice at the coming of this Bearer, to understand of your Constancy, and how that you be fully relieved, by Gods Grace, rather to suffer extremity than to go from the Truth of God which you have professed. He that gave you Grace to begin to follow a Truth, will follow you in the same unto the end. But, my loving Sister, as you be travelling this perilous Journey, take heed to the way, as you, practised by wile men; whereof you may read in the second of *S. Matthew* Gospel. Such as travelled to find Christ, followed only the Stars, and as long as they saw in the light, they were assured they were in the right way, and had great mirth in their Journey. But when they entered into *Jerusalem*, whereas the Star led them not thither, but unto *Bethlehem*, there asked the Citizens the way that the Star showed before; as long as they tarried in *Jerusalem*, and would be introduced into the City, they were not only ignorant of *Bethlehem*, but also lost the light of the Star that led them before. Whereof we learn, again and again, will be going in this life to seek Christ that is above, to beware that we lose not the Star of Gods Word, that is only the mark that leads us where Christ is, and whither way we may come unto him. But as *Jerusalem* stood in the way, and was an impediment to these Wile men: so doth the Synagogue of Antichrist, that teacheth the name of *Jerusalem*, which by *Isaiah* interpretation is called the Village of Peace, and amongst the People now is called the Catholic Church, hinder us the way the Pilgrims must go by through this world to *Bethlehem*, the House of fatuity and plentifulness, and is an impediment to all Christian Travellers; yea, and except the more grace of God be, will keep the Pilgrims still in here, that they shall not leave where Christ is at all. And to they them indeed, they take away the Star of Light, which is Gods Word, that it cannot be seen: as you may see how the Celestial Star was hid from the Wile men, when they asked of the Pharisees at *Jerusalem*, where Christ was born. Ye may see what great dangers happened unto these Wile men, whilst they were of their way, and next they lost their Guide and Conductor, the heavenly Star. Christ is mounted from us into Heaven, and there we seek him (as we say) and let us go forthward by the Star of his Word, because he hath not come into *Jerusalem*, the Church of Men, as he said for him. If we do go out of the way, and lose also our Conductor and Guide that only leadeth us thither.

The Poets write in Fables, that *Jafin*, when he fought with the Dragon in the Isle of Calde, was preferred by John and the Medicine of *Medea*, and so won the Golden Fleece. And they write also that *Phaeton*, whom they taught to be the Son and Heir of the high God *Jupiter*, would needs upon a day have the conduction of the Sun round about the VWorld; but as they figured, he misdeed of the accustomed course: whereupon when he went too high above Heaven; and when he went too low, he burned the Earth and the Water. These prophane histories do shame us that be Christian men. *Jafin* against the poison of the Dragon used only the Medicine of *Medea*; whereas I thank it is for a Christian man against the poison of the Devil, Heretic,

Herein and Sin, to use any other remedy than Christ and his Word? *Phant.* For lack of Knowledge, was afraid of every Sign of the Zodiacs, that the Sun passeth by: wherefore he went now too low, and now too high: at length fell down and drowned himself in the Sea. Christian men for lack of knowledge, and for fear of such dangers as Christian men must needs pass by, go clean out of order: at length fall into the Pit of Hell.

Silence heed; you shall in your Journey towards Heaven meet with many a monstrous Beast: have false of Gods Word therefore ready. You shall meet Hellish men, Children, Lovers and Friends, that shall God be with them (as God be praised he is, I would it were with all other alike) be very lets and impediments to your purpose. You shall meet with flander and contempt of the World; and be accounted ungracious and ungodly; you shall hear and meet with cruel Tyranny to do you all extremities; you shall now and then see the troubles of your own Conscience, and feel your own weakness; you shall hear that you be cursed by the Sentence of the Catholic Church, with such like Terrors: but pray to God, and follow the Star of his Word, and you shall arrive at the Port of eternal Salvation, by the Merits only of Jesus Christ: to whom I commend you and all yours most heartily.

Tours in Christ, John Hooper.

¶ Unto these Letters of M. Hooper heretofore recited, we thought not convenient to annex also another certain Epistle, not of M. Hooper, but written to him by a famous Learned man Henry Bullinger, chief Superintendent in the City of Zurich. Of whose singular love and tender affection toward M. Hooper ye heard before in the beginning of M. Hoopers Life discoursed. Now how loving he writeth unto him, ye shall hear by this private Letter, as follows.

To the most Reverend Father, Mr. John Hooper, Bishop of Worcester and Gloucester, and now Prisoner for the Gospel of Jesus Christ, my fellow-Lord, and most dear Brother in England.

I Heavily Father grant unto you, and to all those which are in Bonds and Captivity for his Names sake Grace and Peace through Jesus Christ our Lord, with wisdom, patience, and fortitude of the Holy Ghost.

I have received from you two Letters, my most dear Brother, the former in the Month of September of the year past, the latter in the Month of May of this present year, both written out of Prison. But I doubting lest I should make Answer to you in vain, whilst I feared that my Letters should never come into your hands, or else increase and double your sorrow, did refrain from the duty of writing. In the which thing I doubt not but you will have me excused, especially seeing you did not vouchsafe, nor on once in a whole year, to answer to my whole Libels rather than Letters, whereas I continued still notwithstanding in writing unto you, as also in this present, after I heard you were cast in Prison, I did not refrain from continual Prayer, beseeching our heavenly Father, through our only Mediator Jesus Christ, to grant unto you and to your fellow-Prisoners Faith and Conscience unto the end. Now is that thing happened unto you (my Brother) the which we did oftentimes prophesy unto our selves, at your being with us, should come to pass, especially when we did talk of the power of Antichrist of his felicity and victories. For you know the saying of Daniel, His power shall be mighty, but not in his strength, and he shall wonderfully destroy and make havock of all things, and shall prosper and predominate, and he shall destroy the mighty and the holy People after his own will. You know what the Lord varied us of before-hand by Matthew, in the 13 Chapter, by John in the 15 Chapter, and the 16 and also Peter, by John in the 13 Chapter, that the Bishop of Rome should be the Antichrist, as Paul hath written in the second of Timothy and the third Chapter. Wherefore I do nothing doubt (by Gods Grace) of your Faith and Patience, whilst you know that those things which you suffer are not looked for, or come by chance; but that

you suffer them in the best, truest, and most holy quarrel: for what can be more true and holy than our suffering them for the Papists, those worshippers of Antichrist, do persecute? All things touching Salvation we attribute unto Christ alone, and to his holy Institutions; as we have taught of him and of his Disciples: but they would have even the same things to be communicated as well to their Antichrist, and to his Institutions. Such we ought no left to withstand than we read that Elias withstood the Baalites. For if Jesus be Christ, then let them know, that he is the fulness of his King and Priest, then let them excuse if Antichrist be King and Priest, then let them excuse how long do they hold on both sides? Can they give unto us any one that is better than Christ? or who shall be equal with Christ, that a Pope, may be compared with him, except it be he whom the Apostle calleth the Adversary? But if Christ be sufficient for his Church, what needeth this putting and picking? But I know well enough, I need not to use the Disputations with you which are sincerely taught, and have taken root in Christ, being perverted that you have all things in him, and that we in him are made perfect.

Go forwards therefore constantly to confess Christ and to despise Antichrist, being mindful of this most holy and most true saying of our Lord Jesus Christ: *He that overcometh shall possess all things, and I will be his God, and he shall be my Son: but the Faithful, and the unbelieving, and the murderers, and the whoremongers, and the lovers, and the idolaters, and all liars, shall have their part in the Lake which burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second Death.* The first Death is soon overcome, although a Man must burn for the Lords sake: for they say well that do affirm that our Fire be to be scarcely a shadow of that which is prepared for Unbelievers, and them that depart from the Truth. Moreover, the Lord granteth unto us, that we may easily overcome by his power the first Death, the which he himself did take and overcome; promising with such joys as never shall have end, unpelable and putting all understanding, the which we shall possess to soon as ever we do depart hence. For to us again shall the Angel of the Lord; *If any man worship the Beast and his Image, and receive his mark in his hand, or on his hand, the same shall drink of the waters of God; yea, of the wine which is poured into the Cup of them that have the mark of the Beast, and shall be tormented in fire and brimstone. And those before the holy Angels, and before the Lamb: and the smok of their Torment shall ascend evermore, and they shall have no rest day nor night which worship the Beast and his Image, and whosoever receiveth the print of the Beast.* Here is the patience of Saints; here are the Faith of Jesus. To this he addeth by and by; *I heard also a voice saying to me, write, Blessed be the Dead that die in Christ, from henceforth, or hereafter, they shall rest. For they shall have no more pain, for their labours, but their works follow them: for our labour shall not be frustrate or in vain.*

Therefore seeing you have such a large Promise, be strong in the Lords light, a good fight, be faithful to the Lord unto the end: consider that Christ the Son of God is your Captain, and fighteth for you, and that all the Prophets, Apostles and Martyrs, are your fellow Soldiers. They that persecute and trouble us, are Men sinful and mortal, whose favour a Man would not buy with the value of a farthing; and besides that our Life is full of tribulation, and transitory. Happy are we, if we depart the Lord, who grant unto you, and to all your fellow-Prisoners, Faith and Conscience. Commend me to the most Reverend Fathers and holy Confessors of the Bishop of London, and the good Old Father Dr. Ridley. Them and all the rest of the Prisoners with you for the Lords Cause, I flure in my name, and in the name of all my fellow Ministers, the which do speak unto you the Grace of Gods and confanfy in the Truth.

Concerning the state of our Church, I remaineth even as it was when you departed from us into your Country. God grant we may be thankful to him, and that we may not only profess the Faith with words, but also express the same effectually with good works, to the praise

of our Lord. The Word of God increaseth daily in that part of Italy that is near unto us, and in France.

In the mean while the Godly fultain grievous Persecutions, and with great constancy and glory, through Towns they go unto the Lord. I and my household, with my Son in law and Kinsmen, are in good health in the Lord. They do salute you, and pray for your constancy, being sorrowful for you and the rest of the prisoners. There came to us Englishmen Students, both godly and Learned. They be received of our Magistrate. Ten of them dwell together, the rest remain here and there with good men. Amongst other, M. Thomas Lever is dear unto me, and familiar. If there be any thing where in I may do any pleasure to your Wife and Children, they shall have me wholly at commandment: I will write also to your Wife, for I understand the abode at Frankfurt. Be strong and merry in Christ, waiting for his deliverance, when, and in what fort it shall seem good unto him. The Lord Jesus flew upon the Realm of England, and illuminate the face with his Holy Spirit, to the glory of his Name, and the salvation of Souls. The Lord Jesus preserve and deliver you from all evil, with all them that call upon his Name. Farewell, and fare well Eternally. The 10. of October. Anno 1554. From Zurich.

You know the hand, H.B.

The History of Doctor Rowland Taylor, which suffered for the truth of Gods Word, under the Tyranny of the Roman Bishop, Anno 1555. The 9. day of February.

The Town of Hadley was one of the first that received the Word of God in all England, at the preaching of Master Thomas Bilney; by whose industry the Gospel of Christ had such gracious success, and took such root there, that a great number of English became exceeding well learned in the Holy Scriptures, as well Women as men, so that a man might have found among them many, that had often read the whole Bible through, and that could have said a great sort of S. Pauls Epistles by heart, and very well and readily have given a godly learned sentence in any matter of controversy. Their Children and Servants were also brought up and trained so diligently in the right knowledge of Gods Word, that the whole Town seemed rather an University of the learned, than a Town of Cloth-making or labouring People. And that most to be commended, they were for the more part faithful followers of Gods Word in their living.

In this Town was Doctor Rowland Taylor, Doctor in both the Civil and Canon Laws, and a right perfect Divine, Parson. Who at his first entering into his Benefice, did not, as the common sort of Beneficed men do, let his Benefice to a Farmer, that shall gather up the profits, and set in an ignorant unlearned priest to serve the Cure, and so they have the fleece, little or nothing care for feeding the flock: But contrarily, he forsook Archbishops, and Bishops, and all such great men, he before was in Household, and made his personal abode and dwelling in Hadley among the People committed to his charge. Where he as a good Shepherd, abiding and dwelling among his Sheep, gave himself wholly to the study of Holy Scriptures, most faithfully endeavouring himself to fulfill that Charge, which the Lord gave unto Peter saying; *Peter lovest thou me? Feed my Lambs, Feed my Sheep, Feed my flock.* This love of Christ to wrought in him, that no Sunday nor Holy-day passed, nor other time when he might get the People together, but he preached to them the Word of Gods, the Doctrine of their salvation.

Not only was his Word preaching unto them but all his life and conversation was an example of unfeigned Christian life and true holiness. He was void of all pride, humble and meek; as any Child that none were so poor but they might boldly, as unto their Father, refer unto him, neither was his Lowliness childish or fearful, but as occasion time and place required, he would be stout in rebuking the lawless and evil Doers, so that none was so

rich but he would tell him plainly his fault, with such earnest and grave rebukes as became a good Curate and Pastor. He was a man very mild, void of all rancour, grudge or evil will, ready to do good to all men, readily forgiving his enemies, and never fought to do evil to any.

To the poor that were blind, lame, sick, bedrid, or dead which had many Children, he was a very Father, a careful Father, and diligent provider; inasmuch that he caused the Parishioners to make a general provision for them; and he himself (beside the ordinary relief that they all ways found at his House) gave an honest portion yearly to the common alms box. His Wife also an honest discreet, and sober Matron, and his Children well nurtured, brought up in the fear of God and good learning.

To conclude, he was a right and lively image or pattern of all those virtuous qualities defined by S. Paul in a true Bishop, a good salt of the earth, favourably bringing the corrupt manners of evil men, a light in Gods House to put a Candlestick for all good men to imitate and follow.

This continued this good Shepherd among his flock, governing and leading them thorow the wilderness of this wicked World, all the days of the most innocent and Holy King of blessed memory, Edward the sixth. But after it pleased God to take King Edward from this vale of misery unto his most blessed rest, the Parish, who ever assembled and dissembled, both with King Henry the eighth, and King Edward his Son, now seeing the time and the convenient for their purpose uttered their false hypocricies, openly refusing all good reformation made by the said two good Kings; and contrary to that they had all their two Kings days preached, taught, written and sworn, they violently overthrew the true Doctrine of the Gospel, and persecuted with sword and fire all those that would not agree to receive again the Roman Bishop as Supreme Head of the Universal Church, and allow all the Errors, Superstitions, and Idolatries, that belony by Gods Word were disapproved justly condemned, as though now they were different goodly, virtuous and true Religion.

In the beginning of this rage of Antichrist, a certain partie Gentlemen after the sort of a Lawyers, called Fyter, yet and being a Steward and Keeper of Courts, a man of no great skill, but a bitter persecutor in those days, with one John Clerk of Hadley, which Fyter had ever been a secret favourer of all Romish Idolatry, conspired with the Clerk to bring in the Pope and his marmette again into Hadley Church. For as yet Dr. Taylor, as a good Shepherd, had retained and kept in his Church the godly Church Service and Reformation made by K. Edward, and most faithfully and earnestly preached against the Popish corruptions, which had infected the whole Country round about.

Therefore the forsaid Fyter and Clerk hired one John Awerth, Parson of Adam, a very money Mann, a monk, a blind leader of the blinde Popish Idolatry, and an open Advouturer and Whoremonger, a very fit Minister for their purpose to come to Hadley, and there to give the order to begin again the Popish Mass.

To this purpose they builded up with all last possible Mark how the Altar, intending to bring in their Mass again, about the Palm Monday. But this their device took none were so effect: for in the night the Altar was beaten down, where they builded up again the first time, and laid it in ruin, lay all should again break it down.

On the day following came Fyter and John Clerk, bringing with them their Popish Sacrificers, who brought with him all his implements and garments to play his Popish pageant, whom they and their men guarded with swords and bucklers, lest any man should disturb him in his Missal Sacrifice.

When Doctor Taylor, who (according to his custom) as a true

Taylor's robes, with a broad new shaven crown, ready to begin his Popish sacrifice, leapt round about with drawn swords and bucklers, lest any man should approach to disturb him.

Then said Doctor Taylor, Thou Divel, who made thee so bold to enter into this Church of Christ to prophanize and defile it with this abominable Idolatry? With that flure up *Foster*, and with an irefull and furious countenance said to Doctor Taylor, Thou Traitor, what dost thou here, to let and disturb the Queens proceedings? Doctor Taylor answered, I am no Traitor, but I am the Shepherd that God my Lord Christ hath appointed to feed his flock: to be here, and I command thee thou Popish Wolf, in the Name of God to avoid hence, and not to presume here with such Popish Idolatry to poison Christs flock.

Then said *Foster*, Wilt thou traitorously, Hereticke, make a commotion, and resist violently the Queens proceedings?

D. Taylor answered, I make no commotion, but it is you Papists that make commotions and Tumults. I resist only with Gods Word against your Popish Idolatry, which are against Gods Word, the Queens honour, and tend to the utter subversion of this Realm of England. And further, thou dost against the law, which commanded that no Mass be said but at a consecrated Altar.

When the Parson of Alden heard that, he began to shrink back, and would have said his saying of Mass; then flure up *Jahn Clerk*, and said, *Masse, Awerth*, as *super alere* is a Rome word, you have a *super alere*, Go forth with your business man.

Then *Foster*, with his armed men, took D. Taylor, and led him with strong hand out of the Church, and the Popish Priests proceeded in his Romish Idolatry. D. Taylor Wist who followed her Husband into the Church, and when she saw her husband thus violently thrust out of his Church, the kneeled down and lifted up her hands, and with a loud voice said; I beseech God the righteous Judge to avenge this injury, that as these Popish Idolaters this day do to the Blood of Christ. Then they thrust her out of the Church also, and shut the Doors; for they feared that the People would have rent their Sacrifice in pieces. Notwithstanding one or two three in great frowns at the Windows, and miffed very little the Popish Mass.

It was also in *Hadley* one Aleckes, a very goodly man, well learned in the Holy Scriptures, who after *Rich Rich Treman* was driven away) used daily to read of a Chapter and to say the English Litany in *Hadley Church* troubled for his faith, and called him in prison in *Newgate*; where at years imprisonment he died.

But let us return to Doctor Taylor again, who being accompanied with a fervant of his own, named *Jahn Hull*, took his journey towards *London*. By the way, this *Jahn Hull* laboured to Countell and persuade him very earnestly to fly, and not come to the Bishop, and proposed himself to go with him to serve him, and in all perils to venture his life for him, and with him.

But in no wise would Doctor Taylor consent or agree thereto, but said, Oh *Jahn*, thou shalt give place to this danger? Remember the good Shepherd Christ, who himself not alone fed his flock, but also died for his flock. Him must I follow, and with Gods grace will do.

Therefore good *Jahn* pray for me and I will feed me weak stay, say, comfort me, and discourage me not in this my godly enterprise and purpose. Thus they came up to *London*, and shortly after D. Taylor presented himself to the Bishop of Winchester *Steven Gardiner*, then Lord Chancellor of England.

For this hath been one great abuse in England these many years that such offences have been of much importance and weight, have commonly been committed to Bishops and other spiritual men, whereby 3 divels mischief and inconveniences have happened in this Realm, to the great dishonour of God, and utter neglecting of the flock committed to them.

First, they have had final leave to attend to their Pastoral Cures, which thereby have been utterly neglected and undone.

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Secondly, it hath also put many Bishops a d o ther spiritual persons into such haughtiness and pride, that they have thought no Noble man in the Realm worthy to be their equal and fellow.

Thirdly, where they by this means knew the very excesses of Princes, they being in such high offices, have caused the same to be known in Rome, afore the Kings could accomplish and bring their intents to pass in England. By this means hath the Papacy been so maintained, and things ordered after their will and pleasures, that much mischief hath happened in this Realm and others, sometime to the Destruction of Princes, and sometime to the utter undoing of many Commonwealthe.

Now when *Gardiner* saw Dr. Taylor, he according to his common custom, all to reviled him, calling him Knave, Traitor, Heretic, with many other villanous reproaches; which all Dr. Taylor heard patiently, and at the last said unto him:

My Lord, quoth he, I am neither Traitor nor Hereticke, but a true Subject, and a faithful Christian man, and am come, according to your commandment, to know what is the cause that your Lordship hath sent for me.

Then said the Bishop, Art thou come, thou Villain? How darest thou look me in the face for shame? Knowest thou who I am?

Yes, quoth Dr. Taylor, I know who you are. Ye are Doctor *Steven Gardiner*, Bishop of Winchester, and Lord Chancellor, and yet but a Mortal man I row. But if I should be afraid of your Lordly looks, why fear you not God, the Lord of us all? How dare ye for shame know any Christian man in the face, feeling ye have forsaken the Truth, denied our Saviour Christ and his word and done contrary to your own Oath and writing? With what countenance will ye appear before the Judgment face of Christ, and answer to your Oath made first unto that blessed K. Henry the eighth of famous Memory, and afterward unto blessed King *Edward* the sixth his Son?

The Bishop answered, I Tuff, such, that was *Herods* Oath, unlawful; and therefore worthy to be broken: I have done well in breaking it; and I thank God, I am come home again to our Mother the Catholic Church of Rome, and so I would thou shouldst do.

Dr. Taylor answered, Should I forsake the Church of Christ, which is founded upon the true foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, to approve those Lies, Errors, Superstition and Idolatries, that the Popes and their company at this day so blasphemously do approve? Nay, God forbid.

Let the Pope and his return to our Saviour Christ and his word, and thrust out of the Church such abominable Idolatries as he maintaineth, and then will Christian men turn unto him. You wrote truly against him, and were sworn against him.

I tell thee, quoth the Bishop of Winchester, it is broken, and not kept; and our holy Father the Pope hath discharged me of it.

Then said Dr. Taylor, You shall not be so discharged before Christ, who dookle will require it at your hands, as a lawful Oath made to our Leige and Sovereign Lord the King, from whose obedience no man can absolve you, neither the Pope nor any of his.

I see, quoth the Bishop, thou art an *Arrogant* Kneave, and a very froward man. My Lord, quoth Doctor Taylor, leave your unfeeling railing at mee, which is not flemly for such an one in Authority as you are, For I am a Christian man, and you know, that he that saith to his Brother, *Rachis*, is in danger of a *Convent*, and he that saith, *Thou Fool*, is in danger of *Hell* Fire.

The Bishop answered, Ye are false, and lyars all the sort of you. Nay, quoth Doctor Taylor, we are true men, and know that it is written, *O quod mentis, occidit animam*. And again, *Perdes omnia qui loquuntur mendacium*. I. The mouth that lieth, slayeth the soul.

And again, Lord God thou that destroy all that speak lies, destroy these liars that destroy all that speak the truth.

Word which ye contrary to your own consciences deny and forsake.

Thou art married (quoth the Bishop.) Yea, (quoth

Doctor Taylor) that I thank God I am, and have had nine Children, and allin lawful Matrimony, and be lieved be God that ordained Matrimony and commanded that every man, that hath not the gift of continency, should marry a Wife of his own, and not live in Adultery or Whoredom.

Then said the Bishop, Thou hast refitted the Queens proceedings, and wouldst not suffer the Parson of Alden, a very virtuous and devout Priest to say Mass in his Church. Dr. Taylor answered, My Lord, I am Parson of *Hadley*, and it is against all Right, Confidence and Laws, that any man should come into my charge, and presume to infect the Flock committed unto me, with venom of the Popish Idolatrous Mass.

With that the Bishop waxed very angry, and said, Thou art a blasphemous Hereticke indeed, that biddest the blessed Sacrament (and putt his cap) and speak against the holy Mass, which is made a Sacrifice for the quick and the dead. Dr. Taylor answered, Nay, I blaspheme not the blessed Sacrament which Christ instituted, but I reverence it as it is. The Christian man ought to do as he can, that Christ ordained the holy Communion in the remembrance of his death and passion, which when we keep according to his ordinance, we (through faith) eat the Body of Christ, and drink his Blood, giving thanks for our redemption, and this is our Sacrifice for the quick and the dead, to give thanks for his merciful goodness that sheddeth for us, in that he gave his Son Christ unto us for the death for us.

Thou sayst well (quoth the Bishop.) It is all that thou hast said, and more too; for it is a proprietary Sacrifice for the quick and the dead. Then answered Dr. Taylor, Christ gave himself to die for our redemption upon the Cross, whose Body there offered was the proprietary Sacrifice full, perfect and sufficient unto Salvation for all them that believe in him. And this Sacrifice did our Saviour Christ offer in his own person once, himself once for all, neither can any Priest any more offer him, nor we need any more proprietary Sacrifice; and therefore I fly with Christofom, and all the Doctors: Our Sacrifice is only Memorative, in the remembrance of Christs death and passion, a Sacrifice of thanksgiving; and therefore the Fathers call it *Eucharistia*. And other Sacrifice hath the Church of God none.

It is true, quoth the Bishop, the Sacrament is called *Eucharistia* thanksgiving, because we there give thanks for our redemption, and it is also a Sacrifice propitiatory for the quick and the dead, which thou hast confessed ere thou and I have done. Then called the Bishop his men, and said, Have this fellow hence, and carry him to the Kings Bench, and charge the Keeper he faithfully keep him. Then knelt Dr. Taylor down, and held up both hands, and said, Good Lord I thank thee, and thank the Tyranny of the Bishop of Rome, and all his detestable errors, Idolatries, and abominations, good Lord deliver us: And God be praised for good King *Edward*. So they carried him to the Kings Bench where he lay prisoner almost two years.

This is the sum of that first talk, as I saw it mentioned in a Letter that Dr. Taylor wrote to his friend, thanking God for his grace, that he had confided his Truth, and was found worthy for Truth to suffer prison and bands, befiecing his friends to pray for him, that he might perfectly continue unto the end.

Being in prison, Doctor Taylor spent all his time in prayer, reading the holy Scriptures, and writing, and preaching, and exhorting the prisoners, and such as lay referred to him, to repentance and amendment of life.

Within a few days after, were divers other prisoners learned and godly men in findry counties of England not so committed to prison for Religion, so then almost all Churches the prisoners in England where become right Christian Schools and Churches; so that there was no greater comfort for Christian hearts, than to come to the prisoners to behold their virtuous conversation, and to hear their prayers, preachings, most godly exhortations, and confutations.

Now were placed in Churches blind and ignorant Mass mongers, with their Latin babblings and Apish ceremonies; who like cruel Wolves spared not to

The learned
able differ
of Gods true
Worshippers
in this
day

John Brad-
shaw and Dr.
Taylor both
fellows in the
King
Bench.

to murder all such, as any thing at all but once whilper against their Popery. As for the godly Preachers which were in King Edwards time, they were either fled the Realm, or else with the Prophets did in King Edwards days, they were pively kept in corners. As many as the Papists could lay hold on, they were sent into prisons, there as Lambs waiting when the Butchers would call them to the slaughter.

When Doctor Taylor was come into the prison called the Kings Bench, he found therein the virtuous and vigilant Preacher of Gods Word, M. Bradford; which Law for his innocent and godly living his devout and virtuous preachings, was worthily counted a miracle of our times, as even his Adversaries must needs confess. Finding this man in prison, he began to exhort him to faith, strength and patience, and to persevere constant unto the end. M. Bradford hearing this, thanked God, who had provided him such a comfortable fellow-Prisoner: and they both together lauded God, and continued in prayer, reading, and exhorting one another: Infomuch that Doctor Taylor told his friends that came to visit him, that God had most graciously provided for him, to send him to that prison where he found his chosen Angel of God, to be in his company to comfort him.

Doctor Taylor brought forth to be deprived.

After that Doctor Taylor had lain in prison a while, he was cited to appear in the Arches at Bow-Church, to answer unto such matter as there should be objected against him. At the day appointed, he was led thither, and his Keeper waiting upon him. Where he came, he was stoutly and strongly defended his Marriage, affirming by the Scriptures of God, by the Doctors of the Primitive Church, by both Laws Civil and Canon, that it is lawful for Priests to marry, and that such as have the gift of continence are bound in pain of Damnation to marry. This aid he plainly proved, that the Judge could give no sentence of Divorce against him, but gave sentence he should be deprived of his Benefice, because he was Married.

You do me wrong then (quoth Doctor Taylor) and alleged many Laws and Constitutions for himself, but all prevailed not. For he was again carried into prison, and his Livings taken away, and given to other as Hadley Benefice, it was given or sold, I wot not whether, to one Master Newcastle, whose great virtues were altogether unlike to Doctor Taylor his predecessor, as the poor Parishioners full well have found.

Doctor Taylor brought again before Winchester, and other Bishops.

After a Year and three Quarters, or there about, in the which time, the Papists got certain old Tyrannous Laws, which were put down by King Henry the Eighth; and by King Edward, to be again revived by Parliament: so that now they might, in their office, charge him with what Articles they lusted, and except they in all things agreed to their purpose, burn them. When these Laws were once established, they sent for Doctor Taylor with certain other prisoners, which were again converted before the Chancellor and other Commissioners about talk between them, because it is sufficiently testified by himself in his own Letter written to a friend of his, I have annexed the said Letter here under follows.

A Letter of Dr. Taylor, containing and reporting the talk had between him and the Lord Chancellor and other Commissioners the 22. of January.

The pardon
is intended.

Whereas you would have me to write the talks between the King and Queens most Honourable Council and me on Tuesday 22. of January, I fear as I remember: First, My L. Chancellor said, You among others at this present time sent for, to enjoy the Kings and Queens Majesties favour and mercy, if you will now rise again with us from the fall which we generally have received in this Realm, from the which (God be praised)

we are now clearly delivered, miraculously. If you Anno 1555. will not rise with us now, and receive mercy now offered, you shall have Judgement according to your desert. To this I answered, that I so rejoice, should be the greatest fall from that ever I could receive: for I should go fall from my dear Saviour Christ to Antichrist. For I do believe, The Religion first set forth in King Edwards days, was the Religion according to the spirit of the Holy Scripture, which containeth fully all the rules of our Christian Religion, from the which I do intend to decline so long as I live, by Gods grace.

Then Master Secretary Bourn said, Which of the Religions mean ye of in King Edwards days? For ye know there were diverse Books of Religion set forth in his days. There was a Religion set forth in a Catechism by my Lord of Canterbury. Do you mean that you will stick to that?

I answered, My Lord of Canterbury made a Catechism to be translated into English, which Book was often of his own making: yet he set it forth in his own name, and truly that Book for the time did much good. But say, there was after that set forth by the most innocent King Edward (for whom God be praised everlastingly) the whole Church of Christ, with great deliberation, and the advice of the best learned men in the Realm, and authorized by the whole Parliament, and received and published gladly by the whole Realm: which Book was never reformed once, and yet by that reformation it was so fully perfected, according to the rules of our Christian Religion in every behalf, that no Christian conscience could be offended with any thing therein contained. I mean of that Book reformed.

Then my Lord Chancellor said, Didst thou never read the Book that is set forth of the Sacrament?

I answered, that I had read it. Then he said, How likest thou that Book? With that I might one of the Council (whose name I know not) said, My Lord, that is a good question: for I am sure, that Book be in the fingers all their mouths. Then said I, My Lord, I think many things be far worse from the truth of Gods Word in that Book.

Then my Lord said, Thou art a very earnest. To that I answered, That is as it is as Racha or Fane. Then my Lord said, Thou art an ignorant Bettle-brain.

To that I answered, I have read over and over again the holy Scriptures, and S. Augustines Divinity, and the Scriptures through S. Cyrilian, Eusebius, Origen, Gregory, Nazianzen, with divers other Books through; once law, therefore, I thank God, I am not utterly ignorant. Besides these, my Lord, I professed the Civil Laws, as your Lordship did, and I have read over the Canon Law also.

Then my Lord said, With a corrupt Judgement thou readest all things: Touching my profession, it is Divinity, in which I have written divers Books. Then said I, I thank my Lord, ye do write one Book, De verberis obediencia, I would you had been constant in that: for indeed you never did declare a good conscience that I heard of, or that that Book.

Then my Lord said, Tis true, tis true, I wrote against Bucer in Priests Marriages: but I say Books please not such wretches as thou art, which have been Married many years.

To that I answered, I am Married indeed, and I have had nine Children in Holy Matrimony, I thank God: and this I am sure of, that your proceedings now at this present in this Realm against Priests Marriages, is to the maintenance of the Divorced Divels, against the Natural Law, Civil Law, Canon Law, general Councils, Canons of the Apostles, ancient Doctors, and Gods Laws.

Then said my Lord of Durefin, saying, You have professed the Civil Laws, as you say. Then you know that Iulianus writeth, that Priests should at their taking of Ordination swear, that they were never Married; and he bringeth in to prove that, Canones Apostolorum.

To that I answered, That I did not remember any such law of Iulianus. But I am sure, that Iulianus writeth Iulianus in Titulo de inducta virginitate, that if one would be sure to keep his first in his Testament a Legate, under a condition that he should never marry again, and take an oath of her for accomplishing the same, yet she may marry again

Secretary
Bourn said
that he
thought
the Religion
in King
Edwards
days, was
the Religion
according
to the spirit
of the Holy
Scripture,

Archbishop
of the book,
which was
often of his
own making:
yet he set it
forth in his
own name,

Canon Law
approach
Priests Mar-
riage.

Windsor
Bishop
Cousin

Tudor
Bishop
Windsor
at end.

Dr. Taylor
said he
was not
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Dr. Taylor
said he
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Dr. Taylor
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Dr. Taylor
said he
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Dr. Taylor
said he
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married

Dr. Taylor
said he
was not
married

again if he die, notwithstanding the aforeaid Conditions. Oath taken and made against Marriage: and an Oath is another manner of Obligation made to God, than is a Papistal Vow made to man.

Moreover, in the Pandects it is contained, that if a man doth manum his Handmaid, under a condition that he shall never marry; yet she may marry, and her Father shall lose his Patrimony, for his adding of the unnatural and unlawful Condition against Matrimony.

Then my Lord Chancellor said, Thou sayest that Priests may be married by Gods Law. How provest thou that?

I answered, By the plain words and sentences of S. Paul. both to Timothy, and to Titus, where he speaketh most evidently of the Marriage of Priests, Deacons and Bishops. And Chrysostom writing upon the Epistle to Timothy, saith, It is an Heresy to say that a Bishop may not be Married.

Then said my Lord Chancellor, Thou list of Chrysostom. But, thou dost, as all they Companions do, freely ever without name both the Scriptures and the Doctors. I will not also say, that by the Canon Law Priests may be Married? which is most untrue, and the contrary is most true.

I answered, We read in the Decretes, that the four general Councils, Nicaene, Constantinople, Ephesine Chalcedon have the same Authority that the four Evangelists have. And we read in the same Decretes (which is one of the chief books of the Canon Law) that the Council of Nice, by the means of one Papinatus, did allow Priests and Bishops Marriages: Therefore by the best part of the Canon Law, Priests may be Married.

Then my Lord Chancellor said, Thou falsifiest the general Council. For there is express mention in the said Decretes, that Priests should be divorced from their wives, which he married.

Then said I, if these words be there, as you say, then am I content to lose this great head of mine, Let the book be fetched.

Then I spoke my Lord of Durefin, though he be no there, yet they that are in the Ecclesiastical Hilloria, which Ecclesiastical, out of which book the Decretes was taken.

To that said, It is not like that the Pope would leave out any such sentence, having such Authority, and making so much for his purpose.

Then my Lord Chancellor said, Gratian was but a patcher; and thou art glad to snatch up such a patch as maketh for thy purpose.

I answered, my Lord, I cannot but marvel that you do call one of the chief Papists that ever was, but a patcher.

Then my Lord Chancellor said, Nay I call thee a snatcher and patcher. To make an end, wilt thou not return again with us to the Catholic Church, and with that be rejoiced.

I said, by Gods grace I will never depart from Christs Church. Then I required that I might have some of my friends to come to me in prison, and my Lord Chancellor said, Thou shalt have Judgement within this week: and so was I delivered again unto my Keeper. My Lord of Durefin would that I should believe as my Father and my Mother did. I answered, S. Augustin, that we ought to prefer Gods Word before all men.

And thus was contained in the forsaide letter of Dr. Taylor, for that matter.

Besides this Letter, moreover he directed another writing in like manner to another friend of his concerning the causes wherefore he was condemned, which we thought likewise hereto express as follows.

The Copie of another Letter to his friend touching his Afflictions of the Marriage of Priests, and other causes for the which he was condemned.

It is Heresie to defend any Doctrine against the holy Scripture. Therefore the Lord Chancellor and Bishops coming to his sentence against me, be Heretics. For they have given sentence against the Marriage of Priests, knowing that St. Paul to Timothy and Titus writeth plainly, that Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, may be

married; knowing also that, by S. Pauls Doctrine it is the Doctrine of Devils to inhibit Matrimony. And St. Paul writeth every faithful Minister to teach the People, lest they be deceived by the marked Merchants. 1 Tim. 4.

These Bishops are not ignorant; that it is not only against Gods Council, and lawfull, but Gods commandment also to marry, for such as cannot otherwise live in chastity, neither avoid fornication.

They know that such as do marry do not sin. They know that God, before sin was, ordained Matrimony, and that in Paradise between two of his principal Creatures, Man and Woman.

They know what spirit they have, which say it is good to evilly to marry (saying God said, It is not good for Man to be alone without a Wife) having no special gift, contrary to the general commandment and ordinance, divers times repeated in the book of Genesis, which is, To Increase and Multiply.

They know that Abraham carried into the Land of Canaan his old and yet Barren Wife, the Virtuous Woman Sara with him, leaving Father and Mother and Country the while, as Gods commandment is, Honour thy Father and Mother and other Friends are dear and next, yet none are so dearly and nearly joynted together, as Man and Wife in Matrimony, which must needs be honest, for that is a figure and similitude of Christs his Church.

They know that S. Paul giveth a great praise to Matrimony, calling it honourable, and that not only to men, and among many; but to and among all men without exception, whosoever have need of that Gods remedy, for Man and Woman infirmity.

They know that if there were any Sin in Matrimony, it were chiefly to be thought to be in the Bed-company. But S. Paul saith, that the Bed-company is undefiled.

They know that the having of a Wife was not an impediment for Abraham, Moses, Isaac, Jacob, David, &c. to talk with God, neither to the Levites, Bishops, and Priests office in the time of the old Testament or the new.

They know that Christs would not be conceived, or born of his blessed Mother, the Virgin Mary, before the waespoiled in Matrimony, his own ordination.

They know, by S. Cyrilian and S. Augustin, that a Vow is not an impediment sufficient to let Matrimony or to divorce the same.

They know that S. Chrysostom saith, it is Heresie to affirm that a Bishop may not have a Wife.

They know that Ambrose will have no commandment but Cometh only to be given, touching the observing of Virginitie.

They know that Christs with his blessed Mother and the Apostles were at a Marriage, and beautified and honoured the same with his presence, and first miracle.

To be short, they know that all that I have here written touching the Marriage of Priests, is true: and they know that the Papists themselves do not observe, touching that matter, their own Laws and Canons; and yet they continue marked in conscience with an hate, as a detestable Heresie in this behalf. The Lord give them grace to repent, if it be his good will, Amen.

My second cause why I was condemned an Heretic, is, that I denied Transubstantiation and Concomitant, two juggling words of the Papists by the which they believe and will compel all other to believe, that Christs Natural Body is made of Bread, and the Godhead by the words (called the words of Consecration) there is no more Bread and Wine in the Sacrament, but the substance only of the Body and Blood of Christs together with his Godhead: so that the same being now Christs, both God and man, ought to be worshipped with godly honour, and to be offered to God, both for the quick and the dead, as a Sacrifice propitiatory and satisfactory for the same. This matter was not long debated in words: but because I denied the forsaide Papistall Doctrine (yet rather, plain, most wicked Idolatry, Blasphemy and Heresie) I was judged an Heretic.

the old Martyrs, gathered out of Ecclesiastical History; and in the end of that Book he wrote his Testament and last Will, as hereafter followeth.

The last Will and Testament of Doctor Rowland Taylor, Pastor of Hadley.

I Say to my Wife, and to my Children; The Lord gave you unto me, and the Lord hath taken me from you; and you are to be blest by the Name of the Lord. God believe that they are blest which deify the Lord. God have ever found him more fruitful and favourable, than is any Father or Husband. Trust ye therefore in him by the means of our dear Saviour Christ's Merits: believe, love, fear and obey him: pray to him, for he hath promised to help. Count me not dead, for I shall follow after you never dye. I go before, and you shall follow after me long home. I say to the zack of my Children, *Susan, George, Ellen, Robert and Zachary*: I have bequeathed you to my only Omnipotent.

I fy to my dear Friends of *Hadley*, and to all others which have heard me preach; that I depart hence with a quiet Conscience: as touching my Doctrine, for the which I pray you thank God with me. For I have with my little Talent, declared to others those Lessons that I gathered out of Gods Book, the blessed Bible. Therefore if I or an Angel from Heaven should preach to you any other Gospel than that ye have received, Gods great Curse upon that Preacher.

Beware for Gods sake that ye deny not God, neither decline from the word of Faith, lest God decline from you, and ye go everlastingly perill. For Gods faith beware of Popery, for though it appear to have it in it, unity, yet the same is Vanity and Antichristianity, and not in Christs Faith and Verity.

Beware of the false signs of the Holy Ghost, now after this a Light opened so plainly and simply, truly, thoroughly and generally to all England.

The Lord grant all men his good and Holy Spirit, increase of his Willom, condemning the wicked World, hearty desire to be with God and the Heavenly Company, through Jesus Christ, our only Mediator, Advocate, Righteousness, Life, Sanctification and Hope, Amen, Amen. Pray, pray.

Rowland Taylor departing hence in sure hope, without all doubting of Eternal Salvation, I thank God my Heavenly Father, through Jesus Christ my certain Saviour, Amen.

The 5 of February, Anno 1555.

The Lord is my Light and my Salvation: whom then shall I fear? Psal. 27.

God is he that justifieth: who is he that can condemn? Rom. 8.

In thee, O Lord, have I trusted, let me never be confounded. Psal. 30.

On the next Morrow, after that D. Taylor had Supped with his Wife in the Counters, as before expressed, which was the fifth day of February, the Sheriff of London with his Officers came to the Counter by Two of the Clock in the Morning, and so brought forth D. Taylor, and without any Light led him to the Woolfack, an Inn within Albogate. Dr. Taylor's Wife, supposing that her Husband should that Night be carried away, watching all Night in S. Dunstons Church-Porch before *Albogate* having with her two Children, the one named *Elizabeth*, boy 13 years of Age (whom being left without Father or Mother, D. Taylor had brought up of Alms from three years old,) the other named *Mary*, Doctor Taylor's own Daughter.

Now, when the Sheriff and his Company came against S. Dunstons Church, *Elizabeth* cried, saying, O my dear Father: Mother, Mother, where is my Father led away? Then cried his Wife, *Rowland, Rowland*, where art thou? for it was a very dark Morning, that the one could not see the other. D. Taylor answered, Dear Wife, I am here and stayed. The Sheriffs Men would have led him forth; but the Sheriff said, Stay a little Matters, I den

pay you, and let him speak to his Wife, and so they layed. Then came she to him, and he took his Daughter *Mary* in his Arms: and he, his Wife and *Elizabeth* knelt down and said the Lords Prayer. At which fight the Sheriff wept apace, and so did divers others of the Company. After they had prayed, he rose up and kissed his Wife, and shook her by the hand, and said, Farewell my dear Wife, be of good comfort, for I am quiet in my Conscience. God shall fit up a Father for my Children. And then he kissed his Daughter *Mary*, and said, God bless thee and make thee his Servant: and kissing *Elizabeth*, he said, God bless thee. I pray you all stand strong and steadfast unto Christ and his Word, and keep you from Idolatry. Then said his Wife, God be with thee, dear Rowland, I will with Gods grace meet thee at *Hadley*.

And so was he led forth to the Woolfack, and his Wife followed him. As soon as they came to the Woolfack, he was put into a Chamber, wherein he was kept with four of the Yeomen of the Guard and the Sheriffs Men. D. Taylor, as he was come into the Chamber, fell down on his Knees and gave himself wholly to Prayer. The Sheriff then, seeing D. Taylor's Wife there, without any cafe grant her to speak any more with her Husband, but gently desired her to go to his House and take it as her due, and promised her he should lack nothing, and sent two Officers to conduct her thither. Nowwithstanding the desired to go to her Mothers, whither the Officers led her, and charged her Mother to keep her there till they came again.

Thus remained D. Taylor in the Woolfack, kept by the Sheriff and his Company, till 1 o'f the Clock. At which time the Sheriff of *Essex* was now come to receive, and they set him on Horseback within the Inn, the Gates being shut.

At the coming out of the Gates, *John Hall*, before spoken of, stood at the Rails with Thomas, D. Taylor's Son. When D. Taylor saw them, he called them, saying, Come hither my Son Thomas. And *John Hall* lifted the Child up, and set him on the Horse before his Father: and D. Taylor put off his Hat, and said to the People there looking on him, Good People this is mine own Son, begotten of my body in lawful Matrimony; And God be blessed for lawful Matrimony. Then lifted he up his eyes towards Heaven and prayed for his Son, laid his Hat upon the Childs Head and blessed him, and so delivered the Child to *John Hall*, whom he took by the hand and said, Farewell *John Hall*, the faithfullest Sheriff that ever man had. And so they rode forth, the Sheriff of *Essex*, with four Yeomen of the Guard, and the Sheriffs Men leading him.

When they were come almost at *Barnwood*, one *Arthur Taylor*, a Man of *Hadley*, who before time was one in D. Taylor's Servant, met with them, and he, supposing him to have been at liberty, said, Master Doctor, I am glad to see you again at liberty, and came to him and took him by the hand. Soft Sir, quoth the Sheriff, he is a Prisoner; what hadst thou to do with him? I cry you are very angry with this, and threatened to carry *Arthur* with him to Prison; notwithstanding he bade him get quickly away and so they rode forth to *Barnwood*: where they caused to be made for D. Taylor a close House, with two windows for his Eyes to look out at, and a lit for his Mouth to breathe at. This they did, that no man should know him, nor he speak to any man. Which practice they used all with others. Their own Consciences told them that they led innocent Lambs to the slaughter. Wherefore they feared, lest if the People should have heard that they speak, or have seen them, they might have been much more

more strengthened by their godly Exhortations, to stand steadfast in Gods Word, and to flee the Superstitious and Idolatry of the Papacy.

All the way D. Taylor was joyful and merry, as one that accounted himself going to a most pleasant banquet or bride. He spake many notable things to the Sheriff and Yeomen of the Guard that conducted him, and often monitioned them to weep through his much earnest calling upon them to repent, and to amend their evil and wicked living. Oftentimes also he caused them to wonder and rejoice, to see him so constant and steadfast, void of all fear, joyful in heart, and glad to dye: Of these Yeomen of the Guard, three used D. Taylor friendly, but the four for whose names were named used him very homely, unkindly, and churlishly.

At Chimsford met them the Sheriff of *Suffolk*, there to receive him, and to carry him forth into *Suffolk*, and being at supper, the Sheriff of *Essex* very earnestly laboured him to return to the Popish Religion, thinking with fair words to persuade him, and said, Good Master Doctor, we are right sorry for you, considering what the loss of such a one as ye might be, if ye would: God hath given you great Learning and Wisdom, and therefore ye have been in great favour and reputation in times past with the Common and High of this Realm. Besides ye are a most goodly personage, in your left hand brought by nature like to live many years, and without doubt, ye should in time to come be in as good reputation as ever ye were, or rather better. For ye are well beloved of all men as well for your virtues as for your learning; and me think it were great pity you should call away your self willingly, and so come to such a painful and shameful death. Ye should do much better to revoke your Opinions, and return to the Catholic Universal Church of Rome, acknowledge the Popes Holiness to be the Supreme Head of the Church, and reconcile your self to him. Ye may do well yet, if you will: doubt ye not but ye shall find favour at the Queens hands, I and all these your friends will be faires for you. But if ye do not do so, ye shall obtain, this Count I give you, good M. Doctor, of a good Heart, and Goodwill toward you; and thereupon I drink to you. In like manner said all the Yeomen of the Guard: upon that condition, M. Doctor, we will all drink to you.

When they had all drunk to him and the Cup was come to him, he stayed a little, as one studying what answer he might give. At the last thus he answered and said, M. Sheriff, and my Masters all, I heartily thank you for your good will, I have hearkened to your words, and marked well your Counsels. And to be plain with you, I do perceive that I have been deceived my self, and am like to deceive a great many of *Hadley* of their expectation. With that word they all rejoiced. Yes, good Master Doctor, quoth the Sheriff, Gods Blessing on your heart: hold you there still. It is the comfortablest word that we heard you speak yet. What? should ye call away your self in vain? Play a vile mans part, and I dare warrant it, ye shall find favour. Thus they rejoiced very much at the word, and were very merry.

At the last, good M. Doctor, quoth the Sheriff, what meant ye by this that ye say ye think ye have been deceived your self, and think ye shall deceive many one in *Hadley*? Would ye know my meaning plainly, quoth he? Yes, quoth the Sheriff, good M. Doctor tell it us plainly. Then said Doctor Taylor, will tell you how I have been deceived, and as I think, I shall deceive a great many. I am, as you see, a man that hath a very great Carcase, which I thought should have been buried in *Hadley* Church-yard; but it had died in my Bed, as I well hoped they should have buried it, but I was deceived: and there are a great number of worms in *Hadley* Church-yard, which should have had jolly feeding upon this Carcase, which they have looked for many a day. But now I know we are deceived, both I and they; for this Carcase must be burnt to ashes, and so shall they lose their bait and feeding, which they looked to have had of it.

When the Sheriff and his Company heard him say so, they were amazed and looked one on another, marveling at the mans constant mind, that thus without all fear made but a jest at the cruel Torment, and death now at hand prepared for him: thus was their expectation clean

disappointed. And in this apperance what was his meed, he should shortly see, and feed worms in his grave: which undidation if he all his Bishops, and Sheriffs would had used, they had not for a little Worldly Glory forsaken the Word of God and Truth, which they in King *Edward* days had Preached and set forth, nor yet; to the contrary the Bishop of *Rome* Authority, have committed is many to the fire as they did.

But let us return to Doctor Taylor, who at Chimsford was delivered to the Sheriff of *Suffolk*, and by him conducted to *Hadley*, where he suffered. When they were come to *Hadley*, the Sheriff stayed there two days; and thither came to him a great number of Gentlemen, and Justice upon great parties, which all were appointed to aid the Sheriff. These Gentlemen laboured Doctor Taylor very sore to reduce him to the Romish Religion; promising him his Pardon, which, said they, we have here for you. They promised him great promotions, yet a Bishoprick if he would take it; but all their labour and flattering words were in vain. For he had not built his house upon the sand, nor the peril of falling in every puff of wind, to suppose the fire and unmovable Rock, Christ. Wherefore he abode constant and unmoved unto the end.

After two days, the Sheriff and his Company led D. Taylor to *Hadley*, and coming within two miles beyond that town, he led him to a place called *Hadley*, where he should be burnt. He had not built his house upon the sand, nor the peril of falling in every puff of wind, to suppose the fire and unmovable Rock, Christ. Wherefore he abode constant and unmoved unto the end.

When they were now come to *Hadley*, and came riding over the Bridge, at the Bridge foot waited a poor man with five small Children: who when he saw Doctor Taylor, he and his Children fell down upon their knees, and held up their hands, and cried with a loud Voice, and said, O dear Father and good Shepherd, Doctor Taylor, God help and succour thee, at thou halt many a time succoured me and my poor Children. Such witness had the Servant of God of his virtuous and Charitable Alms given in his Life-time. For God would now the poor should testify of his good deeds to his singular comfort, to the example of others, and Confusion of his Persecutors and Tyrannous Adversaries. For the Sheriff and others that led him to death, were wonderfully afflicted at this; and the Sheriff forebore the poor man for crying. The Brethren of *Hadley* were beset on both sides the way with Men and Women of the Town and Country, who wanted to see him: when they beheld the People so led to Death, with weeping Eyes and lamentable cries, crying one to another, Ah good Lord! there goeth our good Shepherd from us, that so faithfully had taught us, so Fatherly had cared for us, so godly had governed us, O Merciful God! what shall we poor fattered Lambs do? What shall come of this most Wicked World, Good Lord strengthen him, and comfort him with such other most lamentable and piteous Voices. Wherefore the People were fore rebuked by the Sheriff and Catchpols his men, that led him. And D. Taylor comforted the people; I have Preached to you the Words of Gods Word and Truth, and am come this day to Seal it with my blood.

Coming against the Almsfours, which he well knew, he cast to the poor People Money, which remained of that good People had given him in time of his Imprisonment. As for his Living, they took it from him at his first going to Prison, for that he was furnished all the time of his Imprisonment by the Charitable Alms of good People that visited him.

Therefore the Money that now remained he put in a poor ready for the same purpose, and as he laid gave it to the poor Almsmen standing at their doors to see him.

N And

ram similitudine, tanquam frater devotissimus sis, non minus ad se perire exoptamus. Itaque vestram opem imploramus, ut quam ipse gratiam & favorem optemus, nos merito dominum innocentem calamitati ac periculo (quod ipse non minus suum putat) accommodemus. Moverem profectio non temere illius viri (cui fuisse imprimi benevolentia) commiserationem, quae maxime testimonio de capivo Anstusius innocentis atque integritate de qua nunc estis, ut omnino speremus, quod multae tam morte multatæ (scilicet, de ipse integrum adeo Deus esse voluit. Proinde non dubitamus Serenitatem vestram quamquam possimus diligentia atque animi propensione rogare, si nostra causa capivi illius D. Milonis rationem clementer habere dignetur, eoque ut si foret, sua à penae citius atrocitate alienum esse voluit, & temporem offensionis, qui ipsum quoque esset, verisimile sit, nobis nostraque amicitie regia & precibus, gratiam hoc primo auditu, benignè condonare, saltem censeamus, ut si fortis hoc verum fuisse gravem etiam praesentia sit, incolumis ad nos cum suis dimittatur. Id nobis summi beneficii loco, & Serenitatis vestrae in favore vestri regni auspicio (quae angustia, fassus, & fortunata serenitatis vestrae ex animo optamus) ad clementiam laudem honorificum erit: & nos dabimus operam cum amicitia nostra habuimus rationem intelleximus, eo maiore studio in munus omnium gratitudinis omniumque officiorum vestrae Serenitatem vestram quippe universum regnum & subditos incumbamus. Deum optimum maximum precamur, ut Serenitatis vestrae ad gloriam sui nominis, & publicam salutem felices omnium rerum succedat, & incolumitatem diuturnam largiatur. Data ex arce regiae Colingum, septimo Calendas Martii, Anno 1555.

Vester confanguineus, frater, & amicus, Christianissimus, Rex.

To these Letters of the King, Queen Mary answered in writing, declared that the said *Miles Coverdale* was not such Faculty for any Religion, but for certain Debt: to neither plainly granting, or expressly denying his Request, but using a colourable excuse for shifting off the matter, as appearing by his good Letters to the King, dated the four and twentieth day of September, as followeth.

Christianiss. Dei gratia Danie, Norvegie, Gotorum, & Vandalem Rex: Sleswick, Holsatiae, Stormarie, & Dithmarie Dux: Comes in Oldenburgh, & Delmenhorst, Sereniss. Principi Domine Marie, Angliae, Francie, & Hibernie Regine, fidelis defensor. Sc. Sorori & confanguineae nostrae charissime salutem, & omnium rerum optatos & faustos successus.

Redita sunt nobis littere Serenitatis vestrae, quibus benigne admodum ad deprecationem nostram, qua pro D. Milonis Coverdale Ecclesiae Exonensis nuper nominati Episcopi incolumitate ipsi sumus, respondetur: ut si intelligamus, licet alterius causae quam qua nobis innuuntur, periculum significatur, tamen Serenitatem vestram nostrae intercessionis cum rationem habueritis esse, ut illam ipsi profuisse ipsi Coverdale sentiat. Cui quidem promissioni regiae cum tantum meritum tribuimus, ut ea freti non dubitaverimus ipsi capivi propinquae nobis imprimi charae) a merore ac solitudine ad rem ante excedit, ut omnem certe salutis evocare, facere non putamus, quin ex gratia Serenitatis vestrae pro tam prompta ac benigne voluntate, non modo iuxta beneficii, fed etiam perpetuae inter nos ac regna nostra conservanda ac colenda amicitiae agereamus, & quantum in nobis esset, quod ad amplendam pacis concordiaeque hanc iustitiam impiorum, nihil praetermitteremus. Nunc vero nobis de clementia ac moderatione Serenitatis vestrae unquam dubium fuit, quam Deus optimus maximus ad gloriam sui nominis & Fructum publicae utilitatis ut magis ac magis efflorescere vellet, ut non optamus. Prout cum ob rationes avaritiae, neque illud gravissimum D. Coverdale tenet Serenitatis vestrae (scilicet, est fassus ut ipsi causa Latere, eoque minus ambigamus, liberationem incolumitatemque ipsi nostris precibus liberaliter donari. Nam & accepimus ipsam Episcopatu, cuius nomine avario obstrictus fuerat, effugisse in insulas, ubi pateret, manens cum nepote suo in potius fuisse, neque tantum emolumentum inde percipisse dicatur.

Quinetiam signa rationum perplexitatis, aut alia forte causa reperiri possit: tamen sollicitudinem ac sollicitudinem nobis Serenitatis vestrae tam enim atque officio defensori littere omnino exonerant: ut existeremus Serenitatem vestram, quod eius fieri possit, magis bonorem nostrum, quam quid ab eo exigi possit, consideratur: Itaque Serenitatem vestram repetitis precibus uogare non confusimus: sed nos vobis salutem felere, quam accipere nobis Serenitatis vestrae, gratias fuisse, cuius talen eventum omnino fuisse, ut ipsi Coverd. coram nobis sine incolumitati a Serenitatis vestrae exoratae beneficium propediem repraesentare possit. Unde vero impensis Serenitatis vestrae, ut vestris persequamur esse optimis, nos non solum referenda gratias, fed etiam habundantem praestantem, quod non ac regna, ut vobis fuisse amicitiae ac necessitudinis mutuae occasionem aut facultatem nullam esse praetermissum. Deus opt. max. Serenitatis vestrae, ut felicitate ac beatitudine esse vellet. Data ex oppido nostro Ottemis, 24 Sept. Anno 1554.

Vester frater & confanguineus, Christianissimus.

The same in English.

¶ Christianiss. by the Grace of God King of Denmark, Norway, Gotland and of the Vandals; Duke of Sleswick, Holstons, Stormar, and Demmarh; Earl of Oldenburgh and Delmenhorst, &c. To the most noble Prince and Lady Mary, Queen of England, France, and Ireland, Defender of the Faith, &c. Our most dearly beloved Sister and Cousin, wishing prosperity with good and lucky success of all things.

WE have received your Majesties Letter, whereby answer is rendered, and that so very graciously unto our Petition, which we made for the favour of Mr. Coverdale, late called Bishop of Exon. So that we perceive, though he be in danger for another cause than was signified unto us afore, yet your Majesty will for guard our Intercession, that Coverdale himself shall understand it to be done him good. To the which Regal Answer, the King we (as reason would he should do) attribute so much, that trusting unto the same, we doubt not, whereas he being in Captivity, his Friends, whom we specially tender, are therefore in heaviness and care, your good Promise doth all them from such foreworry, and sollicitude, to the hope and expectation of his assured welfare we could not do otherwise, but render thanks unto your Majesty for such your ready and gracious good will, not only in respect of this benefit, but also of the conservation and keeping of perpetual Amity between us and our Realm, and for as much as in us lieth, to omit nothing that to the nourishing and continuance of this fortunate beginning might appertain. Neither had we ever any doubt concerning the clemency and moderation of your goodness, when we heartily beseech Almighty God ever more and more to prosper, unto the glory of his Name, and profit of the Commonwealth. Wherefore seeing your Majesty writeth, that Mr. Coverdale is in danger for certain Accusations of Money, and not for any other more grievous Offences, we have cause on his behalf to rejoice: and therefore we doubt so much the less, that at our request he shall graciously have his deliverance given him, and be out of danger. For as touching the Bill-privie, by reason whereof he came in Debt, we understand he yielded it up, that no Payment might thereof be required, specially seeing he is reputed neither to have enjoyed it long, neither to have had at any time to great Commodity of it. Moreover, though it be perceived that some propensity in the Accompt, or haply from other cause, yet your Majesties Letters, offering such favour and benignity, have taken from us all carelessness and doubt: Insum, that we think your Majesty, as much as may be, will have more respect unto our burthenous than to that which might of him be required. And therefore we purposed to trouble your Majesty by repeating of our Petition, but to declare how greatly we esteem it, that your Majesty would gratify us herein: whereas we plainly hope for an end, that Coverdale himself shall shortly in our Presence make declaration concerning the benefit of his welfare obtained of your Majesty. And of this we desire your Majesty to be specially assured again, that

Anno 1555.

Q. Mary.

that we will not only omit on occasion or opportunity to require this benefit, but also to establish and amplify our mutual love and amity between us and our Realm, on which side, Almighty God preserve your Majesty in prosperous health and felicity. Given at our City of Ottem, the 24 of September, An. Dom. 1554.

¶ To these Letters it was a great while before the Queen Majesty answered: As length through great business the next year, the 18 of February, the answered again in this wise.

Sereniss. Principi D. Christiano Dei gratia Danie, &c. Regi, Sleswick, &c. Duci: Comiti in Oldenburgh, &c. Fratri & amico nostro charissimo.

Maria Dei gratia Regina Angliae, Francie, Neapoli, Hierusalem, & Hibernie, &c. Serenissimo Principi Christianissimae gratia, Danie, Norvegie, Gotorum de Latere, & Vandalem Regi: Sleswick, Holsatiae, Stormarie, & Dithmarie Duci: Comiti in Oldenburgh & Delmenhorst, &c. Fratri & amico nostro charissimo salutem, prosperarum incrementum. Cum intelleximus ex Serenitatis vestrae litteris, quae hic nuncius nobis attulit, desiderium vestrum de nobis pro D. Coverdale nobis, sed nobis curandis & regno nostro, & de vobis proficiendis facultatem facili concedimus, in V. Serenitatis gratiam, hanc illi facultatem concessimus. Et quoniam ille natus subditus nostrum nondum explicatum fuerat à debitorum certa: cuiusdam pecunie causa vestram avario solvere iure teneatur, tamen maiorem vestri desiderii nos nobis debui ratione, sed benedictum esse dicimus. Quin insuper animam & voluntatem gratificandi vestra Serenitati pro nostra munus amicitia, in qua alia etiam re possumus, cum opportunis fieri, liberet offendi. Deus vestram Serenitatem duximus, feret incolumitatem. Ex Regia nostra Westmonasterii, 11. Febru. Anno 1555.

The first Month, the 19. day, was a certain intimation forth and Printed in the name of *Boner*, wherein stated a general nomination, and strutting charge to be done him good. To the which Regal Answer, the King we (as reason would he should do) attribute so much, that trusting unto the same, we doubt not, whereas he being in Captivity, his Friends, whom we specially tender, are therefore in heaviness and care, your good Promise doth all them from such foreworry, and sollicitude, to the hope and expectation of his assured welfare we could not do otherwise, but render thanks unto your Majesty for such your ready and gracious good will, not only in respect of this benefit, but also of the conservation and keeping of perpetual Amity between us and our Realm, and for as much as in us lieth, to omit nothing that to the nourishing and continuance of this fortunate beginning might appertain. Neither had we ever any doubt concerning the clemency and moderation of your goodness, when we heartily beseech Almighty God ever more and more to prosper, unto the glory of his Name, and profit of the Commonwealth. Wherefore seeing your Majesty writeth, that Mr. Coverdale is in danger for certain Accusations of Money, and not for any other more grievous Offences, we have cause on his behalf to rejoice: and therefore we doubt so much the less, that at our request he shall graciously have his deliverance given him, and be out of danger. For as touching the Bill-privie, by reason whereof he came in Debt, we understand he yielded it up, that no Payment might thereof be required, specially seeing he is reputed neither to have enjoyed it long, neither to have had at any time to great Commodity of it. Moreover, though it be perceived that some propensity in the Accompt, or haply from other cause, yet your Majesties Letters, offering such favour and benignity, have taken from us all carelessness and doubt: Insum, that we think your Majesty, as much as may be, will have more respect unto our burthenous than to that which might of him be required. And therefore we purposed to trouble your Majesty by repeating of our Petition, but to declare how greatly we esteem it, that your Majesty would gratify us herein: whereas we plainly hope for an end, that Coverdale himself shall shortly in our Presence make declaration concerning the benefit of his welfare obtained of your Majesty. And of this we desire your Majesty to be specially assured again, that

And therefore all manner of doubts and obstacles left aside, he bravely willed and commanded every Man and Woman to come to Confession, and to enjoy this benefit of Reconciliation and Absolution, against the first Sunday next after Easter inditing, and not to fail. For the which purpose he had specially commanded the Pastors and Curates of every Parish to certify up in writing the names of every Man and Woman so reconciled, and so forth: The Copy of which intimation here under followeth.

The Declaration of the Bishop of London to be published to the Lay-people of his Diocese, concerning their Reconciliation.

Edmund by the permission of God, Bishop of London, unto all and singular the Lay-people of his Diocese, both felid greeting in our Saviour Iesus Christ.

Whereas this noble Realm of England, dividing it

self from the Unity of the Catholic Church, and from the agreement in Religion with all other Christian Realms, hath heretofore many other miseries and plagues, which God indignation hath poured upon it, grievously allowed, and fore infected with many and filthy sorts of Sects of Heretics, as *Arrians, Anabaptists, Libertines, Zuinglians, Lutherans*, and many other, which have been the most repugnant, and contrary one against another, and all against God: Truly, and verily, the Catholic Faith, whereupon hath grown such slander to the Realm, such malice and disagreement among our selves, the Inhabitants thereof, such Treasons, Tumults, and Infections against our Prince, just Blasphemy and dishonour unto God, as no man's Tongue or Pen is able to express: it hath pleased the goodness of God to call his eye of mercy and clemency upon us, and to move the Pope Holiness to find his most Godly Messenger, the most-reverend Father in God, the Lord Cardinal Pius Legate de Latere, to bring us the glad tidings of Peace and Reconciliation, and to reduce and bring home unto the fold all such, as were gone astray: whose edifies, as the lost sheep that were once away: it hath been honourably received of the King and Queens Majesties, even to the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons at the last Parliament have received it, revoking all Laws to which in the Church of Schism were promulgated against the Authority of the Pope Holiness, and restoring the same and the Church of Rome to all that Power which they had in this Realm before the said Schism, the which Reconciliation was also most gladly and joyfully embraced, as well of all the Clergy and Convocation of the Province of Canterbury, as also of many other Persons; and being to great and necessary to be extended to every Person of the Realm, hath pleased the said Lord Legates Grace to give and impart unto me the said Bishop of London, for my said Diocese, and to all such, as shall so point in that behalf, Power and Authority to absolve and reconcile all and every Person thereof, as well of the Clergy as of the Laity, and as well Men as Women, which will renounce their Errors and (being penitent) will humbly require to be restored to the Unity of the Catholic Church, as by the Letters of the said Lord Legates Grace forth hereinafter, from me sent unto every of the Archdeacons within my Diocese, more at large may and doth appear. And forasmuch as in mine own person, as well for the multitude of People, as distance of places, I cannot Minister this benefit unto every private Person my self, and for that also the true time of Lent is now at hand, in which every true Christian Man ought to come unto his own Pastor and Curate to be in his confessional, and to receive at his hand whole Comfession, Penance, and Absolution: these are therefore as well to give knowledge unto every one of you, as also to signify and declare, that for that purpose, I have by the said Authority chosen, named, and deputed, and so by these preface doth cause and depute all and singular Pastors and Curates having Cure of Souls within my Diocese, and being themselves reconciled herein, that they and every of them by Authority hereof, shall have full Power and Authority to absolve all such as be Lay-people of their Parishes from Herefie and Schism, and from the Confessors of the Church, into which they be fallen by occasion thereof, also, to reconcile to the Church all such which shall declare themselves penitent, and desirous to enjoy the benefit of the said Sacrament. And whereas divers Pastors and Curates in Sunday Pastures peradventure be not able to satisfy themselves, and to appeale the Confessions of some of their Parishioners in Cases that shall trouble them, I have therefore given full Authority to every Arch-Deacon of my Diocese within his Archdeaconry, to name and appoint certain of the best learned in every Deanery of my Archdeaconry, to supply that lack, so that every man so troubled may repair to any one of them within the said Deanery, whom he shall like best, to be instructed and assisted in that behalf. And also I have appointed, that if this being done, there shall yet remain any scruple in the parties Conscience, and himself not satisfied, then the said party shall repair unto one of mine Archdeacons or Chaplains, to whom his mind shall be most inclined, who shall repair unto mine own self, to be resolved in his said scruple or doubts, and

cies which are in Christ Jesus our Saviour, we will leave therefore the final Judgment of him, to the determination of him who is only appointed Judge both of the quick and the dead.

De Jacobo Halio Carmen.

*Si tua quanta fuit, gravitas, prudentia, norma,
Sancisque iocunda cum patre fides:
Tum care forma tibi fortisque Halio fuisset,
Sanciorum primo classe ferendus erat.
Instituit sed enim sua quis se tempora vitæ
Sanciorum, ut nullis sint maculata malis?
Rum ubi ergo vides propria quis te laborat,
Te tua fuit cura, cetera mitte Deo.*

The History of Thomas Tomkins, who having first his hand burned, after was burned himself by Bishop Boner, for the constant testimony of Christ's true Profession.

March 18. MENTION was made before of six Prisoners, brought and examined before Bishop Boner the 8. of February, whose names were Tomkins, Piggs, Knight, Hunter, Laurence, and Hunter. All which, though they received their Commendation together the next day after, yet because the time of their Execution was then driven off from February till the next Month of March, I did therefore first the Story of them to this present Mouth of March afterwards, wherein now remaineth severally to instruct of the Martyrdom of these six Persons, as the order and time of their Sufferings severally do require. Of the which six aforementioned Martyrs, the first was Thomas Tomkins burned in Smithfield, the 16. day of March, Anno 1555.

This Thomas Tomkins, a Weaver by his Occupation, lived and dwelt in Shoreditch, and of the Diocess of London was of such Conversation and Disposition so godly, that if any woman had come to him with her Webs, as sometimes they did, three or four in a day, he would always

begin with Prayer. Or if any other had come to talk of Anno any matter, he would likewise first begin with Prayer. 1555. And if any had fought unto him to borrow Money, he would then him such Money as he had in his Purse, and bid him take it.

And when they came to repay it again, so far off was he from seeking any Unury at their hand, or from freight exaction of his due, that he would bid them keep it longer, while they were better able. And these were the Conditions of Thomas Tomkins, testified yet to this present day by the most part of all his Neighbours, and almost of all his Pursh which knew him, as Mr. Skinner, Mr. Locke, and other more. Of whom more than half a dozen at once came to me, discreet and substantial men, reporting the same unto me, recording moreover as followeth: That Dr. Boner Bishop of London, kept the said Tomkins with him in Prison half a year: during which time the said Bishop was so rigorous unto him, that he beat him bitterly about the face, whereby his face was felled. Whereupon the Bishop caused his Beard to be shaven, and gave the Barber Twelve pence.

Touching which shaving of Thomas Tomkins Beard, Tomkins is thus to be added: Bishop Boner having Tomkins kept with him Prisoner at Fulham, in the Month of July, did fit him with his other Work-folks to make Hay. And seeing him to labour so well, the Bishop fitting him down, said, Well, I like thee well, for thou labourst well: I trust thou wilt be a good Catholic. My Lord, said he, S. Paul faith, He that doth not labour, is not worthy to eat. Boner said, Ah, S. Paul is a great man and so with thee. And so after such other talk, the Bishop in, before my Beard grew, I was, I trust, a good Christian, and so I trust to be, my Beard being on. But Boner in fine sent for the Barber, and caused his Beard to be shaven off. The very cause was for that Boner had plucked off a piece of his Beard before.

The burning of Thomas Tomkins hand by Bishop Boner.



The noble Confession of a true Christian Souldier.

The rage of this Bishop was not so great against him, but the Confession of the Bury was much greater with Patience to hear it, who, although he had not the Learning as other have, yet he was instructed with Gods mighty Spirit, and so constantly planted in the perfect knowledge of Gods Truth, that by no means he could be removed from the Confession of Truth, to Impiety and Error. Whereupon, Boner the Bishop being

The burning of the blessed Martyr Thomas Tomkins.



greatly vexed against the poor man, when he saw that by no Persecutions he could prevail with him, devised another practice not so strange as cruel, further to try his Confancy, to the intent, that seeing he could not otherwise convince him by Doctrine of Scriptures, yet he might overthrow him by some incredible and terror of death. So having with him Mr. Harpsfield, Minister, Doctor Chessey, Master Willerton, and other

another standing by, he called for Thomas Tomkins, who coming before the Bishop, and standing as he was wont in defence of his Faith, the Bishop fell first beating to burning. Who, having there a taper or wax candle of three or four wicks standing upon the Table, thought there to referent unto us as it were, the old Image of King Perseus. For he burned the hand of Scævola, so this Catholic Bishop took Tomkins by the fingers, and held his hand directly over the flame, supposing that by the smart and pain of the fire being terrified, he would leave off the defence of his Doctrine, which he had received.

Tomkins thinking no otherwise, but there presently to dye, began thus to commend himself unto the Lord, saying, O Lord, unto thy hands I commend my Spirit, &c. In the time that his hand was in burning, the same Tomkins afterward reported to one James Hingle, that his Spirit was so wrapt, that he felt no pain. In the which burning he never shrunk, till the veins shrunk, and the sinews burst, and the water did spirt in Master Harpsfield's face. Inasmuch that the said M. Harpsfield, moved with pity, desired the Bishop to stay, saying, that he had tried him enough. This burning was in the Hall at Fulham.

And where the Bishop thought by that means to drive him from his Opinions, it proved much otherwise: for this Christian Scævola so valiantly did despise, abide, and endure that burning, that we have less Cause hereafter to marvel at the manifoldness of that Roman Scævola: I would to God the other had followed the example of that Harpsfield's Tryan. For he, after the left hand of Scævola was half-burned, either satisfied with his punishment, or overcome by his manhood, or driven away by fear, sent him home safe unto his people: whereas Boner, hitherto not contented with the burning of his hand, rested not until he had consumed his whole Body into ashes, at London in Smithfield.

But before we come to his Suffering, we will first instruct of some part of his Examination and Articles, with his answers and confession thereunto annexed, as it is credibly in Register recorded.

The first Examination of Thomas Tomkins.

His Faithful and valiant Souldier of God Thomas Tomkins, after he had remained the space (as is said) of half a year in prison, about the 8. day of February was brought with certain other before Boner sitting in his Consistory, to be examined. To whom first was brought forth a certain Bill or Schedule subscribed (as appeared) with his own hand, the fifth day of the same Month last before, containing these words following.

Thomas Tomkins of Shoreditch, and of the Diocess of London, hath believed and doth believe, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the forms of Bread and Wine, there is not the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in Substance, but only a token and remembrance thereof, the very Body and Blood of Christ being only in Heaven, and no where else.

By me Thomas Tomkins.

Whereupon he was asked, whether he did acknowledge the same subscription to be of his own hand. To the which he answered, confessing it to be. This being done the Bishop went about to persuade him (with words, rather than with reasons) to relinquish his opinions, and to return again to the unity of the Catholic Church, promising if he would do so, to rent all that was paid. But he constantly denied so to do. When the Bishop saw he could not so convince him, he brought forth and read to him another writing, containing Articles and Interrogatories, whereunto he should come the next day and answer: in the mean time he should deliberate with himself what to do, and so the next day, being the 9. day of March, at eight of the Clock in the morning to be present in the same place again, to give his determinate answer what he would do in the premises, and then either to revoke and reclaim himself, or else in the afternoon the same day to come again and have

Justice (as he called it) ministered unto him. The Copy of which Articles here followeth.

Articles objected and ministered the 8. day of February against Thomas Tomkins, with his own hand subscribing to the same.

Thou dost believe, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the forms of Bread and Wine, there is offered as truly, by the Omnipotent power of Almighty God, and given to his holy Word, really, truly and in every deed, the very true and natural Body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, as Transubstantiation the Substance thereof, which was conceived in the Womb of the Virgin Mary, and brought upon the Cross, suffering pain and death there for the life of the World.

I do so believe.

Thou dost believe, that after the Consecration of the Bread and Wine prepared for the use of the Sacrament of the Altar, there doth remain the Substance of material Bread and material Wine, not changed nor altered in Substance by the Power of Almighty God, but remaining as it did before.

I do so believe.

Thou dost believe, that it is an untrue Doctrine, and a false Belief to think or say, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is, after Consecration of the Bread and Wine, the Substance of Christ's Natural Body and Blood, by the Omnipotent Power of Almighty God, and his Holy Word.

I do so believe.

Thou dost believe, that thy Parents, Kinsfolks, Friends, the friends and acquaintances, and all thy Godfathers, and Godmothers, and all People did cry, and were deceived, if they did believe, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there was, after the Consecration, the Body and Blood of Christ, and that there did remain the Substance of material Bread and Wine.

I do so believe.

By me Thomas Tomkins.

The second Examination of Thomas Tomkins.

The next day being the 9. of February, at 8. of the Clock before noon, the said T. Tomkins (according to the former Commandment) was brought again into the place aforementioned, before the Bishop and other his Assistants, where the foreaid Articles were propounded unto him: whereunto he answered as followeth:

To the first he said, that he did so believe, as the same is contained.

To the second he said, that it was only Bread and a participation of Christ's death and passion, and so do the Scriptures teach.

To the third he said and did believe, it was a false Doctrine, to believe and think as is contained in this Article.

To the fourth, he did also believe the same. After this answer, he did also subscribe his name to the said Articles. Whereupon, the Bishop drawing out of his bosom another confession subscribed with Tomkins's own hand, and also that Article that was the first day objected against him, caused the same to be openly read, and then would him to revoke and deny his said opinions the which he utterly refused to do; and therefore was commanded to appear before the Bishop again in the same place at two of the Clock in the Afternoon.

The Bishop repeateth again the confession of Thomas Tomkins, written before by the said Bishop of London, and subscribed by the said Tomkins, the 26. of September, Anno, 1554. which is thus.

Thomas Tomkins of the Parish of Shoreditch, in the Diocess of London, having confessed and declared as deeply heretofore to Edmund Bishop of London mine Or. Answer, and now here as again repeateth in this present, that the Body of our Saviour Jesus Christ

The first confession of Tomkins, offered to T. Boner, and now here as again repeateth in this present, that the Body of our Saviour Jesus Christ

Christ is not truly and in every deed in the Sacrament of the Altar, but only in Heart, and so in Heaven, that it cannot now indeed be really and truly in the Sacrament of the Altar.

And moreover, having likewise confessed and declared to my said Ordinary every many times, that although the Church, called the Catholic Church, hath allowed and doth allow the Mass and Sacrament made and done therein, as a worship, profitable, and a godly thing; yet my belief hath been many years past, and is at this present, that the said Mass is full of Superstition, plain Idolatry, and unprofitable for every Soul, and I have called it many times, and told it at this present.

Having also likewise confessed and declared to my said Ordinary, that the Sacrament of Baptism ought to be only in the Fulgar Tongue, and not otherwise ministered, and also without any such Ceremonies, or acclamations as are used in the Latin Church, and otherwise not to be allowed.

Finally, being many times and oft called openly before my said Ordinary, and talked verbally touching all my said Confessions and Declarations, both by the said mine Ordinary and divers other Learned men, as well as Chaplains or others, and censured by all them to embrace the Truth, and to recant mine Error in the Premises which they told me was plain Heresie and manifest Error; do hereby, that I do and will continually stand in my said Confession, Declaration, and Belief, in all the present, and every part thereof, and in no wise recant or go from any part of the same. In witness whereof I have subscribed, and pulled this writing the 26. day of September, the year aforesaid.

By me Tho. Tompkins aforesaid.

The Name of them that fate upon Thomas Tompkins at this Session, were these; Edmund Borer, John Ecclesham Dean of Pauls, John Harsfield Archdeacon of London, John Marston Master of Arts, Thomas Marston Parson of Tulkham, Thomas Swadell, Thomas Moore, Thomas Bekinsford, James Cline, Clerke.

The last Appearance of Thomas Tompkins before Borer and the Commissioners.

The same day and place, at two of the Clock in the Afternoon, he was (the last time) brought before the Bishops of London, Bath, and St. Davids, with others; where he was earnestly exhorted by the said Bishop of Bath to recant and leave off his Opinions. Upon whom he answered, My Lord, I was born and brought up in Ignorance until now of late years; and now I know the Truth, wherein I will continue unto the death.

Then Borer cursed all his Articles and Confession to be again openly read, and so in his accustomed manner perverted with him to recant. To whom he finally said, My Lord, I cannot see but that you would have me forsake the Truth, and to fall into Error and Heresie. The Bishop seeing he would not recant, did proceed in his Law, and to gave Sentence of Condemnation upon him.

Then he delivered him to the Sheriff of London, who carried him thither unto Newgate, where he remained most joyous and content until the 16. day of March next after, on which day, he was by the said Sheriff taken, conveyed into Smithfield, and there faked up his Faith in the burning Fire, to the Glory of Gods holy Name, and Confirmation of the Weak.

A notable History of William Hunter, a young man of 10 years, perished to death by Justice Brown for the Gospel's sake, worthy of all young Men and Parents to be read.

The 26. day of the said Month of March, the year aforesaid, followed the Martyrdom of William Hunter a right godly young man, of the Age of 19 years, and born of like godly Parents: by whom he was not only instructed in true Religion and Godliness, but also confirmed by them unto death: a rare and strange example worthy to be noted and had in admiration of all Pe-

ple. Wherein may appear a singular Spectacle, not Anno 1555. of a marvellous Fortitude in the party to young, but also in his Parents, to behold Nature in them driving with Religion, and overcome of the same. Whereby Children may learn what is to be done not only in their Parents, but also in themselves, if need at any time do require, or godliness flure, and the duty of a Christian man against natural Affection. Example whereof, in the sequel of this History we have here present before our eyes. Which History, as it was faithfully drawn out by Robert Hunter his own Brother (who being present with his Brother William, and never left him till his death, then the true Report unto us) we have here with like faithfulness placed and recorded the same, as follows.

William Hunter, being an Apprentice in London in the first year of Queen Mary, was commanded at the Easter next following to receive the Communion at a Mass, by the Priest of the Parish where he dwelt, called Coleman Street; which because he refused to do, he was very much threatened that he should be therefore brought before the Bishop of London. Wherefore William Hunter, seeing his Mother, one Thomas Taylor, a Silkwearer, required William Hunter to go and depart from him, lest that he should come in danger because of him, if he continued in this House. For the which causes, William Hunter took leave of his said Mother, and thence came to Burntwood where his Father dwelt, with whom he afterward remained about the space of half a quarter of a year.

After this it happened within five or six weeks, that William going into the Chapel of Burntwood, and finding there a Bible lying on a Desk, did read therein the mean time there came in one Father Aswell a Sumner, which hearing William read in the Bible, said to him, What meddest thou with the Bible? Knowest thou what thou readest? and canst thou expound the Scriptures?

To whom William answered and said, Father Aswell, I will take upon me to expound the Scriptures, except I were dispensed withal; but I finding the Bible here as when I came, read in it to my comfort. To whom Father Aswell said, It was never merry world since the Bible came abroad in England.

To the which words William answered, saying, Father Aswell, say not so for Gods sake: for it is Gods Book, out of the which every one that hath Grace may learn to know both what things please God, and also what it displeth him. Then said Father Aswell, Could we not tell before this time as well as now, how God was served? William answered, No, Father Aswell, nothing so well, as we may now, if that we might have his blessed Word amongst us still as we have had. It is true, said Father Aswell, if it be as you say.

Well, said William Hunter, it liketh me very well, and I pray God that we may have the blessed Bible amongst us continually. To the which words Father Aswell said, I perceive your mind well enough; you are one of them that mislike the Queens Laws; and therefore you came from London, I hear say. You learned these ways at London; but for all that, said Father Aswell, you must turn another Leaf, or else you, and a great sort more Heretics will broil for this gear; I warrant you. To the which words William said, God give me Grace, that I may believe his Word, and confess his Name, whatsoever I shall see thereof. Confess his Name, what? No, no, ye will go to the Devil all of you, and confess his Name.

What, said William? You say not well, Father Aswell. At the which words he went out of the Chapel in a great fury, saying, I am not able to reason with thee: but I will take thee straight way towards the fire with thee, I warrant thee, thou Heretic. And he leaving William Hunter reading in the Bible, straightways brought one Thomas Wood, who was then Vicar of Southwell, which was at an Alehouse even over against the said Chapel; the which, hearing old Aswell say that William Hunter was reading of the Bible in the Chapel, came by and by to him, and finding him reading in the Bible, took the matter very heinously, saying; Sirra, who gath're leave to read in the Bible, and to expound it?

Then

Then William answered, I expound not the Scriptures, Sir, but read them for my comfort. What meddlest thou with them at all, said the Vicar? It becometh not thee, nor none child to meddle with the Scriptures. But William answered, I will read the Scriptures (God willing) while I live; and you ought, Master Vicar, not to discourage any man for that matter, but rather encourage men diligently to read the Scriptures for your discharge and their own.

Unto the which the Vicar answered, It becometh thee well to tell me what I have to say. I see thou art an Heretic by thy words. William said, I am no Heretic for speaking the Truth. But the Vicar said, It is a merry World when such as thou art shall reach us what is the Truth. Thou art meddlesome, Father Aswell told him the sixth of John, wherein thou shalt perceive how Christ said, Except that ye eat the flesh of Christ, and drink his blood, ye have no life in you. William said, I read the sixth of John indeed; howbeit, I made no exposition on it.

Then said Father Aswell, When you read it, I said, that you there might understand how that in the Sacrament of the Altar is Christs very natural Body and Blood: unto the which you answered, how that you would take the Scriptures as they are, and that ye would meddle with no great Exposition, except that ye were dispensed withal.

As he said the Vicar, What say you to the blessed Sacrament of the Altar? Believest thou not in it, and that the Bread and Wine is transubstantiated into the very Body and Blood of Christ? William answered, I learn no such thing in the sixth of John as you speak of. Why, said the Vicar, dost thou not believe in the Sacrament of the Altar? I believe, said William Hunter all that Gods Word teacheth. Why, said the Vicar, thou shalt learn this which I say, plainly in the sixth of John.

Then said Father Aswell, You understand the words much like the words of the Carpenters, which thought, that Christ would have given them his flesh to feed upon; which opinion our Saviour Christ corrected, when he said, The words which I speak to you, are spirit and life.

Now, quoth the Vicar, I have found you out; now I see that thou art an Heretic indeed, and that thou dost not believe in the Sacrament of the Altar.

Then said William Hunter, whereas you doubt my belief, I would it were tried whether that you or I would find fitter in our Faith. Yes, thou Heretic (said the Vicar) wouldst thou have it so tried? William Hunter said the Vicar, that which you call Heresie, I serve my Lord Gods word.

Then said the Vicar, Canst thou serve God with Heresie? But William answered, I would that you and I were even now fast tied to a Snake, to prove whether that I or you would find strongest to our Faith. But the Vicar answered, It shall not be so tried. No, quoth William, I think I for I might, I think I know who would fonsent rather; for I durst not fee thy foot against yours, even to the death. That we shall fee, quoth the Vicar, how that he would complain of him, with other much Communication which they had together.

Immediately after, this Vicar of Wode told Mr. Brown of the Communication which William Hunter and he had together. Which when Mr. Brown understood, he immediately he sent for William Hunter and the Constable, one Robert Salmon. For immediately after William Hunter and the Vicar had reasoned together, he took his leave of his Father and fled, because Wood the Vicar threatened him. Now when the Constable and Williams Father were come, and were before Mr. Brown, he asked where William Hunter was. His Father answered, saying, If it please you, Sir, I know not where he is become: No, quoth Master Brown, I will make thee tell where he is, and fetch him forth also e're I have done with thee. Sir, said William Hunter, know not where he is become, nor where to find him.

Then said Mr. Brown, Why didst thou not bring him when thou hadst him? I promise thee if thou wilt, I will find thee to Prison, till I shall get him. Wherefore fee that thou promise me to fetch him,

or else it is not left to look me in the face any more, nor to undertake to fetch him. Well, quoth Mr. Brown to William Hunter, fee that thou fetch him forth and bring him here as soon as thou canst.

Williams Father answered, Sir, would you have me fetch my Son to be burned? If thou bring him to me, quoth Mr. Brown, I will deal well enough for that matter; thou shalt not need to care for the mat. or Fetch him, and thou shalt see what I will do for him.

Moreover, if thou hastest money, quoth he, thou shalt have some; and beside the Constable Mr. Salmon to give him a Crown, but Williams Father took none of it. Howbeit Mr. Brown would never rest, till Williams Father had promised him to fetch out his Son. And thus Mr. Brown, then the Constable home again, and Williams Father, commanding him to fetch out William Hunter, and then to come again and bring him to him.

After that Old Father Hunter had ridden two or three days journey to fatishe Mr. Browns expectation; it happened that William met with his Father in the High way as he travelled, and forth he seeing his Father came so himed spake to him, and told him how that he thought that he fought for him; and then his Father confessing it, wept free, and said, that Mr. Brown charged him to fetch him, and bring him to him; howbeit, said he, will I not return home again, say I cannot find you; but Will, he said, Father I will go home with you, and save you the harmless, whatsoever cometh of it.

And thus they came home together; but Williams, as soon as he was come home, was taken by the said Constable, and laid in the Stocks till the day, Master Brown, hearing that William Hunter was come home, sent for him to the Constable, who brought him immediately to Master Brown.

Now when William was come, Mr. Brown said to him, Ah, Sir, are ye come? and then by and by he commanded the Bible to be brought and opened; and then began to reason with William on this manner, saying; I hear say you are a Scripture-man, you say, and can reason much of the sixth of John and expound as pleases you, and turned the Bible to the sixth of S. John, and then he laid to his charge what an exposition he held, when the Vicar and he talked together. And Williams said, He urged me to say so much as I did.

Well quoth Mr. Brown, because you can expound that place so well; how say you to another place, turning to the 22. of Luke, and Mr. Brown said, Look here (quoth he) for Christs faith, that the Bread is his Body.

To the which William answered, The Text fitteth how Christs took Bread, but that he changed it into another substance, but gave that which he took, and broke, that which he gave, which was Bread as it is evident by the Text. For if he should have had two Bodies, would it to affirm life to reason, said William.

At the which answer Mr. Brown was very angry, and took up the Bible and turned the leaves, and then flung it down again in such a fury, that William could not well find the place again where he reasoned.

Then Mr. Brown said, Thou naughty boy; wilt thou not take things as they are, but expound them as thou wilt? Dost not Christ call the Bread his Body plainly; and thou wilt not believe, that the Bread is his Body after the Consecration? Thou goest about to make Christ a liar.

But William Hunter answered; I mean not so, Sir, but rather more earnestly to search what the mind of Christ is in that Holy Institution, wherein he comprehended in us the remembrance of his death, passion, redemption, and coming again saying, This do in remembrance of me. And also thought Christ call the Bread his Body, he doth also say, that it is a Vine, a Door, &c. yet is not his Body turned into Bread, more than he is turned into a Door or Vine. Wherefore Christ called the Bread his Body by a figure.

Archard Word Mr. Brown said, Thou art a villainous knave. Wilt thou make Christ a liar yet still? and in such a fury with William, and so fared, that William could not speak a word, but he crossed him, and crossed at every word. Wherefore William seeing him, in such fury, desired him that he would either leave him quietly, and suffer him to answer for himself, or else

or

send

send him away. To the which Mr. Brown answered; Indeed I will find thee to morrow to my Lord of London, and he shall have thee under Examination: and thus left off the talk, and made a Letter immediately, and sent William Hunter with the Contable to Dover Bishop of London, who received William.

After that he had read the Letter, and the Contable returned home again, the Bishop caused William to be brought into a Chamber, where he began to reason with him in this manner: I understand, William Hunter, quoth he, by Mr. Brown's Letter, how that you have had certain Communication with the Vicar of the Ward, about the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, and how that you could not agree, whereupon Mr. Brown sent for thee to bring thee to the Catholic Faith, from the which, he faith that thou art gone. Howbeit if thou wilt be ruled by me, thou shalt have no harm for any thing that thou hast said or done in this matter.

William answered, saying: I am not fallen from the Catholic Faith of Christ (I am free) but do believe it, and confesse it with all my heart.

Why, quoth the Bishop, how sayest thou to the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar? Wilt thou not recant thy saying, which thou confestest before Mr. Brown, how that Christ's Body is not in the Sacrament of the Altar, the same that was born of the Virgin Mary?

To the which William answered, saying: My Lord, I understand that Mr. Brown hath certified you of the talk which he and I had together, and thereby ye know what I said to him, the which I will not recant by Gods help. Then said the Bishop, I think thou art ashamed to bear a fagot, and recant openly; but if thou wilt recant thy sayings, I will promise thee that thou shalt not be put to open flames: but speak the word here now between me and thee, and I will promise thee it shall go no further, and thou shalt go home again without any hurt.

William answered and said, my Lord, if you will let me alone, and leave me to my Confidence, I will go to my Father and dwell with him, or else with my Master again, and so if no Body will disquiet nor trouble my Confidence, I will keep my Confidence to my self.

Then said the Bishop, I am content, so that thou wilt go to the Church, and receive, and be forgiven, and I will continue a good Catholic Christian. No, quoth William, I will not do so for all the good in the World.

Then, quoth the Bishop, if you will not do so, I will make you sure enough, I warrant you. Well, quoth William, you can do no more than God will permit you. Well, quoth the Bishop, wilt thou not recant indeed by no means? No, quoth William, never while I live, God willing.

Then the Bishop (this talk ended) commanded his men to put William in the Stocks in his gatehouse, where he fast two days and nights, only with a crust of brown Bread and a Cup of Water.

At the two days end the Bishop came to him and finding the Cup of Water and the crust of Bread still by him upon the Stocks, said to him: Take him out of the Stocks, and let him break his fast with you. Then they let him forth of the Stocks, but would not suffer him to eat with them, but called him Heretic. And he said, he was as loth to be in their Company, as they were to be in his.

After the breakfast the Bishop sent for William, and demanded where he had recant or no. But William made him answer, how that he would never recant that which he had confest before men, as concerning his Faith in Christ.

Then the Bishop said that he was no Christian, but he denied the Faith in which he was Baptized. But William answered, I was Baptized in the Faith of the Holy Trinity, the which I will not go from, God assisting me with his Grace.

Then the Bishop sent him to the convict Prison and commanded the Keeper to lay Iron upon him as many as he could bear: and moreover asked him, how old he was? and William said that he was nineteen years more than old.

Well, said the Bishop, you will be burned ere ye be 20 years old, if you will not yield your self better than you

have done yet. William answered, God strengthen me Anno in his Truth: and then he parted, and the Bishop allowing him a half-penny a day to live on in Bread or drink.

Thus he continued in Prison three quarters of a year. In the which time he had been before the Bishop five times, besides the time when he was Condemned in this Confitory in Pauls the 9 day of February: at the which time his Brother Robert Hunter was present, when and where I heard the Bishop condemn him, and five other more.

And then the Bishop calling William, asked him if he would recant, and so read to him him his Examination and confession, as is above rehearsed, and then rehearsed how that William confest that he did believe, that he received Christ's Body spiritually, when he did receive the Communion. Dolt thou mean, quoth the Bishop, that the Bread is Christ's Body spiritually?

William answered, I mean not so, but rather when I receive the Holy Communion rightly and worthily, I do feed upon Christ spiritually through Faith in my Soul, and am made partaker of all the benefits which Christ hath brought unto all faithful Believers through his precious death, passion and resurrection, and not that the Bread is his Body, either spiritually or corporally.

Then said the Bishop to William: Dolt thou not think (holding up his Cap) that for example here of my Cap, thou mayst fee the figure and colour of bread, yet that it is not the Substance, which thou judgest by the Accidents?

William answered; if you can separate the Accidents from the Substance, and then me the Substance without the Accidents, I could believe. Then said the Bishop: Thou wilt not believe that God can do any thing above mans capacity. Yes, said William, I must needs believe that: for daily experience teacheth all men that thing plainly: but our question is not what God can do, but what he will have us to learn in his Holy Supper.

Then the Bishop said, I always have found thee at this point, and I feo hope in thee to reclaim thee unto the Catholic Faith, but thou wilt continue a corrupt number, and then pronounced Sentence upon him, how that he should go from that place to Newgate for a time and go from thence to Burrowood, where he should fast be burned.

Then the Bishop called for another, and so when he had condemned them all, he called for William Hunter, and perfwaded with him, saying if thou wilt yet recant, I will make thee a free man in the City, and give thee 40 pound in good money to set up thine occupation here withal: or I will make thee Steward of my House and for thee in Office; for I like thee well, thou hast wit enough, and I will prefer thee if thou recant.

But William answered, I thank you for your great offers: Nevertheless, my Lord, said he, if you cannot perfwade my Confidence with Scriptures, I cannot find in my heart to turn from God for the love of the World, for I count all things Worldly but loss and dung, in respect of the Love of Christ.

Then said the Bishop, if thou dost in this mind thou art Condemned for ever. William answered, God judgeth righteously, and justifieth them whom man condemneth unjustly.

Thus William and the Bishop departed, William and thert to Newgate, where they remained about a Month, which afterwards were sent down, William to Burrowood, and the others into divers places of the Country. Now when William was come down to Burrowood, which was the Saturday before the Annunciation of the Virgin Mary that followed on the Monday after, William remained till the Tuesday after, because they would not put him to death then, for the holiness of the day.

In the mean time William's Father and Mother came to him, and desired heartily of God that he might continue to the end in that good way which he had begun, and his Mother said to him, that she was glad that ever she was so happy to bear such a Child, which could find in his heart to lose his Life for Christ's Name sake.

Then William said to his Mother: For my little pain which I shall suffer, which is but a short braid, Christ hath promised me, Mother (said he) a Crown of joy; may you not

not be glad of that, Mother? With that his Mother kneeled down on her knees, saying, pray God strengthen thee my Son, to the end. Yes, I think thee as well beloved as my Child that ever I bare.

At the which words Mr. Highard took her in his Arms, saying, I rejoice (and so did the others) to see you in this mind, and you have a good cause to rejoice. And his Father and Mother both said, that they were never of other mind, but prayed for him, that as he had begun to confite Christ before men, he likewise might so continue to the end. William's Father said, I was afraid of nothing, but that my Son should have been killed in the Prison by hunger and cold, the Bishop was so hard to him. But William confided, after a Month that his Father was charged with his Board, that he lacked nothing, but had meat and clothing enough, yea, even out of the Court both money, meat, clothes, wood and coal, and all things necessary.

Thus they continued in their Inn, being the Swan in Burrowood in a Parlor, whether reformed many People of the Country to see those good men which were there: and many of William's Acquaintance came to him, and reasoned with him, and thus going in the way, they came away from the abomination of Popish Superstition and Idolatry.

Thus passing away Saturday, Sunday, and Monday, on Monday at night it happened that William had a dream about two of the Clock in the Morning, which was this: How that he was at the place where the Stake was pitched, where he should be burned, which (as he thought in his Dream) was at the Towns end where the Butts stood, which was so indeed: and also he dreamed that he met with his Father as he went to the Stake, and also that there was a Priest at the Stake, which went about to have him recant.

To whom he said (as he thought in his Dream) how that he bade him, away, false Prophet, and how that he exhorted the People to beware of him, and such as he was: which things came to pass indeed. It happened that

William made a note to himself in his Dream, which caused Mr. Highard and the others to awake him out of his sleep, to know what he lacked. When he awoke he told them his Dream in order, as is said.

Now when it was day, the Sheriff Mr. Bracker called William on to see forward to the burning of William Hunter, and then came the Sheriffs Son to William Hunter, and embraced him in his right Arm, saying, William, be not afraid of these men which are here present with Bows, Bills and Weapons, ready prepared to bring you to the place where you shall be burned. To whom William answered, I thank God I am not afraid: for I have cast my count what it will cost me already. Then the Sheriffs Son could speak no more to him for weeping.

Then William Hunter plucked up his Gown and stepped over the Parlor gronnell, and went forward cheerfully, the Sheriffs Servant taking him by one Arm, and his Brother by another, and thus going in the way, he met with his Father according to his Dream, and he spake to his Son, weeping and saying, God be with thee Son William; and William said, God be with you good Father, and he of good comfort; for I hope we shall meet in place when we shall be merry. His Father said, I hope so William, and so departed. So William went to the place where the Stake stood, even according to his Dream, whereas all things were very unready. Then William took a wet Room Fagot, and kneeled down thereon and read the 67 Psalm, till he came to these words: The Sacrifice of God is a contrite spirit, a contrite and a broken heart, O God, thou wilt not despise.

Then said Mr. Tyrill of the Brackets, called William Tyrill, Thou liest (said he) thou readest false: for the words are an humble spirit. But William said, The Translation is false, ye translate Books as ye list your selves, like Heretics. Well, quoth William, there is no great difference in those words. Then said the Sheriff, Here is a Letter from the Queen. If thou wilt recant thou shalt live; no, thou shalt be burned. No, quoth William, I will

The burning of William Hunter, Martyr.



not recant, God willing. Then William rose and went to the Stake, and stood upright to it. Then came one Richard Pende a Bayliff, and made fast the Chain about William.

Then said Mr. Brown, Here is not wood enough to burn a Leg of him. Then said William, God be with you, I pray for me; and make speed and dispatch me quickly: and pray for me while you see me alive, good People, and I will pray for you likewise.

Now, quoth Mr. Brown, pray for thee? I will pray no more for thee, than I will pray for a Dog. To whom William answered, Mr. Brown, now you have that which you sought for and I pray God it be not laid to your charge in the last day: howbeit forgive you. Then said Mr. Brown, I ask no forgiveness of thee. Well, said William, if God forgive you, I shall not require my blood at your hands.

Then said William, Son of God shine upon me; and immediately the Sun in the Element shone out of the Cloud to fill in his Face, that he was constrained to look another way; whereat the People mused, because it was a little time before. Then William took up a Pageot of Broom, and embraced it in his Arms.

Then the Priest, which William dreamed of, came to his Brother Robert with a Popish Book to exhort to William, that he might recant, and that his Brother would not meddle withal.

Then William seeing the Priest, and perceiving how he would have fished him the Book, said, Away thou false Prophet. Beware of them, good People, and come away from their Abominations, lest that you be partakers of their Plagues. Then, quoth the Priest, how thou burnest here, so shalt thou burn in Hell. William answered, Thou liest thou false Prophet; Away thou false Prophet, away.

Then was there a Gentleman which said, I pray God have mercy upon his Soul. The People said, Amen, Amen. Immediately fire was made.

Then William cast his Plaster right into his Brother's hand, who said, William, think on the holy Father of Christ, and be not afraid of Death.

And William answered, I am not afraid. Then lift he up his hands to Heaven, and said, Lord, Lord, Lord, receive my spirit; and calling down his Head again to the smothering Smoke, he yielded up his Life for the Truth, sealing it with his Blood.

Now by and by after, Mr. Brown commanded one old Hunts to take his Brother Robert Hunter, and lay him in the Stocks till he returned from the burning of Higbed at Horndon on the Hill, the same day. Which thing old Hunts did.

Hunt did. Then Mr. Brown asked if he would do his Brother had done. But Robert Hunter answered, If I do as my Brother hath done, I shall have as he hath had. Mary, quoth Mr. Brown, thou shalt be sure of it.

Then Mr. Brown said, marvel that thy Brother stood so in thy Tackling; and moreover, he asked Robert, if Mr. Brown's Master of London were not at his burning. But Robert said, that he was not there; but Mr. Brown bare him in hand that his Master was there, and how that he did see him there, but Robert denied it. Then Mr. Brown commanded the Constable and Robert Hunter to go their ways home, and so had no further talk with them.

Here follows the History of Mr. Higbed and Mr. Cauton, two worthy Gentlemen of Essex, which for their sincere Confession of their Faith under Boner Bishop of London, were martyred and burned in Essex, Anno 1555.

Although the Condemnation of Mr. Higbed and Mr. Cauton followed after the Condemnation of those other Martyrs which were condemned with Tomkins and Hunter above mentioned, yet because the time of their Execution was before the burning of the forefaid four Martyrs, forsooth that they suffered the same day that William Hunter did, which was the 26 of March, I thought therefore next after the Story of the said William Hunter, following the order of time, here to place the same.

This Master Higbed and Master Cauton, two worshipful Gentlemen in the County of Essex, the one at Horndon on the Hill, the other of the Parish of Trumps, being zealous and religious in the true Service of God; as they could not dissemble with the Lord their God; nor flatter with the World, so in time of blind Superstition and wretched Idolatry, they could not long live hid and obscure in such a number of maligne, but Adversaries, Accusers, and Servants of this World; but at length they were perceived and detected to the forefaid Edmund Boner Bishop of London, peradventure not without the false organ which sent up William Hunter, as is above declared. By reason whereof by commandment they were committed to the Officers of Colchester to be safely kept, and with them also a Servant of Thomas Cauton, who in this praise of Christian Godliness was nothing inferior to his Master.

Boner the forefaid Bishop, perceiving those two Gentlemen to be of worshipful Estate, and of great civility in that Country, left any tumult should thereby arise, came thither himself, accompanied with Mr. Feck-bp. Boner, and certain others, thinking to reclaim them to the same faction and fashion: so that great labour and diligence was taken therein, as well by terrors and threats, as by large promises and flattering, and all fair means, to reduce them again to the Unity (as they termed it) of the Mother Church.

In fine, when nothing could prevail to make them assent to their doings, at length they came to this point, that they required certain respite to confute with themselves what was best to do. Which time of deliberation being expired, and they remained still constant and unmoveable in their professed Doctrine, and setting out also their confession in writing, the Bishop seeing no good to be done in tarrying any longer there, departed thence, and carried them both with him to London, and with them certain other Prisoners also, which about the same time in those quarters were apprehended.

It was not long after this, but these Prisoners being at London committed to Breight Prison, and there attempted sundry ways by the Bishop and his Chaplains to revoke their Opinions: at length when no persuasions would serve, they were brought forth to open examination at the Consistory in Pauls, the 17 day of February, Anno the first of 1555.

Where they were demanded as well by the said Bishop, as also by the Bishop of Bath, and others, whether they would recant their Errors and perverse Doctrine (as they termed it), and so come to the Unity of the Popish Church. Which when they refused to do, the Bishop assigned them likewise the next day to appear again, being the 18 of February.

On the which day, among many other things there found said and passed, he read unto them severally certain Articles, and gave them respite until the next day to answer unto the same, and so committed them again to Prison. The Copy of which Articles hereunder followeth.

Articles objected and ministered by Boner Bishop of London, severally against Thomas Cauton, and Thomas Higbed of Essex.

First, That thou Thomas Cauton (or Thomas Higbed) hast been and art of the Diocese of London, by the Bishop of London, and also of the Jurisdiction now of me Edmund Bishop of London.

Item, That thou wast in time past, according to the order of the Church of England, baptized and christened.

Item, That thou hast Godfathers and Godmothers, according to the said order.

Item, That the said Godfathers and Godmothers did then promise for thee, and in thy Name, the Faith and Religion that thou now usest in the Realm of England.

Item, That that Faith and Religion, which they did promise and make for thee, was accounted and taken to be the Faith and Religion of the Church, and of the Christian People: And so was it in very deed.

Item, That at that time, and also before, it was taken for a Doctrine of the Church, Catholic and True, and every where in Christendom then allowed for Catholic and True, and to be the Profession of Christian men, to believe, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the Forms of Bread and Wine, after the Consecration there was, and is by the Omnipotent Power and Will of Almighty God, and his Word, without any Substance of Bread and Wine there remaining, the true and natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in Substance, which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the Cross, really, truly, and in very deed.

Item, That at that time thy Father and Mother, all thine Ancestors, all thy Kindred, Acquaintance, and Friends, and thy said Godfathers and Godmothers did then so believe.

believe, and think in all the same as the said Church did therein believe.

Item, That thy self hast had no just cause or lawful ground to depart or swerve from the said Religion or Faith, nor any occasion at all, except thou wilt follow and believe the erroneous Opinion or Belief, that hath been against the common order of the Church, brought in by certain different persons of late, at the intermixt wherein their thirty or forty years last past.

Item, That thou dost know, or credibly hast heard, and dost believe, that Dr. Robert Barnes, John Frith, Thomas Gerrard, Hierome Laffels, Anne Askew, John Hooper late Bishop of Gloucester, Sir Laurence Sanders, Sir John Bradford, Sir John Rogers Priest, Sir Rowland Taylor Priest, Sir John Laurence Priest, William Pygotes, Stephen Knight, William Hunter, Thomas Tomkins, and Thomas Hawkes, have been heretofore reputed, taken, and accounted as Heretics, and also condemned as Heretics, and so pronounced openly and manifestly; especially in holding and believing certain damnable Opinions, against the Verity of Christ's Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar, and all the same persons, saving John Bradford, Sir John Laurence, William Pygote, Stephen Knight, William Hunter, Thomas Tomkins, and Thomas Hawkes, have suffered Pains of Death by Fire, for the maintenance and defence of their said Opinions and Beliefs.

Item, That thou dost know, or credibly hast heard, and dost believe, that Thomas Cramer, late Archbishop of Canterbury, and Nicholas Ridley, naming himself Bishop of London, Robert Farrar late Bishop of St. Davids, and Hugh Latimer sometime Bishop of Worcester, have been, and are at this present reputed, accounted, and taken as Heretics and Malebelievers, in maintaining and holding certain damnable Opinions against the Verity of Christ's Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar.

Item, That thou hast commended and praised all the said persons, for erring and believing (or at the leastwise some of them) secretly, and also openly, taking and so leaving them to be Perjured and Catholic People, and their said Opinions to be good and true, and the same to be the best and intermixt of thy power thou hast allowed, maintained, and defended at sundry times.

Item, That thou having heard, known, and understood all the Premises, thou to be as is aforesaid, hast not regarded all or any part thereof, but contrary to the same and every part thereof, hast attempted and done, condemning, transgressing, and breaking the Promise, Faith, Religion, Order, and Customs aforesaid, and hast become, and art an Heretic and Malebeliever in the first place, denying the Verity of Christ's Body and Blood in the Sacrament of the Altar, and obstinately affirming, that the Substance of the Material Bread and Wine are there remaining, and that the Substance of Christ's Body and Blood, taken of the Virgin Mary, are not there in the said Sacrament really and truly being.

Item, That all the Premises be true, notorious, famous, and manifest, and that upon all the same, there have and be amongst the said good People of the City of London, and Diocese of the same, in great Multitude, commonly and publicly, a common and publick fame, opinion, and all in all place where thou hast been, written in the said Diocese of London.

¶ These Articles being given to them in writing by the Bishop, the next day following was assigned to them to give up and exhibit their Answers unto the same.

The third day Session upon the Examination of Mr. Cauton and Mr. Higbed.

Upon the which day, being the first day of March, the said Thomas Cauton and Thomas Higbed Gentlemen, being brought before the Bishop in the Consistory, there exhibited their Answers to the Articles aforesaid; the tenor of which Answers here followeth.

The Answer of Thomas Cauton and Thomas Higbed, severally made to the forefaid Articles objected at before.

To the first, they answer and confess the same to be true.

To the second, they answer and believe the same to be true.

To the third, they answer and believe the same to be true.

To the fourth, they answer and think the same to be true.

To the fifth, until this clause (and so was it in very deed) they answer and believe the same to be true. And unto that clause (and so was it in very deed) they answer negatively, and believe that it was not in very deed.

To the sixth, seventh, and eighth, they answer and believe the same to be true.

To the ninth, they answer and say, that they think they have a just and lawful cause and ground to swerve and go from the said Faith and Religion, because they have now read more Scriptures, than either themselves, or their Parents and Kindred, Godfathers, or Godmothers have read or seen heretofore in that behalf.

To the tenth, they answer, say, and believe, that the said persons articulate have been named, taken, and accounted for Heretics, and so condemned for Heretics; yet cannot three years past, they were taken for good Christian Persons. And furthermore as these Respondents did never learn their preach concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, they say that they preached well, in that they said and preached that Christ is not present really and truly in the Sacrament, but that there is remaining the Substance of Bread and Wine.

To the eleventh, they answer and say, that whosoever other Folks do repulse and take the said persons articulate, yet these Respondents themselves did never, nor yet do so, account and take them. And further they say, that in case the said persons articulate maintain in this Article have preached, that in the Sacrament of the Altar is very material Wine, and not the Substance of Christ's Body and Blood under the Forms of Bread and Wine, then they preached well and truly, and these Respondents themselves do so believe.

To the twelfth, they answer and say, that where other Folks have disapproved the said persons articulate, and disapproved their Opinions, these Respondents (for ought better they at any time have heard) did like and allow the said persons, and their sayings.

To the thirteenth, they answer and say, that they have not broken or condemned any promise made by their Godfathers and Godmothers for them at their Baptism, and that they are no Heretics nor Malebelievers, in that they believe that there remains only Bread and Wine in the Sacrament of the Altar, and that Christ's Natural Body is not there, in Heaven; for they say, that the Scriptures so teach them.

To the fourteenth, they answer and believe, that the Premises before by them confessed be true, notorious, and manifest.

After these Answers exhibited and perused, then the Bishop speaking unto them after this sort, beginneth first (as he did ever before) with Thomas Cauton. Because ye shall not be suddenly trapped, and that men shall not say that I go about to seek further to put you a-way: I have hitherto repited you that you should weigh and consider with your self your state and condition, and that you should, while ye have time and space, acknowledge the Truth, and return to the Unity of the Catholic Church. Then the Bishop, reading their former Articles and Answers to the same, asked them if they would recant: which when they denied, they were again diffinited and commanded to appear the Wednesday next after, at two of the Clock at Afternoon, there to receive their definitive Sentence against them: which thing (as it forthwith) was yet deferred.

Anno
1555.

6. We believe, that this Church of her self, and by

Besides this, it is hanged up, and shut in a box, yea, ^{The 64th} many times so long, that Worms breed in it, and

When he had thus delivered and read their Confession, the Bishop still persisting sometime in fair promises, sometime threatening to pronounce Judgment, asked them whether they would stand to this their Confession and other Answers? To whom Canfton said, Yea, we will stand to our Answers written with our hands.

IN the story before of *Thomas Tomkins* and his fellows, mention was made of six which were Examined, and Condemned together by *Bishop Boner*, the 9. day of *February*. Of the which six Condemned Persons, two, which were *Tomkins* and *William Hunter* (as ye heard) were executed, the one upon the 26. of *February*, and the other upon the 26. day of *March*. Other three, to wit, *William Pygott*, and *Stephen Knight*, suffered upon the 28. day, and *John Lawrence* the 29. of the said Month of *March*.

St. John
ence,
RYCS.

Touching the which three Martyrs, now something to say of their Examinations: It was first demanded of them, what their opinion was of the Sacrament of the Altar. Wherunto they severally answered, and also subscribed, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the form of Bread and Wine, there is not the very Substance of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, but a special partaking of the Body and Blood of Christ: the very Body and Blood of Christ being only in Heaven, and not where else. This Answer thus made, the Bishop caused certain Articles to be read unto them, tending to the same effect, as will be Articles before of *Tomkins* and of *M. Canham*. The tenor whereof here followeth.

Articles or Interrogatories objected by the Bishop of London to William Pygot, Stephen Knight, and John Laurence, the 8. of February, 1555.

Articles objected to William Pygot, Stephen Knight, and John Laurence.

Whether do you think, and stedfastly believe, that it is a Catholic, Faithful, Christian, and true Doctrine, to teach, preach, and say, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the form of Bread and Wine, there is without any Substance of Bread and Wine remaining by the Omnipotent Power of Almighty God and his Holy Word, really, truly, and in very deed the true and natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, the full substance (though not in outward form and appearance) which was born of the Virgin Mary, and suffered upon the Cross, yea, or nay?

Belief of their forefathers.

Whether do you think, and stedfastly believe, that your Parents, Kins-Folks, Friends, and Acquaintance, here in this present Realm of England, before your Birth, a great while, and also after your Birth, professing and believing the said Doctrine and Faith, concerning the said Sacrament of the Altar, had a true Christian Faith, and were Faithful and true Christian People, or no?

Belief of their Godfathers and Godmothers.

Whether do you think, and stedfastly believe, that your Godfathers, and Godmothers, professing and believing the said Doctrine and Faith, concerning the said Sacrament of the Altar, had a true Christian Faith, and were Faithful and true Christian People, or no?

Belief of their young Age.

Whether do you think, and stedfastly believe, that your own self, in those parts, being of the Age of 14 years, and above, did think and believe concerning the said Sacrament of the Altar in all points, as your said Parents, Kinsfolks, Friends, Acquaintance, Godfathers, and Godmothers, did then think and believe them, or no?

Belief of the King and Queen, and Nobility.

Whether do you think, and stedfastly believe, that your Sovereigns the King and the Queen of this Realm of England, and all the Nobility, Clergy, and Laity of this Realm, professing and believing the said Doctrine and Faith, as other Christian Realms do, concerning the said Sacrament of the Altar, have a true Christian Faith and believe as the Catholic and true Church of Christ hath always believed, preached, and taught, or no?

Belief of the present Catholic Church.

Whether do you think, and stedfastly believe, that our Saviour Christ and his Holy Spirit hath been, is, and shall be with his Catholic Church, even to the Worlds End, governing and ruling the same in all things especially in the necessary points of Christian Religion, not suffering the same to err, or to be deceived therein?

The said Pygot and Laurence.

Whether is it true, that you being suspected, or informed to be culpable and faulty in speaking against the Sacrament of the Altar, and against the very true Presence of Christ's Natural Body, and the Substance thereof in the said Sacrament, and thereupon called before me upon complaint made to me against you, have not been a good space in my House, having freely Meat and Drink, and also divers times instructed and informed, as well by one being our Ordinary, as also by my Chaplains and divers other learned men, some whereof were Bishops, some Deans, and some Archdeacons, and every one of them learned in Divinity, and minding well unto you, and desiring the safeguard of your Soul, and that you should follow and believe the Doctrine of the Catholic Church as afore concerning the said Sacrament of the Altar, and whether you did not at all times since your said coming to me, utterly refuse to follow and believe the said Doctrine concerning the said Sacrament?

Whether can you now find in your heart and confidence to conform your self in all points to the said Faith

and Catholic Church concerning the said Sacrament of the Altar, faithfully, truly, and plainly, without any dissimulation, believing therein, as our said Sovereigns, with the Nobility, Clergy, and Laity of this Realm, and other Christian Realms and other persons aforesaid, and also to the said Catholic Church, have and do believe in that behalf?

In case you do cannot, what ground have you to maintain your opinion, and who is of the same opinion with you, and what conference have you had therein with any, what comfort and what relief have you had therein by any of them, and what are their Names and Surnames, and their dwelling places?

Their Answers to these Articles were not much different from *Tomkins*, and other like Martyrs above mentioned, as here followeth to be seen.

The Answers of Stephen Knight, and William Pygot, to the aforesaid Articles.

To the first Article, they believe, that the contents of this Article is not agreeable to Scripture.

To the second, they answer and believe, that their Parents and other expressed in the said Article, do believe as is contained in the same, were deceived.

To the third they answer, that they do believe, but they were deceived therein, as they now believe.

To the fourth they say, that they have heretofore believed as is contained in the said Article, but now they do not so believe.

To the fifth they say, that if they do believe, they are deceived.

To the sixth, they believe the same to be true.

To the seventh they answer, and believe the contents of the same to be true.

To the eighth they answer, that they can no whit comfort themselves to the Faith and Doctrine contained and specified in this Article, until it be proved by Scripture.

To the ninth they say, that they have no ground to maintain their said opinions, but the Truth, which as they said, had been perverted by Learned Men, as D. Taylor of Hales, and such other.

Their Answers being made and exhibited, they were commanded to appear again the next day, at eight of the Clock in the Morning, and in the mean while to think themselves what they would do.

Another appearance of the said Prisoners before Boner.

The next day in the Morning, being the 9. of February, before their open appearance, the Bishop sent for *William Pygot* and *Stephen Knight* into his great Chamber in his Palace, where he perused with them to recant, and deny their former Profession.

Who answered, that they were not perused in their Consciences to return and abjure their opinions, whereunto they had subscribed. Within a while after they were all three, with *Thomas Tomkins*, and *William Hunter* aforesaid, brought openly into the Confessory, the 9. day of February aforesaid, and there had the same Articles propounded unto them, which were before propounded unto the forefaid *Thomas Tomkins* (as appeared in the discourse of his History) and thereto also subscribed these words: *I do believe*.

The Bishop also used certain talk unto *John Laurence* aforesaid, as appeared in the discourse of his History, and thereto also subscribed these words: *I do believe*.

And being again demanded his opinion upon the Sacrament, he said, that it was a remembrance of Christ's Body, and that many have been deceived in believing the true Body of Christ to be in the Sacrament of the Altar, and that all such as do not believe as he doth, do err. And after this talk and other fair words and threatenings, they were all of them commanded to appear again at afternoon.

Anno 1555.

The third and last appearance.

At the which hour they came thither again, and there after the accustomed manner were exhorted to recant and revoke their Doctrine, and receive the Faith. To the which they confidently answered they would not, but would stick to that Faith that they had declared and subscribed unto, for that they did believe that it was no Error which they believed; but that the contrary thereof was very Heretic.

When the Bishop saw that neither his fair flatterings, nor yet his cruel threatenings would prevail, he gave them severally their Judgments. And because *John Laurence* had been one of their anointed Priests, he was by the Bishop there (according to their order) solemnly degraded, the manner whereof you may see in the History of Mr. Hooper aforesaid.

Their Sentence of Condemnation, and this Degradation once ended, they were committed unto the custody of the Sheriffs of London, who sent them unto *Newgate*, where they remained with joy together, until they were carried down into *Effles*, and there the 28. day of March, the said *William Pygot* was burned at *Braineries*, and *Stephen Knight* at *Mauldon*, who at the Stake, kneeling upon the ground, said this Prayer which here followeth.

The Prayer that Stephen Knight, said at his death upon his knees, being at the Stake, at Mauldon.

O Lord Jesus Christ, for whose love I leave willing this Life, and desire rather the bitter death of thy Cross, with the loss of all earthly things, than to abide the Blasphemy of thy most Holy Name, or to obey men in breaking thy holy Commandment: Thou feedest, O Lord, when I might live in Worldly Wealth to worship a false God, and honour thine enemy, I choose rather the torment of the Body, and the loss of this Life, and have counted all things but vile, dust, and dung, that

I might win thee; which death is dearer unto me, than thousands of Gold and Silver. Such love, O Lord, hath thou laid up in my Breast, that I hunger for thee, as the Deer that is wounded desireth the Soy. Send thy holy comforter, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and strengthen this weak piece of earth, which is empty of all strength of itself. Thou rememberest, O Lord, that I am but dust, and able to do nothing that is good: Therefore, O Lord, as oft thou hast accounted goodness and love thou hast hidden me to this banquet, and accounted me worthy to drink of thine own Cup amongst thine elect; even to give me strength, O Lord, against this thine Element, which as to my light it is most irksome and terrible, so to my mind it may at thy Commandment (as an obedient fervent) be sweet and pleasant, that through the strength of thy holy Spirit, I may pass through the rage of this fire into thy bosom, according to thy promise, and for this mortal receive an immortal, and for this corruptible put on incorruption: Accept this burnt Sacrifice, and Offerings, O Lord, not for the Sacrifice, but for thy dear Sons sake my Saviour, for whose Testimony I offer this free Will offering with all my heart and with all my Soul. O Heavenly Father, forgive me my Sins, as I forgive all the World. O sweet Son of God my Saviour, spread thy wings over me. O Blessed and holy Ghost, through whose merciful inspiration I am come hither, commend me into everlasting Life. Lord, into thy hands I commit my Spirit. Amen.

The death and Martyrdom of John Laurence Priest.

The next day, being the 29. day of this Month, the said *John Laurence* was brought to *Calchefer*, and there being not able to go (for that as well his legs were fore worn with heavy irons in Prison, as also his Body, and his strength was so much weakened by long keeping in a dark fire, and so fitting, was in his constant faith consumed with fire. At the burning of this *Laurence*, he sitting in the



fire the young Children came about the fire, and cried, as well as young Children could speak, saying; Lord strengthen thy Servant, and keep thy promise. Lord strengthen thy Servant, and keep thy promise: which thing, as it were, so it is no small manifestation of the Glory of God, which wrought this in the hearts of these little ones, nor yet a little commendation to their Parents, which from their youth brought them up in the knowledge of God and his Truth.

The History of Dr. Robert Farrar, Bishop of S. Davids in Wales, who most constantly gave his Life for the Testimony of the Truth, March 30. Anno 1555.

The next day after, which was the 30. day of the said Month of March, followed the worthy and constant Martyrdom

Martyrdom of the Bishop of S. Davids in Wales, called *Robert Farrar*, who was the next Bishop in this Catalogue of Christian Martyrs, that suffered after Mr. Hooper. This aforesaid *Farrar*, by the favour and good will of the Lord Protector, was first called and promoted to that Dignity. This man I may well call twice a Martyr, not only for the cruel death of the fire, which he suffered most constantly in the days of Q. Mary, unto the shedding of his Blood, but also for divers other injuries and molestations in K. Edwards time, which he so firmly than unworthily sustained at the hands of his enemies after the fall of the Duke of Somerset. Of these his vexations and troubles, with the wrangling Articles and Informations laid against him, to the number of 56, and of the malice conceived against him by certain covetous Canons of the Church of *Carmarthen* and what were the proceedings of both parts, as well of the innocent, as of the crafty Adversaries, and what were their Names, in their Articles against him in order here following.

The Principal Articles against Bishop Farrar.

George Constantine, David Walker his Servant, Thomas Young Chamberlain of the Cathedral Church, who was afterwards Archbishop of York, Rowland Merick Doctor of Law, who was afterwards Bishop of Bangor, Thomas Lee, and Hugh Rawlins, &c.

Through the procurement and influence of these his Adversaries, joyning and confederating together, one Hugh Rawlins Priest, and Thomas Lee Brother in Law to the said *George Constantine*, did exhibit to the Kings most honourable Council certain Articles and Informations, conceived and devised by the persons before named, to the intent to blamish the Bishops credit, and utterly (as they thought and made their boast) to pull him from his Bishoprick, and to bring him in a Premunire. The Copy of which Articles we thought here good to express, and so after them to set his answers to the same.

Articles and Informations to the Kings Honourable Council, put up and exhibited by Hugh Rawlins and Thomas Lee, against the Bishop of S. Davids.

1. Item, when the said Bishop first came to his Diocese, he appointed his Chancellor by his Letters of Commission, omitting the Kings Majesties Style and Authority, and grounded his said Commission upon foreign ungrounded Laws and Authority by force of which Authority his said Chancellor did visit certain Decretaries of his said Diocese, and monished the Chaunter and Chapter of the Cathedral Church of S. Davids aforesaid, against a certain day and place, for like intent and purpose, contrary to the Kings Highness Laws and Statutes, and in derogation of his Highness Supremacy.

2. Item, that the said Chancellor and Chapter, perceiving the fault of the said Commission, took the same from the Register into their custody, refusing to appear by virtue thereof, and by secret and charitable ways and means did admonish the said Bishop of the unlawfulness and faults of the said Commission, and of the danger that he had incurred for granting and executing the same; opening also unto him the effect of the Statute made in the 25. year of our late Sovereign Lord Henry the 8. which Monitions notwithstanding, the said Bishop neglecting the same, and continuing in his malicious doing or inevitable ignorance, about the 20. day of August, in the fourth year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lord that now is, did confer unto one John Evans the Vicarage of Pembroke, instituting him by Authority of the old usurped usurper Law, making no mention of the Kings Highness Authority, in contempt and derogation of the same.

3. Item, whereas the Chancellor and Vicar General to the said Bishop, did upon a lawful Title, and by the Kings Highness Supremacy Authority, admit and institute one John Gough into the Rectory of *Harward* with all the parsonages, and gave out in the Kings Name under his Highness Seal Ecclesiastical appointed for that

Office, with the Title of the said Bishop, and subscription of the said Chancellor, a Mandate to induce accordingly; by virtue whereof the said John Gough was induced by the Official there, into the real possession of the same Rectory, with the rights and appurtenances to the same belonging; whereupon the Register of the said Diocese, at the request of the aforesaid Chancellor did issue the premisses, with all the circumstances, before divers persons to the forenamed Bishop: Who notwithstanding did institute and cause to be induced one Harry Goldard unto the same Parsonage, making no mention of the Kings Majesties Authority nor Supremacy; in contempt and derogation of the same his Highness Crown and Dignity, and in extolling the fornaught undue Authority, contrary to the form of the Statute, &c.

4. Item, the said Bishop, immediately after the unlawful Institution and Induction of Goldard aforesaid, molested the said John Gough, lawfully instituted and induced as before, citing him from place to place, objecting no matter unto him of long season, till at length he arrested him, and caused him to be committed to prison, where he was kept, till he was released, and then he took upon him the cognition of the Title of the whole fruits and Patronage, in contempt of the Kings Highness Royal Crown and Dignity, and in derogation of the Laws and Statutes of this Realm.

5. Item, He hath commonly made his Collations and Institutions, as he did his in the Common, in his own name and Authority, without expressing the Kings Supremacy.

6. Item, He made under his Seal one Collation, two Institutions, and three Mandates to induce, in one vacation of one Benefice, three several persons, without order of Law, or revocation of any of them, giving to every one like Authority, Title, and Right, Whereby, except good foresight, as well of Justices of the Peace, as of the Friends had not been, there had ensued much inconvenience amongst the partakers of the intailed Incumbency, but he did his in the Common, in his own name and Authority, without expressing the Kings Supremacy.

7. Item, the said Bishop decreeing Covenants to be made in Benefices, thereby knowing the Titles Litigious, instituted and caused to be induced without Trial of any Title or due order of Law.

8. Item, He directeth his Mandates of Induction unto private men, and not to the Archdeacons nor their Officials; contrary to the Law and Custom used in that behalf. Notwithstanding he hath been Committed to the custody of men that be learned.

9. Item, having no manner of knowledge nor practice in the Law, he liteth every day in Harwit, and other times, upon causes without assistance of learned in the Law, having with him only an unlearned Boy, which is no Notary, a scribe, neither observing the Law, nor yet reasonable order. And therefore does good nood, but trileth the time, as may appear by his Acts, if he have them to be shewed.

10. Item, He and his Officers, by his knowledge, use to dispense with Marriages, to be Solemnized without banns, contrary to the Laws and Ordinances in that behalf.

11. Item, Whereas one Thomas Prichard a Chaplain of his, solemnized Matrimony in a private House without banns, and that betwixt a Priest, and a Sister of hers that was appointed to be married with the said Priest that day; he also being a Parson, and leaving his Cure undervalued that day being Sunday; and notwithstanding that one of the Kings Council in the Marches of Wales informed the said Bishop of the same Misdemeanour, requiring due reformation thereof. He hath done nothing therein but put the same Chaplain in Office, and made him his Commissary General since that time, bearing a special favour to the rest of the offenders.

12. Item, Whereas one Meridith an *Thomas* his Household-servant, was accused of one *Sage Hughes*, to have been Father of her Child; the said Bishop, without purgation of his Servant, caused him to sue the Parents of the said *Sage* in his principal Confistory; and from thence before a Commissary of his, being his Household Chaplain, and the said last matter before himself, for raising against all his Officers, because they proceeded not after his partial affection, and against the

the Law, that honest men of *Carmarthen*, where he then late upon the Cause, judge him to be, or at the least to have been diffract of his wit, and by this partial handling, the Cause remaineth unfinished, and the Child without Father.

13. Item, Whereas one *John* Ph. accused *William Chambers*, a Servant of the Bishops that found this *William* in adulterous manner with his Wife, by reason whereof the Bishop expelled the Wife out of his House, the said Infamy not purged, the parties have been both again in the Bishops House and Service since that time, to the example of others.

14. Item, By his unlawful sequestration of the fruits of the Benefices of *Langatock*, and *Lamylangol*, by the undirect handling of the same, there were raised the number of four hundred people or more, which bickered sundry times together, to the great danger of the Inhabitants thereof, had it not been pacified by the direct means of Sir *Roger Vaughan* Knight.

15. Item, By his like unlawful collation of the Prebend of *Lambister* to one *Stephen Green*, a Chaplain of his, by covenant and promise to maintain the same, by whose crafty and unchristian handling of the same, there was raised in the Country of *Radnor* the 19. day of August last past about three or four hundred men to like danger, but that the matter was stayed by *John Bradshaw*, *Rice ap Glyn*, and *Stephen ap Rice*, Justices of the same County. Who with great danger to themselves and others, pacified the matter, committing an hundred of the offenders to ward.

16. Item, such as he oweth displeasure unto, he cith them from place to place, and day to day, only for their vexation, laying no matter against them; and being divers times required Copy of his proceedings against them, to the intent they might answer accordingly, and be at their lawful defence; he denied to all such persons the Copies of his proceedings.

17. Item, He and his Officers wink at the manifest and open crimes of his Followers and Adherents, to the evil example of the whole Diocese, and about the Centenary of Excommunication and Suspension, making it an Infractum of revenging against such as they do not favour.

18. Item, Having received payment of the Kings Majesties Subsidy, due in October the 4. year of his Grace Reign, of the aforesaid Chaunter of the Cathedral Church of S. Davids, and Rowland Merick, two of the Redemptaries there, before Christmas last he unjustly of a prebended mind and purpose afterward certified them for Recusants, for their undoings, if they had not been admonished of his cruel purpose, and provided lawful defence for the same.

19. Item, The said Bishop celebrating Matrimony in his own person, dispensed contrary to the Book of Ordinance, with the parties married, for not receiving the holy Communion; the parties both being young and lusty persons, having no reasonable cause wherefore they should abstain. At which celebration the Bishop Communicated not himself. And further, the Communion was celebrated by a Chaplain of his, with superfluous blowings, kneelings, and knockings both of the Chaplain that Ministered, and of all the company, only one other Priest Communicating for the manner.

20. Item, Whereas the Official of the Archdeacon of *Carmarthen*, in his visitation within *Carmarthen*, found, contrary unto the said Ordinance, an Altar set up in the Body of the Church, for celebration of the Communion, and caused the said Altar to be set away and a table to be set in the middle of the Church; the Bishop after the same commanded the Vicar of *Carmarthen* to set the Table without the Chancel again for the Ministration of the Communion.

21. Item, He being often in *Carmarthen*, and other places in the Chancel the time of holy Communion, not only tarried there himself, neither Communicating nor Ministering bareheaded and unclothed, reverently kneeling; but also permitted the people there to continue, the Chancel and Quire full, kneeling and knocking their Breasts. Which manner is yet used in all the Diocess, without any reformation or gaindly of him or any of his Officers.

22. Item, Whereas superfluous praying upon beads is not only ungodly, but reproved in the Kings Majesties Injunctions; the said Bishop meeting many with Beads in their hands never rebuked any of them.

23. Item, The said Bishop being in the Pulpit and seeing Croffes there within the Church, with a great number of lights upon them, never spoke against any of them.

24. Item, Whereas the Ordinance willeth, that no Children be Baptized but upon the Sunday, or Holy day (only Cause of necessity excepted) he, having two Children himself born without danger, caused one of them to be Baptized on the work day. And by his example, without any contradiction or motion of reformation, it is used, as hath been customed in all the Diocess commonly, contrary unto the Book of Ordinance in that behalf.

25. Item, From his first coming into the Diocess, he hath had and yet hath his only study, labour, and practice, to survey Lands, and to look for Mines, &c. neglecting his own bounden duty to apply to his Book and Preaching.

26. Item, He keepeth no manner of Hospitality, but hath his Servants Table in one Parlour with him, left any Stranger should approach his Servants being at their meat.

27. Item, He is commonly talking not of Godliness, but of Worldly matters, as basking, brewing, indolence, ploughing, mining of Mill-Stones, discharging of Tenants and such like, not only at his Table, but also most commonly at other places.

28. Item, He hath warned divers Tenants out of their Lands, which they and their elders have enjoyed for their rents these Hundred years, and more, and occupied with tillage, which he faith he will inclose, and being tied to of poor men, because of quietness, he answered; The Crows shall eat the Corn, rather than ye shall have any profit thereof.

29. Item, When the Vicars Choral of Saint Davids, for relief of their Hospitality, had an land of his called the Bishops Le, for 40. s. rent; he hath set it to a Chaplain of his for five pounds by year. And where, at the fute of the said Vicars, it was granted by the Bishop in the Pulpit, that the Vicars should have it for 40. s. rent, and pay 20. l. entry, he now covetously, and against his promise openly made, denieth the same, except the Vicars would give 50. pound.

30. Item, He caused the Curate of S. Davids to warn their Tenants out of their said Lands in the Pulpit, to the great Offence of the People, which were wont to have Gods Word Preached there; and so they fied to the Curate at that time.

31. Item, To the Plowing of a Pasture not above ten days work, in *Lens*, Anno 1549, he had 32 Ploughs in one day, and those Ploughs the Priest laid in the Church, contrary to the Statute of *Gomeria* in that behalf provided, and to the civil example of Gentlemen in that Country.

32. Item, Where the Kings Majesty of godly remembrance, Henry the eighth, appointed at *Brookbeck* a Schoolmaster, Usher, Reader of Divinity, a Minister, and certain Scholars, and for the maintenance thereof appointed xli. and xii. li. of the penfines and revenues of *Brookbeck*; the Bishop finding it so furnished, hath neither Reader nor Minister there, covetously converting their Pensions to his own use.

33. Item, The Bishop was twice in one day presented in the great Court, holden in the Court of *Carmarthen*, for including and covetous encroaching of the Kings High-Way.

34. Item, He covetously occupieth purchasing of Lands, buying of Cartel, Merchandise, and other things, being indebted a notable sum to the Kings Majesty, as may by his accounts in the Court of Teutis and Aris fruits appear.

35. Item, Whereas one *Lewis John* Ten Bod, putting from him his lawful wedded Wife, upon Christmas Even last past, without banns had Marriage Solemnized with a Concubine of his in a church within three miles of the Bishops abode at that time: The Bishop knew knowing the premisses, hath not only of a covetous mind entered familiarity with the said *Lewis*, and bought a piece of Land of him, but also ever since hath (to have his Lands

Abide of the Authority to him committed.

Minister of the Supremacy contrary to the Kings Ordinance established.

Covenant

with

lands good cheap) left both the parties and Priest unpunished, using him so familiarly, that whereas a Sumner cited the parties to appear among other criminals for the same fact, the Bishop commanded the said Sumner to let him alone, and so they all remain unpunished.

36. *Item*, Whereas the whole Chapter of S. Davids (as it was thought) was in affixed amity with the Bishop, they all being his Officers or Chaplains, he procured them to be impleaded with a Writ of *Quo Warranto* in the Kings Bench, keeping the Writ with him secretly, at the least three Months, not delivering it, but only ten days before the day of their appearance, the parties being eleven days journey distant from London.

37. *Item*, He is a wilful wrong doer, and troubler of men in their rights, entering upon their lands and profits, stirring thereby much contention, and so usually known, to the offence of the Country.

38. *Item*, Whereas the Bishop aforesaid was appointed in *August*, Anno 1547, and consecrated in *September* following, he never came into the Diocese himself, nor sent or appointed any Officer there before the Month of *April*, Anno 1558, to the great disorder of the Kings Majesties Subjects, lack of reformation, and Ministration of Justice.

39. *Item*, During his visitation, the said Bishop did not endeavor himself to see reformation, but rode fur veying of Lands, appointing vain indolences, and such other things. Which are no part of the Office to him committed, nor yet convenient, namely at that time.

40. *Item*, The visitation inflicted, he neither appointed his Officers to examine the Clergy of the places of Scripture to them appointed to be studied in the same visitation, nor hath hitherto effectually gone about any godly reformation, according to the ordinance of this Realm.

41. *Item*, The Bishop since his coming to the Diocese never Minished the Canon, saving only at two times, that he ordered certain Deacons; but in every thing save that he overhaules preacheth ordereth himself like no Minister, nor man of his vocation.

42. *Item*, He hath so alienated himself from study, that he preacheth undifferently, discrediting the Office, not only utterly reporting the Scripture, but also preaching the ten Commandments in one place in declaration of the eighth of them, for lack of suff, the pith of his matter was Matrimony of Priests.

43. *Item*, The 13. day of *September* last, he ordained certain Deacons, and making his exhortation, he taught that a man was not bound to forgive, but first that saith forgiveness; and being admonished by a Letter better to declare the same, because that divers were offended with that Doctrine; he hath hitherto deferred to do so, to the maintenance of malicious heats in these parts.

44. *Item*, Since the first day of *August*, Anno 1549, unto the feast of *Candelmas* last, he hath Preached but two or three Sermons, of which one was Preached at *Abergilly* upon Saint Stephens day last, to a great Audience that understood no *English*, being but a mile from *Cardarben*, an *English* Town, and chief of his Diocese.

45. *Item*, Since his ordinary visitation, which was finished in *July*, Anno 1548, he hath neither Preached, nor caused to be Preached in the Towns of *Timby*, *Pembroke*, nor *Haverford*, being *English* Towns, not much distant from the place of his most continuance.

46. *Item*, The Churches appropriate to the Bishop have no Paraphrases in *English*, and few of them bibles.

47. *Item*, The Churches of the Diocese for the most part, and the Clergy almost every one lack Paraphrases, notwithstanding there hath been these two years, and yet be a great number of them to be sold in the Diocese.

48. *Item*, To declare his folly in riding, he useth Bridle with white studs and snaffle, white Scotchiff trousers, white puffs, a Scotchiff pad with a little fluff of three quarters long, which he hath not only used Superstitiously these four or five years, in Communication oftentimes boasting what Countreys he hath compassed and measured with the same fluff.

49. *Item*, he hath made a vow, that he will never wear a cap; for he faith, it is only wearing of a hat,

and so cometh in his long gown and hat, both in to the Cathedral Church, and to the best Town of his Diocese, sitting in that for in the Kings great Sessions, and in his Consistory, making himself a mock to the People.

50. *Item*, He said that he would go to the Parliament on foot: And to his friends that disdained him, alleging that it is not meet for a man in his place; he answered, I care not for that, it is no Sin.

51. *Item*, having a Son, he went before the Midwife to the Church, presenting the Child to the Priest, and giving him Name *Samuel*, with a solemn interpretation of the Name, appointing also two Godfathers and two Godmothers, contrary to the ordinance, making his Son a nonitor, and himself a laughing stock throughout all the Country.

52. *Item*, He daily useth whistling of his Child, and faith that he understood his whistle, when he was but three days old. And being advertised of his friends, that men laughed at his folly, he answered; They whistle their horses and dogs, and I am contented; they might also be contented that I whistle my Child, and I whistle him daily, all friendly admonition neglected.

53. *Item*, In his ordinary visitation among other his surveys, he surveyed *Milford Haven*, where he uttered a Seal-fish running. And he crept down to the water side, and continued there whistling by the space of an hour, perfwading the company that laughed fast at him that by his whistle he made the fish to carry there.

54. *Item*, speaking of *Kiersey of Heringes*, he laid the fault to the conventuall of *Filthers*, who in time of plenty took so many, that they destroyed the Breeders.

55. *Item*, Speaking of the alteration of the Cown, he whistled that what metal sever it were of, the penny should be in weight worth a penny of the same metal.

56. For a conclusion, the said Bishop in all his doings, since he came to his Diocese, hath behaved himself most unseemly for a man of his vocation, being for a Minister of Justice, a lover of the Authority to him committed, for a teacher of the Truth, and reformer of Superstition, a maintainer of Superstition without any Doctrine of reformation, for a liberal and hospital, an unstable converser, was more for a diligent over-seer, wilful and negligent; for an example of godly Willdom, given wholly to folly; for merciful, a cruel revenger. And further, for a peace-maker, a frower of discord. And so in all his behaviour a discrediter and flunderer of his vocation, and a deceiver of all men, that had hope that he should do any reformation. For he yet hath neither brought into his Diocese, nor hath belonging unto him any learned Preacher. But such learned Preachers as he found in the Diocese at his entry, he so vexeth and disquieteth, that they cannot attend to apply their preaching, for the defence of their Livings, against his quarrelous inventions and unjust certificates.

After these wronged Articles and Informations were given up, then was the Bishop called for to answer, the hearing whereof was committed unto Dr. *Wotton*, and Sir *John Mafon* Knight, who likewise received the Bishop's answers to the forsworn Articles, the Copy and effect of which answers hereafter follow.

The Answer of Roberts, Bishop of S. Davids, to the Articles Minished unto him.

To the first Article he faith, that after lawful Monition in the Kings Majesties Name and Authority, from the said Bishop (being then at London) given to the Chaunter and Chapter of S. Davids, for visitation at a certain day there to be executed the said Bishop himself for such purpose coming into the Diocese, knowing also that the Chaunter, and one of the Canons of that Church, and late before Commissaries in that Diocese, had not only by their own evil example and winking at the faults of other, or neglecting to correct the same, left there among Priests and others, much detestable wickedness, but also spoiled the Cathedral Church of Crosses, Charnelles, and Censers, with other Plate; Jewels, and Ornamentes of the Church, to the value of five hundred Marks or more, for their own private lucre (the Church remaining even yet very decayed and had almost made further under that Chapter Seal many blankes to the number

Anno 1555.

Q. Mary.

Anno 1555.

number of twelve or more, *Sede vacante*, without the Kings licence or knowledge; Therefore he brought with him one *Edmund Farles*, Bachelor of Law, by Dr. *Twing* and Dr. *Nesbit* to him commended, as a man sufficient in faithful trust and learning; to be his Chancellor. To whom he granted and sealed a Commission for that purpose, giving credit to him in his faculty, concerning the draught and form thereof. But the Kings Majesty's Office of Supremacy was fully set forth in the same Commission. Whether there were any default of formal words in setting forth of the Kings Authority therein, is not certain. For he committed the doing thereof to his Chancellor, who was commended to him for a learned man. And the Bishop faith, that he did never ground the Commission upon any foreign usurped Laws or Authority. Neither did his said Chancellor by force of such Authority visit any Deany of the said Diocese, nor gave any Monition to the Chaunter and Chapter thereof, by force of that Commission for any life intent or purpose, but only offered in the Kings Majesty's Name and Authority (to the said Bishop committed) to enter visitation of the Chaunter and Chapter of the Cathedral Church, at another day to be executed by the Bishop himself, for reformation of the Chapter Church, and Ministers thereof, according to the Kings grivous Ordinances and Injunctions in that behalf. But the aforesaid Chaunter and Canon of the Church, before the fight of any Commission, stubbornly answered the said Chancellor, that they would not receive him, nor any other to visit them, except he were one of their Chapter. And further, desiring to see his Commission, he delivered the same into their hands, who would not deliver it him again. And so it may appear that he did nothing by force of that Commission.

2. To the second Article he faith, that they opened not unto him the danger of any Statute, to his knowledge and remembrance. Nevertheless, he not knowing any default in the said Commission, and certainly minding with all diligence the faithful execution of his office of Preaching, and Visiting the whole Diocese in his own person, by the Kings Majesty's Authority, for the conservation of Gods peace in the Kings, in that dangerous time of Rebellion, him beginning to arise in our times, did neglect and lay apart the stubborn behaviour and ungodly doings of the said Chaunter and Canon, and agreed with them, omitting all contents and reproaches toward him and his said Chancellor, and all manner of contention by them done, fearing else that through their unquietness some Tumult might have risen among the People there; and did also make the said Chaunter his Chancellor, and Canon his Commissary, according to their ambitious desires, to appease their malice in that dangerous time. And further, he faith, that he made Collation to Sir *John Evans* of the Vicarage of *Pembryn*, what day or time he remembereth not, not by any old foreign usurped Authority, but by the Kings Authority only, making full mention of the Kings Seile and Authority in the same Collation.

3. And to the third and fourth he faith, that whereas he had granted to *George Constanline* the office of a Register, who brought unto him a Commission for the Chancellorship, to be sealed and delivered to the said Bishop of Saint Davids, defining the said Bishop to seal, he utterly refused to do so, because the said *George* had put therein a clause of admitting Clerks into Benefices, which Authority the said Bishop would not put in any way grant, referring the examination and admission of Clerks only to himself, for the avoiding of wicked bribery and partiality. Whereupon the said *George* and the Chaunter promised the said Bishop by their faith and truth, after three or four honest witnesses, not to execute that clause of Infinitum into Benefices, but only to those Clerks whom the Bishop did first examine and admit, and send unto them to be instituted and inducted upon which promise the Bishop sealed the said Commission. And after that time, the Parsonage of *Halsard* being void, and by the reason of Lapse devolved to the Bishop's gift, for that time, he conferred it to one Sir *Henry Goddard*, with a Collation of Institution by the Kings Authority, not enrolling any foreign usurped Authority. In the which Collation or Institution is fully mentioned the Lords Commission of the Bishop of *Rome*, and all foreign powers

Answers of B. Farrar to certain false Accusations of his Enemies.

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and Authority, with the full stile of his Majesty's Supremacy. And this Collation or the Church of *Halsard* he gave, before he understood or knew that his Chancellor had given the like, and he freely thinks his Collation was the first. That notwithstanding, the said *George Constanline* and the said Chaunter having a Vowform determined by reason of Lapse, admitted and instituted one *John Gough*, of the full Parsonage of *Alkard*, by Vertue of their expired Vowform, and Sealed his Institution with a wrong Seal (because they had not the right Seal of Office to that purpose) contrary to their former earnest promise, and the Bishop's Right, and without any manner of warning or fore-knowledge thereof to him given, which thing by them untruly done, the said *George Constanline* nevertheless came to the Bishop's House and there did write with his own hand the Letters of Induction for the said Sir *Henry Goddard* Priest, comprising in the same the whole Sum of the Induction or Collation which the said Bishop had made, and the same *George* did Seal the said Letters of Induction with his own hand, finding no manner of fault therein, nor making any word or mention of his and the Chanters former wrong doing, but so departed for that time. And afterward he came again, and shewed the Bishop what they had done before concerning the Parsonage aforesaid. And further, the said Defendant faith, that he did not molest the said *John Gough*, but lawfully did call him in the Kings Majesty's Name, not for any Title of Patronage, but to know whether he were Patron of *Halsard*, and how he was thereto admitted, and instituted, and inducted; and by what Authority he presumed to preach there, without the Kings Majesty's licence, with other like lawful demands, whereunto he studiously refused to give Answer; and faith, that the Article contained in his accusation, saying thus: *Item interdictum quo titulo tenet Rectorem de Halsard*, was not minished unto the party in that form, so far as he knoweth, but in these words or like, *Quo modo intravit in Rectorem, &c.*

5. To the fifth he faith, that albeit *George Constanline* Register, did wilfully withdraw his bounden Service due to the Kings Highness, and to the said Defendant in the Kings Name, refusing to attend either by himself, or his sufficient Deputy for writing of Records and other Instruments, yet the said Defendant made his Collations and Institutions in his own Name, not by his own Authority, nor by another, have only the Kings Authority, according as he hath declared in his Answer, to the first Article, expressing in them the Kings Supremacy with the Bishops own Name and Seale of Office as he ought to do, according to the provision of the Kings Statute in this cause.

6. To the sixth he faith, that the Vicar of *Pembryn* being void, he assigned Patron thereof to his knowledge, conferred it to Sir *John Evans* Clerk, with Letters of Institution and Induction; and after, when the Kings Presentation came to him for one *David Jenkins* Clerk, he deferred fourteen days respice at that time; either to their ancient record for his right, and then the matter to stand to the Determination of the Law, or else if he shewed not, both he and his Clerk to give place to the Kings Clerk, which condition was by Sir *Thomas Jones* Clerks, Doctor M. and the said *David Jenkins* received, and an Institution with a wrong Seal made conditionally to be put into the hands of Sir *Thomas Jones* Knight, for safe custody of the Kings Clerks behoof, after the fourteen dayes to be executed at the hands of the said Defendant, if he failed to shew. Within which time the said Defendant did shew his ancient Record, declaring the full right of Patronage on the said Defendants behalf, and so that Institution and Induction was never by the said Defendant put in execution. Nevertheless, the said *David Jenkins* (contrary to his promise and Oath giving thereupon his right hand to the said Sir *Thomas Jones* Knight) took Advantage by the said writing, without knowledge of the said Defendant. After which time the Lord Chancellor, by his Letters written to the said Defendant, advertised him, to admit one *John Ap Powell* Clerk preferred by vertue of a Vowform which the Lord Chancellor judged to be good, and so to be admitted notwithstanding

his former pretensions, whereby he would not abate the others man's right. And B: this Defendant made one Collation, two Institutions, and three Mandates, doing no wrong thereby to his knowledge. And further he said, that there was no business nor unquietness about the collation of the said Vicarage, but this Defendant giving place, was content to let his right for that time.

7. To the seventh he saith, that as he now remembereth, he never decreed any Caveats to be made in Benefices, neither did institute nor cause to be instituted any Benefices, being known to him litigious.

8. To the eighth he saith, that because the Archdeacons be absent from their Offices, and have not had faithful diligent Officials, he hath directed his Mandates to them or their Officials, or to other lawful persons in that behalf, so far as he knoweth.

9. & 10. The ninth and tenth Articles he denieth as very untrue.

11. To the eleventh he saith, that whereas Sir Thomas Fane Knight advertised him, that Thomas Prichard had celebrated Matrimony in a private House, betwix a certain Priest and a Woman, whose Sister had refused the same, the said Prichard leaving his own Cure unrevoked on that Sunday, this Defendant did put the same Thomas Prichard to denials for doing Matrimony without Banns. And whereas he made the said Thomas Prichard, who is a Bachelor of law, his Commisary; it was for the respect of learning in the law, thereby faithfully to execute his office according to Justice. And the said Defendant did never favour nor bear with any man willingly in his wrong doings. He confesseth that the Matrimony was solemnized in a private Church, and that the Cure was that day unrevoked.

12. To the twelfth he saith, that it is slanderous and utterly untrue, that Sir Thomas Fane Knight, Priest, made *Sage Hughes* (daughter to his Step-mother) an Harlot at eleven years of age, and after Married openly to another man, being Minister thereof himself. After which doing he took her away from her Husband again, and kept her, alleging a former contract. And when the said *John Hughes* was lawfully considered before the said Bishop, in open Court at *Carmarthen*, of that his abominable Adultery, claiming the Kings pardon thereof, yet the said *Sage* confessed, that he had to do with her the night before that day of appearance. Which last crime he denied. Nevertheless she proved with Child, affirming, both before the Birth and after, the Child to be his, the Midwife and others being Witnesses thereof. Yet notwithstanding, *George Constanine*, as a wicked Bollocker of the said Priest in his naughty doings, with the help of the said *Affordell* Chamberlain, first uttered that *Affordell Thomas* was Father of the said Child: which matter was ordered in the Ecclesiastical Court according to Justice, without any partial affection of the said Bishop, or of any other to his knowledge.

13. To the 13. he saith, it is utterly false so far as he knoweth.

14. To the 14. he saith, that he being in the Pulpit, his face towards the People; did not see the lights, if any were set up about the Corps behind his back till after that he came down from the Pulpit. But he with *George Constanine* and the said *Affordell* Chamberlain, the Church in *Carmarthen* to hear Causals, and being the Vicar with other Priests, with song and lights bringing a Corps up to the Church, called forth with the Vicar and Priests, and rebuked them in open Court, as Commorators and Ravens, flying about the dead carcass for lucre filth.

15. To the 15. he saith, that he made collation, lawful (as he supposed) of the Prebend of *Lanbister*, to *Stephen Greene* his Chaplain, without any covenant or colour, and further he did not meddle in that behalf.

16. To the 16. he saith, all untrue as far as he knoweth.

17. To the 17. he saith, it is untrue for his own part, and his Officers, as far as he knoweth.

18. To the 18. he saith, it is untrue as far as he knoweth, and that he did certify the Rectors justly, as he thinketh, because they refused willingly to pay the Kings whole Subsidy of their whole dividers, as if. fardeth in the Kings books; training to the Canons Resident.

19. To the 19. he saith, that after travel of fourteen miles, being not able fasting to celebrate the communion, in a Chapel within the House of Sir Thomas Jones

Knight, one of the Kings Majesty's Honourable Council of the Marches of *Wales*, this Defendant celebrated Matrimony without receiving the Communion for the cause aforesaid, between *St. Gifford Rite*, and the Daughter of the said Sir Thomas Jones, according to the Kings Ordinances. And Thomas Prichard Priest, administered the holy Communion there without any Subscription, to this Defendants knowledge; and the Married persons not disposed to receive the holy Communion, he could not compel them against their Conscience, and faith, that he did not dispense with them, as it is contained in the Article.

To the slanderous and untrue title of maintenance of Superstition, &c. he saith, that he did not maintain any Superstition, contrary to the Kings Ordinances and Instructions, but abhorring in his heart all Superstition, hath Travelled and doth Travel to Abolish the same by True Doctrine, and doing as much as he can, with the Kings pence, among his People there.

20. To the 20. he saith, that *George Constanine* in the third year of the Kings Majesty's Reign not regarding the dangerous time of Rebellion in other places, rashly caused to be pulled down, without any Authority known to this Defendant, the Communion Altar in *Carmarthen* Church, by his own presumptuous mind, appointing the use thereof in another place of the Church, not without grudge of the People. Wherefore the Bishop fearing Tumult, commanded the Vicar to set up the Communion Table (for the time) near to the place where it was before.

21. To the 21. he saith, that he hath been divers times in the Quire of *Carmarthen*, and hath tarried there in the Communion time, not communicating himself, and that in every Church where he cometh on the Holy day to preach, or to pray, he kneeleth in the Quire bareheaded, as well at *Abbeys* where the Communion, as at *Evening* after, without any Superstition: he thinketh it not necessary for the Communications take to leave kneeling to Christ. But he hath diligently taught the People not to kneel nor knock to the visible Jews; or external signs of the Sacrament. And the Quire of *Carmarthen* and other places there, is not close at the sides, so that the People may come in and forth at their pleasure. Moreover the Kings Ordinances do not authorize him to rebuke the People for knocking on their breasts, in token of repentance of their sins; nor for kneeling, in token of submission to God for mercy in Christ.

22. To the 22. he saith, that in the time of Rebellion in *Devonshire* and *Cornwall*, threatening to come into *Wales*, he teaching the People the true form of Prayer, according to Gods holy Word, and declaring the Prayer upon Beads to be vain and superstitious, yet durst not for fear of Tumult forcibly take from any man his Beads, without Authority. And touching the not revering of such as he should meet, wearing Beads, he remembereth not that he hath done so, unless it were in the Rebellion time, at which time he durst not rebuke such Offenders.

23. To the 23. he saith, that he being in the Pulpit, his face towards the People; did not see the lights, if any were set up about the Corps behind his back till after that he came down from the Pulpit. But he with *George Constanine* and the said *Affordell* Chamberlain, the Church in *Carmarthen* to hear Causals, and being the Vicar with other Priests, with song and lights bringing a Corps up to the Church, called forth with the Vicar and Priests, and rebuked them in open Court, as Commorators and Ravens, flying about the dead carcass for lucre filth.

24. To the 24. he saith, that he caused the one Child being born with great peril of death to the Mother, and it lying for dead a certain space after, to be christened on the working day: the other Child was christened on the working day, because both Father and Mother, and all other People there were in peril of death by reason of the sudden sweat, which all men feared at that time. And touching the rest of the accusation, which is, that by that example, it is used after the old accustomed fashion, he knoweth no such thing.

To the Title of Covetousness, he saith, His doings prove the contrary, as his Neighbours know.

25. A. Not the 25. Article he utterly denieth.

26. To the 26. he saith, That his Hall at *Abergely* being ruinous, he used for his Hall a great Chamber adjoining, for himself and his Servants, and all manner of Strangers, and besides twenty Persons in house daily. What other Hospitality he kepteth, honest Neighbours can testify.

27. To the 27. he saith, That his Talk is according to his Hearers, that is to say, reverently and truly of Faith, Love, and honest Life, according to the Scripture to like Auditors; and to other unrevoked and rash Turn-moules of Scriptures and holy Doctrine, he doth talk of honest worldly things with godly intent; and that he doth not most commonly talk of such things as are expressed in this Article, but when he hath honest occasion to do so.

28. The 28. he saith is untrue, and that he hath warned no man out of their Lands; but where he is destitute of necessary provision, and would have part of his own Domain from certain Freeholders, having it only from year to year at pleasure, he cannot obtain the honest bawling: Wherefore he sufficeth them to keep it even yet still, against right and reason. And touching the rest, that he had rather the Crows should eat it, &c. he never spake any such word.

29. To the 29. he saith, That whereas his Predecessor Bishop *Barlow* did let to farm the Isle of *Manwy*, to one *William Brown*, after whose hands this Defendant received it into his own possession, the Vicars of *S. David* being dispossessed of it long before; he did let it over to *Stephen Green* for 40 shillings the Ground, as it was before, and 3 Pounds more for Seals, Convey, and Fowls there; and he knoweth of no right the Vicars Choral had therein, who did refuse when this Defendant did diligently upon reasonable Conditions offer the same unto them: and this Defendant made no Promise unto them, as is contained in the Article.

30. To the 30. he saith, He knoweth not but that he advertised his Bayliff to warn the Freeholders; and others having his Demain in Rent, during pleasure, to leave it at lawful day to this Defendants necessary use; and did not cause the Curate to do as is contained in the Article to his remembrance.

31. To the 31. he saith, That he knoweth not what the Priest bade in the Church, nor how many Plovers there came, undressed of this Defendant. But he knoweth certainly, that he defired no mans labour but for his Money.

32. To the 32. he saith, That he knoweth not any such appointment of Schools and Revenues there, but he found there (after the departing of Bishop *Barlow*) a Schoolmaster, an Usher being a Priest, and 20 Scholars, which he hath hitherto maintained better than he found it, to his knowledge: he did never convert any Penny thereof to his own use, albeit he might lawfully have done the same.

33. The 33. he saith, is all untrue, so far as he knoweth.

34. To the 34. Article he saith, He never purchased more than two Parcels, whereof one was for Shillings eight Pence by the year; the second, three Shillings four Pence; and the third, six and twenty Shillings and eight Pence, or thereabout, by year; the rest he denieth.

35. To the 35. he saith, That he never bought of *Leues John Thomas* his Land good cheap, but after 40 years purchase, not knowing at that time any such thing as is contained in the Article against the said *Leues John*. Neither bade he the Sumner to let him alone, but as soon as he heard any thing of it, commanded the Sumner to do so, and he so was cited in this Defendants House, occasioning him to break his bargain, to the which *Leues* this Defendant said these words, If you would give me your Land with an House full of Gold, I cannot, nor will I suffer you to keep a Lemman. Then the said *Leues* affirming the latter Woman to be his wife, and the first unknown to this Defendant, he caused the said *Leues* to be called to the Confinery for

Trial, where it langueth yet: And also by lawful Process Excommunicated the first Woman, for that she would not by any means appear in the Court to claim or to confess Marriage with the said *Leues*, and so he hath ended this day at the point of Signification.

36. To the 36. he saith, That whereas the Chantor, and R.M. with other Canons there, would not obey the Kings godly Inductions, concerning the finding of a School for Poor mens Children, a Lecture of Divinity, Sermons on the Sundays, Repairing of their Church and Mansion Houses, decent Order and Visitation there; but sullenly content themselves (with the Chantor) to be a Body Pollicke, without regard of the Bishop and his lawful Monitions, being himself named in their Shire Statutes, Decrees & quasi Decrees, having also their Dean-Stall in the Quire with a Prebend, thereto annexed, and the chief place in the Chapter-House, with a Key of their Chapter-Stall, being also by the Kings Majesty's Commission appointed their Ordinary: yet would they not in any wise deliver unto him a Book of their Statutes, for the better knowledge of his and their Duties: nor then unto him their Records and Monuments, for declaration of the Kings Right and his. For which cause this Defendant, by Writ of *Quo warrantum*, lawfully called them to answer, which they lieth asleep, to the loss of the Kings Majesty's Right. The time of delivery of the said Writ, he remembereth not.

37. The 37. he saith is all false, as far as he knoweth.

To the Title of Willful Negligence, he saith, that he hath neglected his power Wifful Diligence.

38. To the 38. he saith, That he being attendant according to his bounden duty to serve the Kings Highness during the time of the Parliament, from the first unto the last day, then immediately after repaired into his Diocese, and he might not tarry R.M. the Chantor, and *George Constanine* to execute faithfully the Jurisdiction, because they had before (through their slanderous life, and not punishing Misdemeanors) left the Country in great enormity of filthy Whoredom. And both farther, that one cause why he appointed not an Offender, was for that he lacked his Letters of Authority of Jurisdiction.

39. To the 39. and 40. he saith are untrue.

41. To the 41. he saith, That how often he did minister the Communion he doth not remember; but in all other things so far as he knoweth, he hath studied to order himself according to his vocation, as far as he believes, he goeth like a Minister.

42. To the 42. he saith, That he hath not alienated himself from Study, neither preached undiscereely, nor reported the Scriptures untruly to his knowledge: (but he hath been very much hindered both from Study and Preaching, by the malicious, crafty, and covetous behaviour of the forenamed Persons.) And that he did set forth the Doctrine of honest Marriage, as well of all other men as of Priests, even as the Scripture then rehearsed did minister occasion.

43. To the 43. he saith, That reciting the words of *Luke*, If thy Brother have offended against thee, blame him, and if he repent forgive him, and if he have offended against thee seven times in one day, and seven times in the day be converted unto thee, saying, am I forgiven him? he did forgive these words in effect, he appeareth by this piece of Scripture, that we are not bound (except he repent) to forgive him; but we are bound to pray God to forgive him, and to give him grace to repent, that he may forgive him.

44. To the 44. he saith, That he hath preached eight often at *Carmarthen*, as well as at other places; and, he saith, that a great number at *Abergely* do understand English very well.

45. To the 45. he saith, That after he had preached in *St. Brecknock, Carmarthen, Swansea, Laugharne, Tintin, Pembroke, Haverford, St. Davids, Cardigan*, with other notable Towns; he hath since that time preached to a great many other poor Churches, but not in *Tintin* nor *Pembroke*: but for *Haverford* he standeth in doubt. And whereas he brought with him at the first a learned Preacher, of godly life, the ungodly stubborn behaviour of the

persons before named wearied him away. And whereas he had waged another Learned man to come into his Diocese to preach, *George Constance* by his discouragement advised him from this Defendant.

46. To the 46th faith, That in all his Churches appropriated, there is both Bible and Paraphrases, as far as he knoweth; and if the Priests there would not fiew him the lack thereof, yet should the Officials declare it unto him, that it might be amended (by his will) without delay.

47. To the 47th faith, That *George Constance* covertly ingrafted into his hands a great number of Paraphrases; and this Defendant hath admonished the Clergy to buy every one, for his discharge; and if the said *George* being Official of two Archdeacons, and other Officials in their Office would declare unto him what Churches do lack Bibles by Paraphrases, he would cause it to be amended as much as in him lieth.

To the title of *Folly*, he faith, That his desire is in true simple manner of his words, deeds, and other honest behaviour, through Gods Grace to few good willcom.

48. To the 48th he faith, That he thinketh no folly in the decent colour or fashion with honest use of Saddle, Bridle, Stirrups, Staff, and other like necessary or convenient things; and faith, that he useth a Saddle made after the Spanish fashion, with Stirrups of Iron-unvarnished and like Spurs: and black Bridle without Studs, the Bit and Snaffle white as other men be.

49. To the 49th he faith, That when he goeth abroad in Winter, he weareth a Hat to bear off Rain and Snow, and in Summer to shadow him from the Sun, without any vow of Superstition or offence of the People.

50. To the 50th he faith, That all is one to him, to ride or go, as cause requireth; and whether he faith is contained in the Article or not, he remembreth not. Howbeit he doth use to go a foot.

51. To the 51st he faith, That after lawful Prayer he pleased God to give him a Son begotten and born in honest Marriage; whom he therefore caused to be named *Samuel*, presenting him to the Minister to be received into Christs Church as a poor Member of Clergy: by the holy Sacrament of Baptism was this done openly in the Cathedral Church, with earnest gravity, and without offending any man; and also two Wives, being before at variance, desired both to be Godmothers, which were both received to make Unity between them, not knowing any Law to the contrary, nor any Offence thereby conceived of the People.

52. To the 52nd he faith, That he doth use with gravity all honest loving entertainment of his Child, to encourage him hereafter willingly at his Fathers mouth, to receive wholesome Doctrine of the true Fear and Love of God; and faith, that he hath whistled to his Child, but said not that the Child understood it, and that he answered to one that found fault with it, as is contained in the Article.

53. To the 53rd he faith, That he was never Surveyor, but went to be *Midford* Haven for honest purpose, and not to survey it, and for that he at the sight of a Seal whistled in this fift, such as meant folly might turn it to their purpose. And it is not true, that he stood whistling an hour to the Seal, nor that any fault was found with it, nor any such answer made by him to his knowledge.

54. To the 54th he faith, That if he did say, The destroying of the Fry lutch plenty of Fift, he thinketh the same not against reason: but he remembreth not to have said, as is contained in the Article.

55. To the 55th he faith, That he remembreth not that ever he said as they allege.

To the dauntless, unruled, and ungolly conclusion he faith, that *George Constance* with other his Adversaries before named, and their Adherents, not regarding the Fear of God, and their bounden duty of loving Obedience towards God the King, and all true Ministers have too much flatterously with false Tongues, crafty, malicious words, and fustled deeds, laboured by all means to discredit and defame the Kings gracious Authority to him committed. Who, ever likewise he came to the Dioceses, hath endeavoured himself to shew his faithful Minis-

try by his true honest doing, and to use his Authority according to his Vocation, to Gods glory and the Kings honour. And that he hath been diligent in teaching of Truth, reforming of Superstition, free of Hostility, diligent in overseeing with godly wisdom, peace, and mercifulness, as he trusteth in God, may be truly approved. And he is able justly to charge his Adversaries with all the Faults herein by them most unjustly and slanderously against him objected. And he doth marvel greatly, that *George Constance*, with other his Adherents, are not assumed maliciously to object (for the intent to slander him) molesting of Preachers found there. For truth it is that he hath molested none, but hath justly brought under Signification, one *Morice* Preacher, living lawfully, for his fustious Behaviour and malicious Contempt, even yet continuing in his wilful contempt and irregularity. And he hath (so his knowledge) justly certified *Hugh Rawlins*, Parson of *Tinky*, for his wilful Recalcitancy of two other Parsonages, shamefully deceiving the Kings Majesty by colour of Communion, as is appeareth by the time. And as for the railing, contemptuous Preaching of *R.M.* and the unlearned arrogant Preaching of the Chantor, he referreth to discreet Hearers, which were offended thereat, as they shewed this Defendant. And this Deponent brought into his Diocese both learned Preachers, and Learned men in the Law, to his very great charges, which men *George Constance* with his Adherents hath wearied away.

After these Answers thus exhibited by the virtuous and godly Bishop against the quarrelling and frivolous Articles of his fore said Adversaries, to wit, *Hugh Rawlins*, and *Thomas Lee*: then came in for witnesses, upon the said Articles and Informations, *George Constance*, and the Chantor of *S. David's*: against whom the Bishop laid first Exceptions, then also exhibited matter Justification, the tenour and proceeds whereof here followeth in order to be seen, first concerning the exceptions, and after the matter Justification.

Exceptions general, laid and proposed on the behalf of Robert, Bishop of *S. David's*, against all and singular the pretended Writings, printed and in the behalf of *George Constance*, and *Thomas Lee*, upon their untrue furnished Articles by them exhibited unto and before the Kings most honourable Council, by the device and procurement of the Chantor, and *George Constance*, with *R.M.* Clerk, against the said Bishop.

First, the said Bishop faith and allegeth, That by Law there ought no faith or credence to be given unto the Depositions and Sayings of the said Witnesses or any part thereof, because they are infamous, false, perjured and in some part of their Depositions dissembling, partial, corrupted, laboured, instructed, and for favour of the Informers and their Bolterers, have deposed of malice more than the Articles whereupon they were produced to contain; and beside and without the compass of the same Articles, and in divers other parts of their Depositions, they depose *unum de eundem praedictum sermonem*, in the said faith Depositions doth appear, unto the which the said Bishop retereth himself as much as it shall be expedient for him and none otherwise. And further, for other causes particularly and specially, as is declared in the Book of Exceptions.

Exceptions against the unlawful proceedings of *Hugh Rawlins* Clerk, and *Thomas Lee*, promoters of the fore said untrue Articles, in executing of their Commission for proof of the same.

Item, The said *Thomas Lee* for himself and the other first Promoter did contrary to Justice, at the Execution of their Commission, examine certain of the Witnesses himself, in the house of his Brother in Law *George Constance*, and the said *Lee* and *David Walter* the Bishops mortal Enemy and Servant to the said *George Constance* did write their Depositions upon the Articles at their own pleasures, and also after the device of the said *George Constance*, and the Chantor and *R.M.* the Bishops mortal Enemies, and the very devisers and procurers of the Informations, and bolterers and bearers of the Promoters in the suit thereof. These are the names of the Witnesses so examined,

examined, which are already known: *David ap Sir Richard of Gethys*, a perjured and an adulterous Person, standing in the number for two Witnesses, written in two parts of the Book.

Item, ap *Rudde*, of *Kennarthe*, Griffith ap *Hovell*, Guyne of *Kennarthe*, Lewis David Clerk, David ap *Harvey* Clerk, Sir *Gogeballia Morgan*, &c.

Item, One *John Draper* of *Carmarthen*, and an adherent of the fore said Adversaries and Enemies to the said Bishop, did also, contrary to the tenor of their Commission examine certain Witnesses, and had to his Clerk one *William Davids*, Servant in Livery unto the fore said Griffith *Davids*, the Bishops utter Enemy: by which shameful partiality they have written more matter, more words, other Terms and Sentences, than some of the Deponents have deposed or could depose. *Humphrey Tey* the fifth Deponent, *Rice Gough* the fourteenth Deponent, *William ap Jenkins* the fifteenth Deponent, *John Bengay* the 48th Deponent, *Richard Parfon* the 39th, which are already known what manner of Men the Promoters are.

Item, The said *Hugh Rawlins* was not present at the Bishops Sermon, whereof his Information maketh mention, neither yet at their cutting off the Commission for the proof thereof: for the fore said Adversaries did devile the fustness and gave it unto the said *Rawlins* to produce, including him for his fust purpose, knowing him to be a man willing (and fitting his whole delight) to work mischief, both with word and deed, who abeth his Tongue most shamefully, with most unfeeling words, ever railing upon the said Bishop to every man that will hear him, without either respect or reverence of the Kings Majesties Authority to the said Bishop committed. And the said *Rawlins* hath four or five Benefices above the value of 200 Marks a year, and is resident upon none of them; yet spendeth his Living to the hindrance of others men, going about here and there, wandering to and fro, without either Man or Boy waiting on him, more like a light Person, than a man of such Liveliness and of his Vocation, being a Preacher. And indeed he is taken for a lewd Fellow of all that know his behaviour, inasmuch that when a certain Man objected unto the Adversaries, That it was ill done to put so lewd a Fellow as *Rawlins* to promote their Cause, they answered and reported his honesty with these words, We know *Rawlins* to be a very Knave, and so meet for no purpose: as he is to fit forward such a matter: of which Report there is a sufficient Witness. And it is thought that he hath done much ill with his spiteful Tongue: for he speaketh as boldly in this furnished matter to all the Council, as though it were true, and much for the Kings profit.

Item, The other Promoter *Thomas Lee* is a Merchant, who hath sold his Ware and spent his Money, and now for want of other business is become a Promoter of the fore said Articles, having his Coats and Charges born by the said principal Adversaries, as it is alleged in the Bishops Exceptions, which shall be proved if Communion might be awarded for the purpose.

And thus much concerning the Exceptions against his pretended Accusers: next followeth the matter Justification, by which the said Bishop, in defence of his own Cause, as by the effect here appeareth.

Certain Articles ministered by Robert Bishop of *S. David's*, against a furnished Information exhibited by *Thomas Lee*, to the Kings Majesty his most Honourable Council, against the said Bishop.

In primis, viz. That there ought none advantage to be taken against the said Bishop, of the Contents of the said pretended Information, for the Causes particularly following. And first, where it is objected against the said Bishop, in the first, second, and fifth Articles of the same Information, that he contrary to the Kings Highness Laws and Statutes, and in the derogation of his Highness Supremacy, passed a certain Commission, Instructing and Collations to Benefices, in his own name, making no mention of the Kings Highness Authority, whereas of truth the said Bishop, if he had passed out the Commission, Instructions, and Collations in his own name, and without the Kings Majesty his Stile, as is furnished (as he did not) yet had he offended neither the Laws nor

Statutes of this Realm therein, as doth and may appear evidently in the same Statutes and Laws, to which he referreth himself.

Item, Whereas it is deduced in the third Article of the said pretended Information, that the Chancellor of the said Bishop did admit and institute *J. Gough* into the Rectory of *Haukard*, and gave a Mandate for the induction of the said *John*, under the Kings Majesties Seal Ecclesiastical, for the Diocese of *S. David's*, with the Title of the said Bishop and Subscription of the said Chancellor, which thing is deduced, if it be true, yet the said Bishop cannot be worthily blamed therefor. But the Chantor (then his Chancellor unworthy) shewed himself therein very ignorant of the Kings Statutes of Parliament, wherein it is expressly provided, that in such cases the Ordinary ought to pass all such Institutions and Inductions in his own Name, and under his own Seal, and not in the Kings Majesties Name, nor under his Seal. And further, very truly, the said Chancellor in admitting and instituting the said Clerk to the said Benefice, without the knowledge and consent of the said Bishop, did exceed his Commission, for as much as the said Bishop, at the giving of his Commission of his Chancellorship unto the said Chantor, had restrained him expressly from the admitting and instituting of any Clerk to any Benefice within the said Diocese, except the same Clerk were first examined, found worthy, and admitted by the said Bishop himself to the same Benefice.

Item, Whereas in the fourth Article of the said Information it is contained, that the said Bishop, after the admitting and instituting of the said *John Gough*, as is aforesaid, objected Articles against him, amongst the which it was contained in effect.

Item, interregretur quo titulo tenet Rectorem de *Haukard*.

It is true that the said Bishop, without molestation of *Thomas Lee*, the said *Gough*, otherwise than Law did permit, and without taking upon him the cognition of the Title of the said Fruits and Parsonage of the said Benefice, in contempt of the Kings Majesties Regal Crown and Dignity, and without any derogation of the Kings Majesty his Laws and Statutes of this Realm, did Interregret the said *John Gough*, how he held the said Benefice, being admitted and instituted to the same without his knowledge or consent, as he might lawfully do, as it is meet every Ordinary should know how Pastors are admitted to any Cure within their Dioceses.

Item, Touching the Contents of the sixth Article of the said Information, the said Bishop allegeth that the Vicarage of *Pembryn*, in the Diocese of *S. David's*, being void, he as Patron thereof, to his knowledge, conferred it to *John Evans* Clerk, with Letters of Institution and Induction, and afterwards when the Kings Prefation came to him for one *David Jenkins* Clerk, he desired 14 days respite, at that day either to shew ancient Record for his Right, and then the matter to stand to the determination of the Law, or else if he shewed not, both he and his Clerk might place to the Kings Clerk, which Condition was by Sir *Thomas Jones* Knight, Dr. *Morike*, and the said *David Jenkins* received; and an Institution without Induction was made conditionally, to be put into the hands of Sir *Thomas Jones* Knight, for safe custody for the Kings Clerk, in his behalf, after the 14 days to be executed at the hands of the said Bishop, if he failed to shew within which time the Bishop did have an old ancient Record, declaring the full right of Patronage on the said Bishop behalf, and so that Institution and Induction was never put in execution by the said Bishop.

Nevertheless the said *David Jenkins* (contrary to his Promise and Oath, giving thereupon his Right hand to Sir *Thomas Jones* Knight) took advantage by the said Writing without knowledge of the said Bishop; after which time the Lord Chancellor, by his Letters written to the said Bishop, advertised him to admit one *John ap Rhodri* Clerk, preferred by virtue of a Vow, which the Lord Chancellor adjudged to be good, and so to be admitted, notwithstanding his former Prefation, whereby he would not abate the other mans Right. And so the said Bishop made one Collation, two Institutions, and three

Mandates, doing no wrong thereby to his knowledge. And further, there was no business nor unequities about the pollution of the said Vicarage. But the said Bishop giving place, was content to lose his right for that time.

Item, Whereas *St Thomas Jones* advertised the said Bishop, that *Thomas Pritchard* Clerk had celebrated Matrimony in a private House, betwixt a certain Priest and a Woman whose Siller had refused the same (as it is decreed in the 1st Article of the furnished Articles laid in against the said Bishop) the said Pritchard leaving his own Cure unvisited that Sunday, he did put the said *Thomas Pritchard* to Penance for such his misdoings, and the said Pritchard did such Penance as was enjoined him to do. And whereas the said Bishop made the said *Thomas Pritchard* (who is Bachelor of Law) his Commissary, it was for the respect of his Learning in the Law, thereby faithfully to execute his Office, according to Justice, and none otherwise.

Item, In the 14th Article of the said furnished Information, it is truly declared, that through the unlawful Sequestration of the Fruits of the Benefices of *Langebeck* and *Lanzwangel Cundy*, and the undifferent handling of the said Bishop, there were raised a great number of People, to the great danger of the Inhabitants thereabouts. Truth it is, that the said Bishop upon good and lawful Considerations, and specially for that the King Majesty should be truly answered of his First-Fruits and Tenths of the said Benefices, did lawfully (and as he was bound to do) sequester the said Fruits in the Kings Majesty's Name, and by his Authority, and committed the custody thereof for a time unto two honest Men, to the effect aforesaid, and none otherwise, without any occasion of tumult or gathering the People through his default or folly.

Item, Whereas it is alleged in the 19th Article of the Information, that the said Bishop did celebrate Matrimony in his own person, without receiving the Holy Communion to the Persons married, it is true, for that the said Bishop had travelled fourteen long *Wells* Miles, and not able to celebrate the holy Communion fitting, and for other reasonable and lawful Causes him moving, did in a Chappel within the House of *St Thomas Jones* Knight (one of the Kings Honourable Council of the Marches of *Wales*) solemnize Matrimony betwixt *Mr Griffith Rice*, and the Daughter of the said *St Thomas Jones*, without either receiving the holy Communion himself or ministering the same to the Persons married, being as they were not disposed to do it lawfully and godly, without any superfluous Knockings or Bliftings, or other uncomely gestures, as is deduced in that Article.

Item, Touching the Contents of the refuse of all the said Articles, contained in the said Information, the said Bishop, partly for the avoiding of tediousness, and partly for that some of them be untrue and meer falsehood, and for other general, obscure, frivolous, vain, and of no effect, but of malice and evil-will, contrary to Truth conceived, leaveth them particularly unanswered unto.

Item, The said Bishop alledgeth, that he hath not by all the time that he hath been Bishop, used any Superstitions or Papistry, as it is truly furnished against him, but hath and doth to the uttermost of his power, wit and cunning, forth, maintain, teach and preach the true Doctrine of the Gospel, and such laudable Doctrine as he ought to do by the Kings Laws, Injunctions and Precedents, and for such a Teacher he hath been and is commonly known, named, reputed, taken, and accepted notoriously.

And whereas the said Chantor and *George* perceived their Depositions to be insufficient, they required, and had Commission into the County to examine further Witnesses, which they executed very partially and unlawfully, as is alleged in the Bishops Exceptions, above-mentioned. And whereas the said *Rawlins* and *Lee* were awarded two several Commissions, they by favour of the Officers, and for sparing of Costs, conjoynd both in one, and had three Months to make return, as appears by the Copy of their Commission, which hereafter followeth.

A Copy of the Commission awarded down into the County, for the Examination of Witnesses.

Anno
1555.

*E*duardus Sextus Dei gratia, Anglie, Francie, & Hibernie Rex, Fidei defensor, & in terra Ecclesie Anglicane & Hibernie supremum caput, dilectis & fidelibus suis Georgio Harbert Militi, Thomae Jones Militi, & Johanni Wogan Militi, ac dilectis filiis David Vaughan, & Owino ap Owen Armigeris, salutem. Sciatis quod nos de fidelitatis, & precibus circumspicientibus vestris plurimum fidentes, assignavimus vos, quatuorres ad duos vestrum, ac tenore presentium damus vobis, quatuor, tribus, vel duobus vestrum plenum potestatem, & auctoritatem capiendi & recipiendi Depositiones, & Examinationes quoruncunque testium ex parte Hugonis Rawlins Clerici, & Thomae Leghe, de & super quibusdam Articulis per ipsos Hugonem & Thomam Leghe Consilio nostro exhibitis & presentibus inclusis. Necnon Depositiones & Examinationes in scriptis receptas. Et nos de hujusmodi Examinationibus, & Depositionibus cum sic per vos, quatuor, tres vel duos vestrum capta fuerint, in Cancellariam nostram in Crastino Ascensionis Domini proximo futura, ubicunque tunc fuerint sub Sigillis vestris, quatuor, trium, vel duorum vestrum Gladio certificant, remittimus nobis tunc Articulis predictis una cum hoc brevis. Et ideo vobis mandamus, quod circa premissa diligenter intendatis cum effectu. Telle me ipso apud Westm^{on}. die Martii, Anno regni nostri Sexto.

Marten.

*D*uring all this time of the Examination of the Witnesses, the said Bishop was stayed at *London*, upon the Allegation of the said Adversaries, which was, That if the said Bishop should depart into his Diocese, he would let them of their Proof.

And at the return of their Commission it was signified unto the Council what a great number of Witnesses they had examined, viz. Sixscore and seven, which founded very heinous in the Councils ears.

And about three Weeks after, publication of their Witnesses was granted, and offered, it was thought ere the Bishop could get a Copy written of their Depositions, because the Book thereof is so huge and monstrous.

Then the Bishop desired time, first to enquire of what condition the Persons were that had witnessed against him, and to make Exceptions and Matters to justify direct contrary, and to have a Commission for the proof thereof, which was then granted. And now it is objected, That the Bishop was appointed to travel with the expedition of his matter, that he should have fled out his Commission, and have made return thereof at *Al-Hall* lawfully laid past; but there was no such Decree put in writing. And it was not possible for the Bishop to do it in so short a time, these Causes considered which he could not avoid as followeth.

First, was the latter end of July ere he came home to *S.Davids*, where he began his Visitation, which before was appointed.

Secondly, He was by force of Law constrained to answer at the Bar daily, during all the time of the great Sessions at *Carmarthen*, in defence of his just Cause against the pretended matter of *Præmunire*, which his Adversaries of meer malice have procured against him.

Thirdly, The said Adversaries, to molest him further, did privily pack a Quest of ignorant Persons of no Reputation, and indicted him upon the words of *Rawlins* Information, as appears by a Copy of the Indictment, intending thereby to molest him and find more labourous, notwithstanding that the same Cause dependeth before the Kings high Council undetermined.

Fourthly, He was appointed by the Commissioners, before his departure from *London*, to pay two Hundred pound (which was Arrearages) into the Courts of First-Fruits and Tenths at *Bartholomew day* then next following, which payment he made accordingly, notwithstanding that his Adversaries wrought means to have made him break his day; namely, one *Edward Harbert* Gent. who hath a Parsonage of his to Farm, kept back his Rent

to the very last day, because that Money should not help to serve his turns, and so by every cavillation detaineth it still in his hand with a years Rent and an half more for the said *Edward Harbert* an Adherent of the said Bishops Adversaries.

Fifthly, The Book of their Depositions is so great, that it taketh a long time to peruse. And also the greatest part of their Witnesses were utterly unknown of the Bishop and all his. And also dwelling in 60 many sundry places of the Diocese among the Mountains and elsewhere, scarcely within the circuit of two hundred Miles.

Item, Another great Sessions holden at *Carmarthen* in the Month of October last, during which time he was attendant there, as is aforesaid. All which Causes considered, being also in the time of his ordinary Visitation, which he did execute himself, he could not make ready his Exceptions in shorter time.

The said Bishop dispatched his Man towards *London* the three and twentieth day of October, who everthence hath been and is attendant in the same Suit, for the obtaining the Commission for proof of this matter against his Adversaries.

A Copy of a certain Letter written by the Bishop of S.Davids.

*M*ost humbly beseech unto your Honour, your poor Orator Robert, Bishop of S.Davids, That whereas one *Thomas Lee* (by the procurement of *Thomas Young* and *Rowland Merck*, being both Canons of S.Davids, and *George Constantine Respiro* to the said Bishop) hath exhibited unto your Honour against him certain Articles, in the which are mentioned many trifling things, unworthy to be declared in your honourable Audiance, and also their pretended weighty Articles (as they have alledged) by reason of his said Commission into the County: Therefore it may please your Honour of your favourable goodness, to grant unto your said Orator a like Commission for the Examination of Witnesses, in defence of his Truth and Honesty against the said *Thomas Lee*, *George Constantine*, and the fornamed *Rowland Merck*, and all other Persons, with their unjust Articles, Attestations and Sayings, which have deposed against him. And in tender consideration that your said Orator standeth bounden, and Swears with him, in the Sum of 1000 Marks, to appear before the Kings Justice in the Sessions at *Carmarthen*, in July next coming, to answer to a forged matter of *Præmunire*, by the procurement and counsel of his fornamed Adversaries, maliciously furnished against him to his utter undoing. And further, your Orator being in debt to the Kings Majesty, by reason of the malicious Vacation of his fornamed Adversaries, cannot (if he remain here) satisfy the same: for whereas there are Arrearages to a great Sum (as well of the Kings Money as of his own Rents) he can receive none thereof, his Adversaries have made such ill Report to his Majesty, bearing the People in hand, that he shall come no more thither. By reason of which Rents, with his own Tenants will pay their Rents and Arrearages, nor the Priest their Arrearages due to the Kings Majesty, as well for Anno secundo and tertio, as for quarto and quintio. In consideration of all which things, it may please your Honourable goodness to license your said Orator to depart into the Diocese, for his Affairs and other. And be ready at all times, at your honourable commandment and pleasure to repair again, and ever to pray to the Lord Jesus for the perpetual conservation of your Honour, to his glory.

Another Letter written by the Bishop of S.Davids.

*R*ight Honourable, and my very special good Lord, and you for your godly favour towards me at all times, as right plainly appear by your Fatherly Letters, most lovingly to admonish me to incline unto that which is very necessary as charitable Concord and Unity; This is further to beseech your Lordship for the Lords sake not to be grieved, but benignly to hear, and gravely to ponder that weighty matter, which, appearing to other

but a light grief to me, is in very deed a right grievous offence to God, with no little hindrance of his holy Word, and disturbance of the Kings godly proceedings, and may be a great occasion of much loveliness and disorder of good life. Wherefore I am straitly bounden for the true Zeal I ought to bear unto Gods Word of Life, Christian Religion, the Kings Majesties Honour, and the godly quiet face of his People, not faintly to let fall the burthen of diligent redress to be fought at his Majesties hands by the godly wisdom of his most honourable and upright Council, but with hearty affection to bear it up against those high-minded, arrogant, stubborn, ambitious, covetous Canons, strutting in their biting Tongues, with crafty prevention, and utterly untrue fumes, to fling the Light that their ungodly mifdoing in darkness shall either not be seen, or at the least may seem to appear in colourable appearance of Right. Insumuch that I do not a little marvel at these qualities in M.Chantor, the Canon, and the Dean of *Worcester*, whose ungentle and untrue behaviour I have not only known, but expertly perceived, and fenibly felt in two of the first to my great lothes, whereof I make no Complaint. But I wonder in my mind, and lament in my heart, the strange alteration and lawful going back of my old faithful Brother *George Constantine*, the which (knowing them all three to have been in times past either obstinate Enemies to the true bearers of the Cross of Christ, or at least private lurkers under pretence of fidelity towards the Gospel, to fling the poor Followers thereof, kicking but their own lure and pleasure in all their doings) would to earnestly cleave unto his Tongue, become wrong Deceit to betray me with his Tongue, become untrue of his Promise, and a bearer of filthy Sin for *Luxures* sake, even yet left perfling in the same, namely in things manifestly known unto many, a shame, he would deny it and that I might not be credited. And as for their *Præmunire*, both *George* and they at my first coming, ungodly detesting from M.Farley his Commission for the Chancellorship, would have faced me down with *Præmunire*, because it was written in my own Name according to the Statute: yet was I fain, for the zeal of Unity to see their uncourteous Deeds, departing with M.Farley for the avoiding of their Malice and Envy, and gave that Office, for the amity of *George*, unto Mr. Chantor his Son in Law, and to D.Merck the Office of *Cardigan*. But seeing afterward their covetous respect to their own glory and lure, not regarding the Reformation of Sin, and specially of themselves Whoredom, I was compelled to remove them fore against their wills: and whereas I desired many and many times charitable redress of their wrong doings in the Vacation time, I obtained many fair words, and nothing in deed. Also desiring to have sight of the Book of Statutes of the Church, for the knowledge of my duty and theirs, I could not obtain it. Desiring to have a Key of the Chancery Seal, as my Lord of *Bath* had, which they would not deliver it but upon Conditions; yet was I content to be bridled, receiving it as pleased them to give it. And further, requiring the sight of necessary Evidences, for the declaration of divers things in traverser of my Right, they would in no wise grant it. And thereupon confuted their ungentleness, I moved the Quo warrantum, knowing right well, that if they should have any substantial Grant under the Kings Seal for their Corporation, must therein appear the Bishop to be the Head, and ever hath been under the King; for other they never have had, except they would return to Rome against I trust they will not. And yet perceiving afterward that they had no special Grant to them, or else such as they would not show, I myself for the respect of Unity wrote my Letters to the Kings Attorney, by reason whereof the Quo warrantum was stayed, and so yet remaineth.

But touching the Certificate, the Kings Subsidy being due at *Michaelmas*'s last, and forborn till after *Christm*'s, and lawfully demanded afore they did utterly refuse to pay both to my Vice-Collector and to my self, except I would take it of them in portions, not knowing where to ask the rest, and it is committed to me in the Kings Roll a whole Sum in gross, to be received of the Canons Redemptories for their dividend: who because they cannot agree in dividing, would have the Kings Majesty to carry for his Money, till they can agree to make division;

division; and I cannot demand of any particular person, nor at any particular place.

Wherefore I must humbly beseech your Fatherly goodness, for the Lords sake, to permit and continue my good Lord and Friend unto such time as ye find me either adding to be defended in my wrong, or not willing to put the Judgment of my right Cause into your hands. And because that the residue of matters touching them and their unjust, untrue and ungodly designs is too long, and I have molested you too much with this my tedious Letter, I shall now forbear; humbly beseeching your good Lordship to accept in good part this my boldness proceeding of necessity, and to pardon it for the love of our Lord Jesus, who have and keep you in health, comfort, and honour long to endure, for the advancement of his glory. Written at *Abergilly* this Ninth of March.

Your Lordships to command during
life, R.F.

And thus you have heard the first trouble of this blessed Martyr of the Lord in King *Edward's* days, with the whole discourse thereof. Which we thought the rather here to express, to give other good Bishops warning to be more circumspect, whom they should trust and have about them. Briefly, in few words to conclude this Proceed. *Farrar* partly upon the importunate fate of his Adversaries, partly upon the sinister and infortunate Fall of the good Duke of *Somerfet*, by whom he had been before promoted and maintained, having but small favour showed, was detained in Prison till the death of King *Edward*, and the coming in of Queen *Mary* and Popish Religion, whereby a new trouble rose upon him, being now accus'd and examined for his Faith and Doctrine. The Proceed of which his trouble here likewise followeth.

After that the forefaid Mr. *Farrar* Bishop of *St. Davids* had been long detained in custody under sureties, in the Reign of King *Edward*, one for any just cause for his part deserved, but by reason that he had been promoted by the Duke of *Somerfet*, and now after his Fall he found fewer Friends to support him against such as hunted after his Bishoprick, at length after the decease of King *Edward*, by the coming in of Queen *Mary*, the state of Religion began to be changed and altered. Whereby a new Trouble rose upon him, being now accus'd and examined, not for any matter of *Præsumptions*, but for his Faith and Doctrine. Whereupon he was called before the Bishop of *Winchester*, with Mr. *Hopser*, Mr. *Rogers*, Mr. *Bradford*, Mr. *Sanders*, and others aforefaid, the Church of *Windsor*. On the which day he should also with them have been Condemned: but because leisure or lift did not so well then serve the Bishop, his Condemnation was deferred, and he went to Prison again, where he continued till the 14. day of the said month of February. What his Examinations and Answers were before the said Bishop of *Winchester*, &c. so much as remained and came to our hands, I have here annexed in manner as followeth.

The Answer of Robert Farrar, Bishop of St. Davids, before Windchester and others.

AT his first coming and kneeling before my Lord Chancellor, the Bishop of *Down*, and the Bishop of *Worcester*, who sat at the Table; and Mr. *Recheffers*, Mr. *Sandford*, Mr. *Bourne*, and others standing at the Table end, the Lord Chancellor said unto him on this sort:

Winchester, Now Sir, have you heard how the World goeth here?

Farrar, If it like your Honour, I know not.

Win, What say you? Do you not know things abroad, notwithstanding you are a Prisoner?

Far, No, my Lord, I know not.

Winch, Lo, what a froward Fellow is this?

Farrar, If it please your Lordship, how should I know any thing abroad, being a Prisoner?

Winch, Have you not heard of the coming in of the Lord Cardinal?

Farrar, I know not my Lord Cardinal; but I heard that a Cardinal was come in; I did not believe it, and I believe it not yet.

Worcester, I pray your Lordship (said the Bishop of *Worcester*) tell him your self, that he may know what is done.

Winch, The Queens Majesty and the Parliament hath reformed Religion into the same state it was in at the beginning of the Reign of our King *Henry* the Eighth. Ye are in the Queens debt, and her Majesty will be good unto you, if you will return to the Catholic Church.

Farrar, In what state I am concerning my Debts to the Queens Majesty, in the Court of *Exchequer*, my Lord Treasurer knoweth: and the last time that I was before your Honour and the first time also, I heard you that I had made an Oath never to confert nor agree, that the Bishop of *Rome* should have any Power or Jurisdiction within this Realm: and further, I need not rehearse to your Lordship, you know it well enough.

Bourne, You were once abjured for Heretic (said Mr. *Bourne*) in *Oxford*.

Farrar, That was I not.

Bourne, You were.

Far, I was never, it is not true.

Bourne, You went from *St. Davids* to Scotland.

Farrar, That I did not.

Bourne, You did.

Far, That did I never, but I went from *Turk* into Scotland.

Bourne, Ah, so said I; you went with *Barlow*.

Farrar, That is true, but never from *St. Davids*.

Bourne, You carried Books out of *Oxford*, to the Archbishop of *Tork*, *L.L.C.*

Farrar, That I did not.

Bourne, You did.

Farrar, I did not, but I carried old Books from *S.O.*

Winch, to the Bishop of *Tork*.

Bourne, You supplanted your Master.

Farrar, That did I never in my life.

Bourne, By my Faith you did.

Farrar, Forsooth, I did not, never in my life, but did child and have my Master from dangers, and that I obtained of King *Henry* the Eighth, for my true Service, I thank God therefore.

Bourne, My Lord (said Mr. *Bourne* to my Lord Chancellor) he hath an ill Name in *Wales* as ever had any.

Farrar, That is not so. Whosoever saith so, they shall never be able to prove it.

Bourne, He hath deceived the Queen in divers fums of Money.

Farrar, That is utterly untrue, I never deceived King nor Queen of one Penny in my life, and you shall never be able to prove that you say.

Winch, Thou art a false Knave.

Farrar, Then *Farrar* stood up unbidden (for all that while he knecled) and said, No, my Lord, I am a true man, I thank God for it. I was born under King *Henry* the Seventh, I served King *Henry* the Eighth, and King *Edward* the Sixth truly, and have served the Queens Majesty, that now is, truly with my poor heart and word: more I could not do, and I was never false, nor shall be by the Grace of God.

Winchester, How saist thou, wilt thou be reformed?

Farrar, My Lord, if it like your Honour, I have been bound on Oath to God and to King *Henry* the Eighth, and also to King *Edward*, and in that to the Queens Majesty, made to the which I can never break while I live, to die for it.

Durselm, You have made another Oath before.

Farrar, No my Lord, I never made another Oath before.

Durselm, You made a Vow.

Farrar, That did I not.

Winch, You made a Profession to live without a Wife.

Farrar, Nay, my Lord, if it like your Honour, that did I never; I made a Profession to live chaste, not without a Wife.

Worcester, You were sworn to him that was Master of your House.

Farrar.

Anno 1555: *Farrar*, That was I never. *Winchester*, Well, you are a froward Knave: we will have no more to do with you, seeing that you will not come; we will be forth with you, and that you shall know within this Seven-night.

Farrar, I am as it pleaseeth your Honour to call me; but I cannot break my Oath which your Lordship you self made before me, and gave in example, the which confirmed my Confidence. Then I can never break that Oath whilst I live to die for it.

Durselm, Well, faith he, he standeth upon his Oath: call another.

My Lord Chancellor then did ring a little Bell, and Mr. *Farrar* said, I pray God save the King and Queens Majesties long to continue in honour to Gods glory and their comfort, and the comfort of the whole Realm; and I pray God save all your Honours, and so departed.

After these Examinations thus ended, Bishop *Farrar* remained in Prison uncondemned, till the fourteenth day (as is aforefaid) of February, and then was sent down into *Wales*, there to receive Sentence of Condemnation. Who then upon the six and twentieth of February, in the Church of *Carmarthen*, being brought by *Griffith*, *Leyton*, Esquire Sheriff of the County of *Carmarthen*, was there personally presented before Henry Bishop of *St. Davids*, and *Constance*, the public Notary: which Henry there, and then discharged the said Sheriff, and received him into his own custody, further committing him to the keeping of *Owen Jones*, and thereupon declared unto the said Mr. *Farrar* the great mercy and clemency, that the King and Queens Highness pleasure was to be offered unto him, which he there did offer unto the said Mr. *Farrar*; that is to say, That if he would forsake himself to the Laws of this Realm, and conform himself to the Unity of the Universal Catholic Church, he should be received and pardoned: after that, seeing the said Mr. *Farrar* to give no answer to the Premises, the said Bishop committed unto him these Articles following.

Articles devised against Bishop Farrar.

1. First, Whether he believeth the Marriage of Priests lawful by the Laws of God, and Holy Church, or no?

2. Item, Whether he believeth, that in the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Consecration duly pronounced by the Priest, the very Body and Blood of Christ is really and substantially contained, without the substance of Bread and Wine?

Unto the which Articles the said Bishop required the said Mr. *Farrar* to answer upon his Allegiance.

To which he said, he would answer when he saw a lawful Commission, and would make no further answer at that time. Whereupon the said Bishop taking no advantage upon the same Answer, committed him to the said Keeper, to be kept in Prison until a new Monition, and in the mean time to deliberate with himself for his further answer to the Premises.

Another Examination of the Bishop of St. Davids, before Henry Morgan the pretended Bishop of Saint Davids, George Constantine his Register, and others, the last of February, An. 1555.

THIS day and place, the pretended Bishop of St. Davids sitting as Judge, ministered unto Bishop *Farrar* these personally present before him, certain Articles and Interrogatories in writing: which being openly read and ministered unto him, the said Bishop *Farrar* refused to answer, till he might see his lawful Commission and Authority. Whereupon the aforefaid pretended Bishop of St. Davids, did pronounce him as *Contumax*, and for the punishment of this his Contumacy to be counted *per confesso*, and so did pronounce him in writing. Which being done, he committed the said Bishop to the custody by *Owen Jones* until Monday next, being the fourth of March, then to be brought again into the same place, between one and two.

Another appearance of the said Bishop Farrar, before the pretended Bishop of St. Davids.

THE day and place appointed, the said Bishop appearing again before the pretended Bishop, humbly submitting himself as ready to answer to the Articles and Positions above-mentioned; gently received the Copy of the Articles, and a competent term to be assigned unto him, to answer for himself: which being granted unto him, and the Thursday next being assigned unto him between One and Three to answer precisely and fully; so he was committed again to Custody, as above.

Another Appearance of the said Bishop.

ON Thursday, as was appointed, which was the seventh of March, the said Bishop personally again appeared, where he exhibited a certain Bill in writing, containing in it his Answer unto certain Articles objected and ministered unto him before then after Henry the pretended Bishop of St. Davids offered him again the said Articles as before: the term whereof tendeth to this effect.

First, That he willed him, being a Priest to abjure Matrimony.

Secondly, To grant the Natural preference of Christ in the Sacrament, under the forms of Bread and Wine.

Thirdly, That the Mass is a propitiatory Sacrifice for the quick and the dead.

Fourthly, That general Councils lawfully congregated never did, nor can erre.

Fifthly, That men are not justified before God by Faith only, but that Hope and Charity are also necessarily required to justification.

6. Sixthly, That the Catholic Church which only hath Authority to expound Scriptures, and to define Controversies of Religion; and to ordain things appertaining to public Discipline, in which, and in unto a City set upon a Mountain for all men to understand.

To these Articles thus objected to him, he refused to subscribe, affirming that they were invented and exco-

gnated by him, and pertain nothing to the Catholic Faith. After this, the Bishop above-mentioned, delivered unto him the Copy of the Articles, affirming him Monday next following, to answer and subscribe to the same, either Affirmatively or Negatively.

Another Appearance of Bishop Farrar.

UPON the which Monday, being the 11. of March, he appearing again before the Bishop, and the aforefaid Mr. *Farrar* gave *George Constantine*, exhibited in a written nation of Paper his mind and answer to the forefaid Articles, which the Bishop had twice now objected against him before, to the which Articles and Answers he did so subscribe, adding these words, as *tenes* *se de equitate et justitia* *Episcopum Monemini*, that the Bishop assigned the next Wednesday, in the Fore-noon, to hear his final and definitive Sentence.

The last Appearance of Bishop Farrar.

THE which day and place the said Bishop and true Servant of God Mr. *Farrar*, personally there appearing, was demanded of Henry the pretended Bishop of St. Davids, whether he would renounce and recant his Heresies, Schisms and Errors (as he called them) which hitherto he had maintained, and if he would subscribe to the Catholic Articles, otherwise that he had done before.

After this the said godly Bishop, Mr. *Farrar*, did exhibit a certain Schedule written in *English*, and remaining in the Acts: expressing what by express word of mouth from the Bishops from an incompetent Judge, to Cardinal *Pole*, &c.

All which notwithstanding, the said Bishop proceeding in his rage, pronounced the definitive Sentence against him continued in Writing, and there left in the Acts: by the which Sentence he pronounced him as an Heretic, Excommunicate, and to be given up forthwith to the Secular Power, namely, to the Sheriff of the Town

of Carmarthen, Mr. Leyton. The tenour of which Sentence, as well of his Condemnation, as of his Degradation, here followeth.

The Sentence of Condemnation against B. Farrar.

IN Dei nomine, Amen. Nos Henricus permissione divina Meneven. Episcopus judicialiter, & pro Tribunali Sedente, in quibus Inquisitionibus & Legibus presentium negotio, contra re Robertum Farrar Presbyterum, eorum nobis in iudicio personarum comparentem, & nobis super Hereticis prout traditur, & cum fump, & negotiorum facti delatione, ac in ea parte legitime procedente auditu, cognoscit, & intellexit, finitatis, ac maturae deliberationis dicti, & ponderatis dicti negotii meritis, & circumstantiis, servatisque in omnibus per omnia in eodem negotio de jure servandis, ac quomodolibet requisitis, Christi nomine invocato, ac ipsum solum Deum pro deus nostrum habentes: Quia per acta iniquitatis, didicisti, confellisti, & ex parte tua coram nobis eodem in negotio legitime recognita, asserta & confirmata, compertum est, tum per confessiones tuas varias, tum per recognitiones tuas iudiciales, coram nobis iudicialiter factas, Errores, Hereses, & falsas Opiniones subscripsisti, Juri divino, ac Catholica universali & Apostolica Ecclesia Determinationi devotissime, contrarias, & repugnantes tenuisse, creditur, affirmasse, predicasse, & schematizasse infra Diocesis nostram Meneven. Vix. Quod licet cuiusque Religio etiam expressis professi & Presbyteri, post scriptam persequutionem, & post scriptum Presbyteratum ordinem, ducere solent, ac cum eodem tantum cum eorum legitime converterent. Item sacra Religiones, ac Ecclesia Catholica infirmas, cum fando damnasse & reprobasse, Item, quod in Buchariis, fere Altaris Sacram, una cum Corpore & Sanguine Christi remane sublimis Panis &

Uni. Item, quod Missa non est sacrificium N. Testamenti, Anno 1555. propositum non est in altari ministrando, & de eandem, vel aliquo modo adorando. Item, quod homo sola fide justificatur. Quis quidem Errores, Hereses, & falsas Opiniones Juri divino ac Catholica universali & Apostolica Ecclesia Determinationi obviemus, &c.

Here followeth the Copy of his Degradation.

IN nomine Patris, & Filii, & Spiritus Sancti, ✠ A. The Sentence of Degradation against the said B. Farrar. Nos Henricus permissione divina Meneven. Episcopus, Quia nos Henricus permissione divina Meneven. Episcopus, per eam Inquisitionem in negotio Hereticarum prout traditur, cognoscit, & intellexit, finitatis, ac maturae deliberationis dicti, & ponderatis dicti negotii meritis, & circumstantiis, servatisque in omnibus per omnia in eodem negotio de jure servandis, ac quomodolibet requisitis, Christi nomine invocato, ac ipsum solum Deum pro deus nostrum habentes: Quia per acta iniquitatis, didicisti, confellisti, & ex parte tua coram nobis eodem in negotio legitime recognita, asserta & confirmata, compertum est, tum per confessiones tuas varias, tum per recognitiones tuas iudiciales, coram nobis iudicialiter factas, Errores, Hereses, & falsas Opiniones subscripsisti, Juri divino, ac Catholica universali & Apostolica Ecclesia Determinationi devotissime, contrarias, & repugnantes tenuisse, creditur, affirmasse, predicasse, & schematizasse infra Diocesis nostram Meneven. Vix. Quod licet cuiusque Religio etiam expressis professi & Presbyteri, post scriptam persequutionem, & post scriptum Presbyteratum ordinem, ducere solent, ac cum eodem tantum cum eorum legitime converterent. Item sacra Religiones, ac Ecclesia Catholica infirmas, cum fando damnasse & reprobasse, Item, quod in Buchariis, fere Altaris Sacram, una cum Corpore & Sanguine Christi remane sublimis Panis &

Thus this godly Bishop being condemned and degraded, was committed to the Secular Power, who not long after was brought to the place of Execution in the Town of Carmarthen, where he in the Market place in the South-side of the Market-Cross, the thirtieth day of March, being Saturday next before Passion-Sunday, most cruelly sustained the torments and passion of the Fire.

The burning of Rowland White Martyr.



The cruel burning of Doctor Farrar, Bishop of St. David's.

Touching the which Constancy of this blessed Martyr, this is moreover to be added and noted, that one named Richard Jones, a Knights Son, coming to Mr. Farrar a little before his death, seemed to lament the painfulness of the Death he had to suffer; unto whom the Bishop answered again to this effect, saying, That if he first had time once to sit in the pains of his Burning, he should then give no credit to his Doctrine. And as he said, so he right well performed the same; for so patiently he stood, that he never moved, but even as he stood, holding up his Stumps, so still he continued, till one Richard Orsvelt with a Staff dashed him upon the head, and so struck him down.

Letter.

At touching the Letters of M. Farrar, we do not find many that he did write. And peradventure in Queen Marys time his imprisonment was so strict, that at no time it was permitted him to write. Albeit in his other Troubles in King Edwards time, certain Letters he wrote to the Archbishop of Canterbury, Thomas Crommer, and to the Earl of Warwick: which Letters although they might be well referred to the first Edition of this story; yet because in the said Letters is contained briefly and few

few lines, the whole discourse of his unjust execution at that time wrought by his Adversaries, I thought good not to pass them over, but to communicate them unto the Reader, for the better understanding both of the innocency of that blessed Bishop and of the crafty iniquity of his conspiring Enemies; as in the said Letters here following to the indifferent Reader may easily appear.

The Copy of a certain Letter of the Bishop of Saint David's written helike to the Lord Chancellor Doctor Goodrick Bishop of Ely.

MOR humbly sheweth unto your Honour, your poor Orator Robert Bishop of Saint David's, That whereas one Thomas Lee (by the procurement of Thomas Young, and Rowland Merck being both Canons of Saint David's, and George Constantine Register to the said Bishop) hath exhibited unto your Honour against him certain Articles, in the which are mentioned many trifling things, unworthy to be declared in your Honourable Audiences, and also their pretended weighty Articles (as they have alleged there) are utterly untrue: for proof whereof the said Thomas Lee hath had Commissions into the Country. Therefore it may please your Honour of your favourable goodness, to grant unto your said Orator a like Commission for the Examination of the witnesses, indices of his Truth and honesty against the aforesaid Thomas Lee, George Constantine, Thomas Young, Rowland Merck, and all other persons with their unjust Articles, attestations, and sayings, deposed against him. And in tender consideration that your said Orator hath bounden, and Sureties with him in the sum of a Thousand Marks, to appear before the Kings Justice, in the Sessions at Carmarthen in June next coming to answer to a forged matter of Perjury, by the procurement and council of his forenamed Adversaries, maliciously furnished against him to his undoing; And furthermore that your Honourable Justice, in the Kings Majesty, by reason of the malicious vexation of the forenamed Adversaries, cannot (if he remain here) satisfy the fame: for whereas there are Arranges to a great sum (as well of the Kings money as of his own rents) he can do receive none thereof, his Adversaries have made such ill reports to his discredit, bearing the People in hand, that he shall come no more thither: by reason of which bulls, neither his own Tenants will pay their Rents and Arranges, nor the Priests their Arranges due to the Kings Majesty, as well for Anne's lands, and tithes, as for quarto, and quinto. In consideration of all which things, it may please your Honourable goodness to licence your said Orator to depart into the Diocesis, for these affairs and other. And he shall be ready at all times, at your honourable commandment and pleasure, to repair again, and ever to pay to the Lord Jesus for the perpetual servation of your Honour to his glory.

Besides this letter he wrote another likewise to the said Lord) who was, as I remember, Dr. Goodrick L. Chancellor afore mentioned) wherein he declareth the whole cause of his trouble, how it rose against him by his Adversaries, as here followeth.

Another Letter written by the Bishop of S. David's to the Lord Chancellor afore said.

Right honourable, and my very special good Lord, I with humble service and hearty thanks to God, and to you for your godly favor towards me at all times, right plainly appear by your Fatherly Letters, most lovingly admonishing me to incline unto that which is further to beseech your Lordship for the Lords sake not to be grieved, but benignly to hear, and gravely to ponder that weighty matter, which, appearing to other offence to Godward, with no less hindrance of his holy Word, and disturbance of the Kings godly proceedings, and may be a great occasion of much inconvenience, and disorder of good life.

Wherefore I am thrashly bounden for the true Zeal that I am to bear unto the Word of Life, Christian Religion, the Kings Majesty's honour, and the quiet Rule of his People, not faintly to let fall the burden of diligent redress to be fought at his Majesty's hands by the godly widom of his most honourable and upright counsel, but with hearty execution to bear it up against those high-minded, arrogant, & ambitious, covetous Canons, trusting in their biting tongues, which craftily prevention, and utterly untrue promises, to stop the light that their ungodly moidings in darkness did either not be seen, or at the least may have a colourable appearance of right. In so much that I do not a little marvel at their qualities in Master Channer, the Canon, and the Dean of Worcester, whose ungentle and untrue behaviour I have not only known, but expressly proved, and (finely felt in two of the first to my great losses whereof I make no complaint.

But I wonder in my mind and lament in my heart the strange alteration and wilful going backward of mine old faithful Brother George Constantine, the which I knoweth him all three to have been in times past either obstinate enemies to the True bearers of the Cross of Christ, or at the least pious lunkers under pretence of favour towards the Gospel, to Ring the poor followers thereof, seeking but their own lusts and pleasure in all their doings: who would earnestly cleave unto them in their wrong decays, as to betray me with his tongue, become untrue of his promise, and a bearer of filthy Sin for Lutes sake, even yet filthily pointing in the same, namely, in a Gang manifestly known unto many, although he would deny it, and that I might be so credent.

And as for their perjury, both George and they at this Rate my first coming, urgently detaining from M. Farlee his commission for the Chancellorship, would have faced with me down with perjury, because it was written in my own name according to the Statute: yet was I, for the Zeal of Unity, not to see their uncomeliness, & this Channer, departing with M. Farlee for the avoding of their malice and envy, and gave that office for the amity of George unto M. Channer his Son in Law, and to M. Merck Dr. Young the Office of Cardigan. But seeing after their covetous and respect to their own glory and lusts, not regarding the reformation of Sin, and especially of thameless whereof I, I was compelled to remove them, fore against their wills: and whereas I desired many and sundry times charitable redress of their wrong doings in the vacation time, I obtained many fair words, and nothing in deed.

And desiring to have fight of the Book of Statutes of the Church, for the knowledge of my duty and theirs, I could not obtain it. Desiring to have a key of the Chapter House Seal, as my Lord of Bath had, they would not deliver it but upon conditions: yet was I content to be bridled, receiving it as it pleased them to give it. And further requiring the sight of necessary Evidences, for the declaration of divers things in traverse of my right, they would in no wise grant it. And thereupon considering their ungentleness, I moved the Kings Majesty, knowing right well, if they should have any substantial grant under the Kings Seal for the Corporation, it must thereunder in appear the Bishop to be the Head, and ever hath been under the King: for other they never have, no had except they would return to Rome again, as I truly they will not. And yet perceiving afterward, that they had no special grant to shew, or else such as they would not shew, I my self for the respect of Unity, wrote my Letters to the Kings Attorney, by reason whereof the Quo warrantum was stayed, and so they remaineth. But as touching the certificates, the Kings Bishoply duty due at Michaelmas last, and foreborn till after Christmas, and lawfully demanded afore, they did utterly refuse to pay both to my Vicar and to my self, say where to ask the rest, and it is committed unto me in a light gift, in gross, to be received by the Kings Lord a whole sum. In proof, to be received by the Canons Redemptories for their dividend: who, because they cannot agree in dividing, would have the Kings Majesty to carry for his money, still they can agree to make division; and I cannot demand it of any particular person, nor at any particular place.

Wherefore

gratus. & tuo populo pro salubri regimine sit affluat ad gloriam tui nominis venerandus, per Dominum nostrum.

Serena.

TU nobis Domine pietatis abundantia indulget, ut gratiam Marię tuę Pontificem sanctę maris Ecclesię regimini precesse condonamus, per Dominum nostrum.

Post Communionem.

Precio Corporis & Sanguinis tui Domine, Sacramento refectus meritis tuis Marię gratia de illius summi Pontificis assumptione letificet, qui & plebem tuam virtutibus instruat, & fidelium mentes, spirituum Romanorum odore perfundat, per Dominum nostrum.

Another Prayer for cheering of the Pope.

Upon this Commandment, on Wednesday in Easter Week there were Hearst set up, and Driggs hung for the said Julius in divers places. At which time it chanced a Woman to come into S. Magnus Church at the Bridge-foot in London, and there seeing an Hearst and other preparation, asked what it meant: and other that stood by, said that it was for the Pope, and that the must pray for him. Nay (quoth she) that will I not, for he needs not my Prayers: and seeing he could forgive us all our Sins, I am sure he is clean himself; therefore I need not to pray for him. She was heard speak these words of certain that stood by: which by and by carried her into the Cage at London-Bridge, and bid her cooller her there.

A Spectacle for all Christians to behold, and to take heed of the Popes blasphemous Doctrine.

By many and sundry ways Almighty God hath admonished Men of all Nations in these our latter



The sudden death of one Nightingale, Victim of Cruelty in Rome, who was made by the Cardinal authority, chief Pontiff of that Denary.

John Aweock.

IN the beginning of April, and the second day of the said Month, died in Prison John Aweock, who after was buried in the Fields so the manner of the Papists was, to deny their Christian Burial to such as died out of their Popish Antichristian Church.

Now formos as having passed the Month of March, we are entered into the Month of April, to set down in

years to embrace, and not violently to repugn against the light of his Gospel: as first, by preaching of his Word; secondly, by the Blood of the Martyrs; and thirdly, by terrible Examples shewed from time to time upon his Adversaries. In the number of whom cometh here to be remembered the notable working of Gods hand upon a certain Priest in Kent, named Nightingale, Parson of a Crandall besides Canterbury: who upon *Servey-Sunday*, which was about the third day of the said Month of March, and Year of our Lord aforesaid, rejoicing belike not a little at this alteration of Religion, began to make a Sermon to his Parishioners, taking his Theme out of the words of S. Peter, *He that faith that he hath no sin, is a liar, and the truth is not in him, &c.* And so upon the same very impertinently declared to them all such Articles as were set forth by the Popes Authority; and by the commandment of the Bishops of this Realm; saying moreover unto the People in this wise, Now Masters and Neighbours rejoice and be merry, for the Prodigal Son is come home. For I know that the most part of you be as I am, for I know your hearts well enough. And I shall tell you what hath happened in this Week past: I was before my Lord Cardinal Poles Grace, and he made me as free from Sin, as I was at the Font-stone: and on Thursday last being before him, he hath appointed me to rectify (I thank him for it) the same unto you. And I will tell you what it is. And so reading the Popes Bull of Pardon that was sent into England, he said, he thanked God that ever he had lived to see that day; adding moreover that he believed, that by the virtue of that Bull he was clean from Sin, as that Night that he was born: and immediately upon the same fell suddenly down out of the Pulpit, and never stirred hand nor foot, and so lay he. Testified by Robert Austen of Carham, which both heard and saw the same, and is witnessed also by the whole Country round about.

Nightingale was taken up by the Glory and office of Christ, fell down suddenly, and died.

Q. Mary.

The Persecution and Examination of George Marth, Martyr.

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ANNO 1555. The 15. of April a letter was directed to Sir Nicholas Hare, and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, willing them to examine M. Flower, alias Branch, what he meant to wear about his neck written, *Deum time, Idolum fuge* and whom else he knew to wear the like, praying them also to speak to Bener Bishop of London, specially to proceed against him for his Religion according to the Laws, and that the Justice of Middlesex should likewise proceed against him for Shedding of Blood in the Church, according to the Statute, so as if he continue his opinion, he might be executed at the farthest by the latter end of this week, and that his Right Hand be the day before his execution, or the same day, stricken off.

The 22. of April there was a like letter sent to the Justice of Peace of Middlesex, with a Writ for the Execution of the said Flower, commanding them to see his Hand stricken off before his burning.

The 29. of April, M. Robert Horneby, Servant than to the Lady Elizabeth, was converted before the Council for his Religion; and standing constantly to the Truth, notwithstanding their threats and other persuasions, was therefore committed to the Marshalsea.

A declaration of the life, examination, and burning of George Marth, who suffered most constant Martyrdom for the profession of the Gospel of Christ at Westminster the 2. day of April, Anno 1555.

THE said George Marth was born in the Parish of Deane, in the County of Lancashire, and was brought up in learning and honest trade of living by his Parents, who afterwards about the 25. year of his age took to Wife an honest maiden of the Country; with whom he continued, earning their living upon a Farm, having Children between them lawfully begotten; and then God taking his Wife out of this World, he being most desirous of godly studies (leaving his Household and Children in good order) went unto the University of Cambridge, where he studied and much increased in learning and godly Virtues, and was a Minister of Gods Holy Word and Sacraments, and for a while was Curate to Laurence Sanders, as himself reports, in which condition of life he continued for a space, earnestly seeking forth Gods true Religion, to the detaching of Antichrist's false Doctrine, by his godly readings and Sermons as well there and in the Parish of Deane, as elsewhere in Lancashire.

Whereupon at length, by detection of certain Adversaries, he was apprehended, and kept in close prison for George Cover then Bishop of Chester, in strict prison in Chester, within the precinct of the Bishops House, about the space of four Months, being not permitted to have relief and comfort of his Friends; but charge being given unto the porter, to mark who they were, that asked for him, and to signify their Names unto the Bishop, as by the particular Description of his Story, testified and recorded with his own pen, more evidently may appear in the process hereunder following.

The handling, Intreating, and Examination of George Marth, being sent first by the Earl of Darby to Deilor Cotes, Bishop of Chester.

ON the Monday before Palm-Sunday, which was the 12. day of March, it was told me at my Mothers House, that Roger Winstone, with other of M. Barton's Servants did make diligent search for me in Bolton, and when they perceived that I was not there, they gave notice to Robert Ward and Robert Ashby, to find and bring me to M. Barton the day next following, with others, to be brought before the Honourable Earl of Darby, to be examined in matters of Religion, &c.

I knowing this, by relation of divers of my Friends was diversely affectedly Mother, and other my Friends advising me to flee, and to avoid the peril, which thing I had intended afore after a week then next ensuing, if this in the mean while had not chanced; seeing that if I were taken, and would not recant in matters of Religion as they thought I would not, and as God strengthening and assisting me with his Holy Spirit I never will it would not only have put them to great sorrow, heaviness and losses, with costs and charges, to their shame and re-

proach in this World, but also mine own self, after troublous and painful imprisonment, unto shameful Death.

This considered, they advised me and counselled me to depart and flee the Countreys, as I had intended to have my self done, if this had not happened. To whose Counsel I adhered to, weak flesh would gladly have consented, but my Spirit did not fully agree; thinking and saying thus to my self, that if I fled away, it would be thought, reported, and said, that I did not only flee the Country, and my Nearest and Dearest Friends: but much rather from Christs Holy Words, according as these years past I had with my heart, or at least with mine outward living professed, and with my mouth and word taught, according to the small talent me of the Lord. I being thus with their Counsel and Advice, and the Cogitations and Counsels of mine own mind drawn as it were divers ways, went from my Mothers House, flying, I would come again at evening.

In the mean time I ceased not by Earnest Prayer to ask, and seek Counsel of God (who is the giver of all good gifts) and of other my Friends, whose godly Judgments and knowledge I much trusted unto. After this, I met with one of my said Friends on Dean Moor, about Sun going down: and after we had consulted together of my business, not without Hearty Prayer kneeling on our knees, we departed. I not fully determining what to do, but taking my leave with my Friend, I doubted not but God (according as my Prayer and trust was) would give me such Wisdom and Counsel, as should be most to his Honour and Glory, the Profit of my Neighbors and Brethren in the World, and obtaining of mine Eternal Salvation by Christ in Heaven.

This done, I returned to my Mothers House again, where there were divers of M. Barton's Servants seeking charged me, who, when they could not find me, finally charged my Brother and William Marth to seek me that night, & to bring me to Smeethills the next day, who being loath to charge, were gone to seek me in *Adderton*, or else where I know not. Thus intending afore to have been all night with my Mother, but then considering that my saying there would disquiet her with her Household, I departed from thence, and went beyond Deane Church, and there carried all night with an old Friend of mine, taking ill rest, and consulting much with my self of my Trouble.

So at my first awaking, one came to me from a faithful Friend of mine with Letters, which I never read when yet looked on, who said this: My Friends Advice was that I should in no wise flee, but abide and boldly Confess the Faith of Jesus Christ. At whose Words I was so confirmed and established in my Confidence, that from thenceforth I consulted no more, whether it were better to fly or to tarry; but was at a point with my self, that I would not fly, but to go to M. Barton who did seek for me, and there present my self, and patiently bear such as it should please God to lay upon my Shoulders. Whereupon my Mind and Conscience afore being much unequipped and troubled, was now merry and in quiet Estate.

So betimes in the Morning I arose, and after I had said the Holy Litany (as my custom was) with other Prayers, kneeling on my knees by my Friends bed side, I prepared my self to go toward Smeethills, and as I was going thitherward, I went into the House of Henry Whiddow, of my Mother in Law, of Ralf Piron, and took of the Wife of Thomas Richardson, desiring them to pray for me, and have me commended to all my Friends and to comfort my Mother, and be good to my little Children: for (as I supposed) they should not see me any more before the last day following, with my leave of them not without tears shed on both parts, and came to Smeethills about nine of the Clock, and presented my self afore M. Barton: who shewed me a Letter from the Earl of Darby, wherein he was commanded to find me with others to *Latham*.

Whereupon he charged my Brother and William Marth to bring and deliver me the next day by ten of the Clock, before the said Earl or his Counsel: and earnestly told me other special Friends, which I had there at the same time, to M. Barton, that the would take some one of them, whom all bound by Recognizance or otherwise, for mine appearing before the said Earl or his said Council, that

Q. 3

that my brother and William Marth might be at home, because it was the chiefest time of feeding; and their ploughs could go no if they were not at home; but nothing could be obtained.

So we went to my Mothers and there dined and fluffed part of my Cloths; and to praying, took my leave of my Mother, the Wife of Richard Marth, and both their Households, they and I both weeping, and I departed from them and went toward Latham, and were all night a mile and an half on this side Latham. So the next day, which was Wednesday, we arose, prayed, and came to Latham betimes, and tarried there till four of the Clock at afternoon.

Then was I called by Roger Makinon to my Lord and his Council, and so I was brought into the Chamber of presence, where was present Sir William Norre, Sir Pierce Ale, Master Sherburn the Parson of Grapnall, Master More, with others. Where when I had tarried a little while, my Lord turned him toward me, and asked what my name: I answered, Marth.

Then he asked, whether I was a Puritan that fowed evil feed and defilement amongst the People: Which thing I denied, offering to know mine accusers and what could be laid against me: but that I could not know.

Then, said he, would with his Council examine me themselves, and asked me whether I was a Priest? I said no. Then he asked me what had been my living: I answered I was a Minister, served a Cure, and taught a School. Then said my Lord to his Council, this is a wonderful thing. Afore he said he was no Priest, and now he confesseth himself to be one. I answered, by the Laws now used in this Realm (as far as I do know) I am none.

Then they asked me who gave me Orders, or whether I had taken any of all. I answered, I received Orders of the Bishop of London and Lincoln.

Then said they, would you be of the same mind hereafter, and asked me what acquaintance I had with them? I answered, I never saw them but at the time when I received Orders.

They asked me how long I had been Curate, and whether I had ministered with a good Conscience, and answered, I had been Curate but one year, and had ministered with a good Conscience, thanked God, and if the Laws of the Realm would have suffered me, I would have ministered still; and if the Laws at this time hereafter would suffer me to Minister after that sort, I would Minister again.

Whereas they murmured, and the Parson of Grapnall said, this last Communion was the most Devilish thing that ever was devised. Then they asked me what my belief was.

I answered, I believed in God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, according as the Scriptures of the old and new Testaments do teach, and according as the four Symbols or Creeds, that is to wit, the Creed commonly called Apostolus, the Creed of Nice Council, of Athanasius, and of Aulus, and Ambrose do teach. And after a few Words, the Parson of Grapnall said: But what is thy belief in the Sacrament of the Altar?

I answered, I believed that whosoever, according to Christs Institution, did receive the Holy Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood, did eat and drink Christs Body and Blood with all the benefits of his Death and Redemption to their Eternal Salvation; for Christs (said I) are present with his Sacrament.

Then asked they me, whether the Bread and Wine, by the Virtue of the words pronounced by the Priest, were changed into the Flesh and Blood of Christs, and that the Sacrament, whether it were received or refused, was the very Body of Christs?

Whereunto I made Answer, I knew no further than I had thought already. For my knowledge is uncertain, I said I defining them not to know such hard and uncertain questions, whereby to bring my Body into Danger of death, and to tuck my Blood. Whereat they were not a little offended, saying, they were no Blood-Suckers, and intended nothing to me but to make me a good Christian.

So after many other Questions, which I avoided as well as I could, remembering the saying of Paul, Fleeish and

unlearned questions avoid, knowing they do but ingender Anno 1555. I my Lord commanded me to come to the Boord, and gave me pen and ink in my hand, and commanded me to write mine Answers to the Questions of the Sacrament above named; and I wrote as I had answered before. Whereat he being much offended, commanded me to write a more direct Answer, saying, I should not chafe but do it.

Then I took the Pen and wrote, that further I knew not. Whereat he being fore grieved, after many threatening, said, I should be put to shameful death like a Traytor, with such other like words; and sometimes giving me fair words I would turn and be comfortable as others were, how glad he would be.

In conclusion, after much ado, he commanded me to ward in a cold, windy, stone house, where was little room; where I lay two nights without any bed, having a few great canvas ten-clothes, and the done, I had a pair of sheets, but no woollen clothes, and I continued till Palm-funday, occupying my self as well as I could in meditation, Prayer and study: for no man could be suffered to come to me but my Keeper twice a day when he brought me meat and drink.

Another examination of George Marth before the Earl of Darby.

ON Palm-funday after dinner I was sent for to my Lord and his Council (living Sir William Norre and Sir Pierce Ale not present in place) amongst whom was Sir John Broom, and the Vicar of the Priory, who they Examined me yet once again of the Sacrament. And after I had conjured apart with the Vicar of the Priory a good space concerning that matter, he returned to my Lord and his Council with me, saying, That Answer which had made before, and then did say (as it is before written) a beginner, and as one which did not profess a perfect knowledge in that matter, until such time as I had learned further. Whereupon the Earl was very well pleased, saying, he doubted not but by the means and help of the Vicar of the Priory I would be conformable in other things. So after many fair words he commanded I should have bed, with fire, and liberty to go amongst his Servants, for that I would do no harm, when my communication amongst them.

And so after much other communication I departed much more troubled in my spirit than afore, because I had in me more boldness confided Christs, but in such sort as mine Adversaries thereby thought they should prevail against me; whereas I was much grieved: For hitherto I went about as much as in me lay, to rid my self out of their hands: if by any means without open denying of Christs and his word that could be done. This considered, I cried more earnestly unto God by Prayer, desiring to him strengthen me with his Holy Spirit, with Boldness to confess him: and to deliver me from their invidious words; and that I were not spoiled through their Philology and deceitful vanity after the Traditions of men and Ordinances of the World, and not after Christs.

And so after a day or two I was sent for to the Vicar of the Priory, and the Parson of Grapnall, where our most communication was made. The Matter was asked what offended me in the Mass? Answered I, the whole Mass did offend me, first because it was in a strange language, whereby the People were not edified, contrary to St. Pauls Doctrine, 1 Cor. 14. and because of the manifold and intolerable abuses and Errors contained therein, contrary to Christs Priests blood and Sacrifice.

Then they asked me in what place thereof I named certain places, which places they went about with gentle and far fought interpretations to mitigate, saying those places were understood far otherwise than the words did purport, or than I did take them.

I answered, I did understand them as they did purport, and as their own books do comment & gloss upon them.

They said, Sacrificium or Oblatio did not in the Mass signify any thing else, than either a Sacrifice of praise and thanksgiving, or else a memorial of a Sacrifice or Oblation. So they caused a Mass-book to be for

for, and shewed me where in some places of the Mass was written, Sacrificium Laudis. Whereunto I answered, that it followed not therefore that in all places it signified a Sacrifice or oblation of praise or thanksgiving; and although it did, yet was not a Sacrifice of praise or thanksgiving, giving to be offered for the sins of the People, for that did Christs by his own passion once offer on the Cross: where the words of the Mass were, that the Priest did offer an oblation and Sacrifice for the sins and offences both of himself, and of the People; for then they were dead, and so for the salvation of the living, and that the communion of the Body and Blood of Christs was health both of Body and Soul.

The Vicar Answered, that was to be understood of the communion of Christs Body and Blood with his Church or People. So after much exhortation unto me that I should be conformable to the true Catholic Church (which, as they meant was the Romish Church) I departed, not consenting unto them.

So with a day or two came to me Master More, bringing with him certain Articles, whereunto Doctor Comyn had confided in the practice of certain wineries in the days of K. Henry the Eighth, and willed me to read them over, and asked me whether I would consent and subscribe unto those Articles: and after communication had of one or two of the said Articles, I confessed plainly I would not consent, and subscribe to those Articles: for then I did against mine own Conscience, and he departed.

So within a short space after, which was on Saturday day, the said Parson and Vicar came to me again, saying, my Lord would be at a short point with me: for if I would not consent and subscribe unto those Articles drawn out of the Articles aforesaid, I must go to prison straight ways.

The first was, whether the Mass now used in the Church of England was according to Christs Institution, and with faith, reverence, and devotion to be heard and seen?

The second, whether the Almythy, by the words pronounced by the Priest, did change the Bread and Wine after the words of Consecration into the Body and Blood of Christs, whether it were received or refused?

Thirdly, whether the lay People ought to receive under the form of Bread only, and that the one kind was sufficient for them?

Fourthly, whether Consecration to the Priest now used in England were godly and necessary?

These four Questions or Articles they delivered me in writing, and bade me go to my chamber and subscribe my Answers with mine own hand, and come again. So within one half hour I came to them again, and delivered them the Questions with mine Answers. The first I denied. The second I answered, as I did to my Lord afore, and as is above written. To the third I answered, that the lay People by Christs Institution ought to receive under both kinds, and that it sufficeth not men to receive under the one kind only. Fourthly, that though consecration auncular, yet it was not necessary nor commanded of God.

They much exhorted me then to leave mine opinions, saying: I was much deceived, understanding the Scriptures amiss, and much counselled me to follow the Catholic Church of Christs, and to do as other did. I answered, my Faith in Christs conceived by his holy Word I neither could nor would alter, or change, for as my living creature whatsoever he were, desiring them to speak to my Lord, that during my life and imprisonment my Poor Friends might be suffered to relieve me with necessary things according to their powers. And so after much exhortation of them, to do and believe as the Catholic Church did, we departed: I from thence forth continuing in the Porters ward, not coming forth of my chamber, living at noon and night while I lived and suffered.

Upon one of the Easter Holy days Master Sherburn and Master More came to me, persuading me much to leave mine opinions; saying, all the bringers up and favourers of that Religion had evil luck, and were either put to death or in prison, and in Danger of Life. Against the favourers of the Religion now used had wondrous good

luck and prosperity in all things: with many other Words replete of mine Widdows, as for as for the Scriptures M. Sherburn confessed himself Ignorant.

I answered, that I believed an I leaned only to the Scriptures, not judging things by Prosperity or Adversity: but they earnestly advised me to refuse mine opinions, and not to let for any Worldly Shame.

I answered, that that which I did, I did not for the avoiding of any Worldly shame, saying; My Soul and Life were dearer to me than the avoiding of any Worldly Shame: neither yet did I for any vain praise of the World, but in reverence fear of God.

Then M. More questioned with me of receiving the Sacrament under the one kind. I said, Christs Institution was plain, that all men should drink of the Cup. Then he told me of the 24. of Luke, and the 20. of the Acts, where was but mention of breaking Bread only: whereof he gathered, that they received the Sacrament but under one kind.

That I denied saying, those places either did not speak of the Celebration of the Lords Supper, or else under the Name of breaking Bread was signified and meant the receiving of the Sacrament, both of the Body and Blood of Christs, according to his Institution. So after much other communication of that matter, M. Sherburn said, it was great pity that I being a wellfavoured young man, and one that might have good living and do good, would so foolishly cast my self away, sticking it hard to such foolish opinions.

I answered as afore I had done to my Lord and to his Council, that my Life, Mother, Children, Brethren, Sisters, and Friends, and other delight of Life, were altogether as dear and sweet to me as unto any other man, and that I would be as loath to lose them as another would, if I might hold them with good Conscience, and without the Ignominy of Christs; and seeing I could not do that, my trust was, that God would strengthen me with his Holy Spirit to lose them all for his sake: for I take my self (said I) for a Sheep appointed to be slain, patiently to suffer what Cross I shall see after my merciful Father to lay on me. And so afore I had desired them that if I were committed to prison my Friends might be suffered to relieve me, they departed.

M. More after this brought unto me a book of one Alphonsus Spanish Friar, of all heretics wherein he brought to Church of Rome, which he called Christs true Church, & which had been troubled since Christs time, willing me to read and take Counsel of that Book; and appointed me place, where this Author did write against them that say, the lay-people ought to receive under both kinds.

This Author I perceived did vehemently write against Luther, Melancthon, Pelican, and other Germans of this our time, in all points defending the blasphemous abuses and enormities of the Romish Church, condemning as detestable Heresies whatsoever was written, taught, or believed contrary to the same, using for his strength and sure Arguments, the Confession, Agreement, and Determination of the Romish Church. So within a few days M. More came to me again, asking me how I liked the Book I laid the Author of the Book did in all points, being a Papist, allow the Rites and abuses of the Romish Church, and shewed him further, that this Author without Authority, and contrary both to the Scriptures and old Doctors, did condemn for Heresies the lay-people receiving of this Sacrament under both kinds, whereas this Author witnesseth his own self, Christs Church nine hundred years after Christs used the contrary.

So in conclusion he rebuked me, saying I was unlearned, and erred from the Catholic Faith, stubborn, and stood altogether in mine own conceit. I answered, for my learning, I knowledge my self to know nothing, but Jesus Christs, even him that was crucified, and that my Faith was grounded upon Gods holy Word only, and such as I doubted not, pleased God, and as I would stand in until the last day. God assisting me, and that I did not fly or do any thing either of stubbornness, self-will, or vain-glory, or any other Worldly purpose, but with good Conscience, and in the fear of God, desired him to speak to my Lord and his Council, that might find some gentleness and mercy at their hands. He made me short

short answer. Than I said, I commit my cause unto God, who hath numbered the hairs of my head, and appointed the days of my life, saying, I am, sure God which is a righteous Judge, would make inquisition for my Blood, according as he hath promised. Then he took his book from me, and departed.

Marth said to the Earl of Darby.

I continued till ward untill Low-sunday, and after dinner my Keeper Richard See came to me into my Chamber, and told me that two young men were come to carry me to Lancaſter, and he delivered me unto them, a great company both of my Lords Servants and others, accompanying and bringing me on the way unto Richard Alderson, and lowward further, counselling and perswading like as is aforesaid.

To whom I made plain answer, that in matters of Faith I would give place to no earthly creature. So they comforted me, and said that they were sorry for me, saying, If I knew mine opinion to be good, I did well, and they departed, willing my bringers to treat me honestly.

My bringers by the way shewed me they were willed and advised to bind me, and that they desired first to tie me: and after they had looked on me sitting at dinner, they answered they would take charge of being loof, for they said I seemed to be an honest man.

The first night we were all night at Broughton, and the second day we came to Lancaſter betimes at afternoon, and so they kept me all night with them of their Gentleness and on the morrow delivered me to the Jylors, who brought me into the high prison, where I do remain.

Marth said to the Earl of Darby.

After that, the said George came to Lancaſter Castle, and there being brought with other prisoners unto the Sessions, was made to hold up his hand with the malefactors. The Earl of Darby had this communication with him as here followeth.

Communication between George Marth, and the Earl of Darby.

Talk between G. Marth and the Earl of Darby.

I said unto my Lord, I had not dwelled in the County these three or four years past, and came home but lately to Visit my Mother, Children, and other my Friends, and to have departed out of the County before Easter next, and to have gone out of the Realm. Wherefore I trusted, seeing nothing could be laid against me, wherein I had offended against the Laws of this Realm, his Lordship would not with capitious Questions examine me, to bring my Body into danger of Death, to the great discomfort of my Mother, but suffer me to avoid peaceably, seeing I might have fled out of the County, and yet of mine own will came to his Lordship.

The Earl of Darby said to the Earl of Darby.

He said to his Council, he had heard tell of me above at London, and intended to make search for me, and take me either in Lancashire or above at London, and asked me into what Land I would have gone.

The Earl of Darby said to the Earl of Darby.

I answered, I would have gone either into Ainslin, or else into Denmark. He said to his Council, in Denmark they used such Heretics as they have done in England, but as for Ainslin, he said the Emperor had destroyed them.

The Earl of Darby said to the Earl of Darby.

So after such like words I said unto him, my trust was, that his Lordship being of the Honourable Council of the late King Edward, consenting and agreeing to Acts concerning Faith toward God and Religion, under great pain, would not so soon after consent to put poor men to shameful Death, as he had threatened me for embracing the same with so good a Conscience.

The Earl of Darby said to the Earl of Darby.

He answered, that he, with the Lord Windsor and Lord Dacres, with one, whose name I have forgotten, did not consent to those Acts, and that the names of them four would be to be kept, as long as the Parliament House stood. Then my Lord did rehearse the evil luck of the Duke of Northumberland and Suffolk, with others, because they favoured not the true Religion; and again the good hap and prosperity of the Queens Highness, because she favoured the true Religion, thereby gathering the one to be good, and of Gods, and the other to be wicked and of Devils, and said that the Duke of Northumberland confessed to plainly.

George Marth to the Reader.

Forasmuch as not only when I was at Latham, but also since I departed thence, I hear that there are divers and sundry Reports and Opinions of the cause of mine imprisonment, as well at Latham as at Lancaſter, as by credible persons I am informed, some saying it was only because I would not do open penance, and some because I could not agree with my Lord and his Council concerning the Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood, and the manner of Christs presence there, some because I would not grant it sufficient, and according to Christs Institution, the lay-people to receive the said Sacrament under the one kind only: I thought it good, dearly Beloved in Christ, and my bounden Duty, to certify you by mine own hand-writing, of mine Examination and handling at Latham, and to tell you the truth as near as I could, to quiet your mind in this behalf, and therefore I have here written with mine own hand the Certainty of those things, as near as I could, here above expressed, not omitting any thing at all concerning Religion, wherof they did examine me: how by it I perceive in some things I keep not the same order in writing that thing which was asked by them, and answered by me afore or after, as it was in very deed in all points, saving this, telling the truth as near as I can, desiring you to accept my good word, this my good will, and to pray for me and all them that be in bonds, as God would we all were. Holy Spirit sanctify us may with boldness (Confess) his Holy Name; and that Christ may be Magnified in our Bodies, that we may stand full and perfect in all the will of God; to whom be all Honour and Glory World without end, Amen.

And thus you have heard all the whole trouble which George Marth sustained both at Latham, and also at Lancaſter, testified and written with his own hand, where-to be added moreover, and faith:

While I was, faith he, in ward at Latham, divers at sundry times came unto me. Some said unto me that all my fellows had recanted, and were gone home, whereas indeed that was not so; for I saw divers of them divers times after. Other said, that it was reported amongst my Lords Household, that I had confessed and agreed in all things with my Lord and his Council.

Furthermore, while I was at Lancaſter, at this Session many came to me to talk with me, some of good will towards me, but without knowledge gave me such like Council as Peter gave Christ, as he went up to Jerusalem, when he took him aside and began to rebuke him, saying to him: But I answered with Christs sharp answer unto Peter again; who turned about, and said unto Peter, Come after me Satan; and perceiving that they were an hindrance unto me, and that they favoured not the things which are of God, but the things that are of men, I made them plain answer, that I neither could nor would follow their Council, but that by Gods grace I would both live and die with a pure conscience, and according Christs will, hitherto I had believed and professed. For we ought in no wise to flatter and hear with them, though they love us never so well, which go about to pluck us away from the obedience that we owe unto God and to his word, but after Christs example sharply to rebuke them for their Council.

Some others, who even strangers also came to me far unlike to these, who after brief communication had, confessed with me in all things, lamenting much my troublesome estate giving me Comfortable words, and some many two, and referred to me oftentimes, for the first of two, three, four, five, or six at one time, whose mouths it was a thing eadie enough to stop; for the Priests (which is much to be lamented) in the Law of God, at their departing they either confessed with me or did nothing to say against me, saying they could find no fault with my words. My communication with them

Anno 1555. G. Marth writes his own cause.

they was about the Sacrament. There came also into the Prison to me Mr. Wylly, Mr. Almon of Hills, Mr. Almon of Chatterton, and many more, both Gentlemen and others, to my great comfort. Unto whom I had good occasion to utter a great part of my Confidence for God, I strengthened me with his Spirit of Boldness, according to my humble Request and Prayer before (everlasting Thanks be given him therefore) that I was nothing afraid to speak to any that came to me, no not even to Judges themselves, before whom I was thrice arraigned at the Bar, amongst the Thieves, with Iron on my feet, and put up my hand as other did; but yet with boldness I spake unto them so long as they would suffer me.

They also sent for me the fourth time into their Chamber, where amongst other things they laid it finally to my charge, that I had reported, that I knew a whole Mead of good Gentlemen in Lancashire, of mine Opinion, and frantically charged me, upon pain of Allegiance to the Queens Grace, to show who they were. But I denied that I had spoken any such thing (as it was indeed a false forged Lye of some wicked Wretches.) After that, they threatened and rebuked me for my Preaching to the People out of the Prison, as they called it and for my Praying and Reading for loud, that the People in the Streets might hear. The truth is, I and my Prisoner Fellow Warton, every day kneeling on our Knees, did read Morning and Evening Prayer, with the English Litany every day twice, both before Noon and after, with other Prayers more, and also read every day certain Chapters of the Bible, commonly towards Night: and we read also these things with loud voice, that the People without in the Streets might hear us, and would oftentimes, namely in the Evenings, come and sit down in our fights under the Windows and hear us read, wherewith others being offended, complained.

All this while George Marth was not yet brought before the Bishop, whose name was Doctor Cates, placed the same time in the Bishoprick of Chester. Of whose coming then into Lancashire, the said George Marth reporteth himself as followeth.

How the Bishop came to Lancaſter, and of his doing there.

The Bishop being at Lancaſter, there set up and confirmed all blasphemous Idolatry as Holy-Water, Prayers, Procession, Cadding, Martins mumbing, Childrens Prayers, confirming, Mass hearing, Idols up setting, with his Heathenish Rites forbidden by God; but no Gospel-Preaching, which Christ, Gods Son, so earnestly commanded. He was informed of me and would to find me and to examine me. Which thing he refused to do, saying he would have nothing to do with Heretics so lightly: So hasty in Judgment and calling men Heretics, that he set our Bishops in their Lordly Dignities, afore they hear or see what is to be amended or condemned, contrary to the express Commandment of Gods Word, which faith, *Condemne no man before thou hast heard him, and the matter; and when thou hast made judgement, then thou shalt reform righteously.* Give no Sentence before thou hast heard the Cause, but first let men tell on their Tale; and that he gave Sentence in a matter before he hear it, is a bold, and surely to be confounded.

And in defiance of his liberality towards me poor Prisoner, he sent forth the Jylors, and rebuked him because he suffered me to fare so well, willing him to have me more strictly kept and died: but if his Lordship were Tabled but one Week with me, I do think he would judge our Fair for London.

Also he, and his Chaplains and Chancellor did find fault with the School-master and others, for speaking to me as to a most heinous Heretic, and also with the Jylor for suffering them. Such is the mercy that Christ Religion Fathers shew to the Friendless and Comfortless in their Adversities. If we may know the Tree by the Fruit (as Christ faith) no man can judge such for any other, but for every Enemies to Christ and his true Religion. God say it never to their charges, but forgive them, and turn them to his good hearts, if he be his will.

But it is no new thing for the Bishops to persecute the

Truth, and the Prophets of the Lord for their conflict in Preaching of the true Faith; for so did their Hierarchical Forefathers, if ye mark well the Histories of the Holy Bible. Paulus was the head Bishop of the Temple, King, leader of false Prophets, the chief Heretic-taker, that is as much as to say, the Cause-killer of true Godliness. After that the Dignity of Priesthood was given unto him, he abused it. For he taught not, neither reproveth by the Word, but feared the godly with Cruelty. He not only frook, but also imprisoned the holy Prophet Jeremy, though he withheld him nor, but presently looked for the help of God, stedfastly preaching the Truth of God.

What mischief the ungracious Bishop Jafon wrought among the Jews, destroying all Godliness, and setting up abominable Idolatrous Laws, ye may read in the fourth Chapter of the second of Maccabees. How the execrable and blind Bishops, Annas and Caiaphas, which never gave the Truth of God themselves, in which it were against their wills unwittingly to their utter destruction, polluted, so well known that I need not rehearse it.

And thus much hitherto concerning the Prisonment of George Marth, and his Examinations before the Earl of Darby and his Deputies above-named. Now proceeding further in the troublesome Persecution of this blessed man, let us likewise consider the later part of his Troubles and Examinations which followed under the Bishop of the same Diocese, which was Doctor Cates; the effect wherof being drawn out of his own Writing, here briefly is to be seen, as followeth.

The Troubles and Examination of George Marth under Doctor Cates Bishop of Chester.

YE heard before how George Marth being first imprisoned at Latham, and afterward translated unto Lancaſter, was troubled by the Earl. Again, within few days after, the said Marth was removed from Lancaſter, and coming to Chester, was first for by Doctor Cates Bishop to appear before him in his Hall, no Body being present but they twain; and then he asked him certain Questions concerning the Sacrament: who made such Answers as the Bishop feared therewith to be content, saying that he utterly denied Transubstantiation, and allowed not the abuse of the Mass, nor that the Lay-people should receive under one kind only, contrary to Christs Institution: in which point the Bishop went about to persuade him: howbeit (God be thanked) all in vain. Much other talk he had with him, to move him to submit himself to the Universal Church of Rome; and when he saw he could not prevail, he sent him to Prison again: and after being there, came to him divers times one Massie, a Fatherly old Man, one Wrench the School-master one Heyham the Bishops Chaplain, and the Arch-deacon, with many more, who with all probability of Words and Philosophy, or worldly Wisdom and deceitful Vanity, after the Tradition of Men, and the beggarly Ordinances and Laws of the World, but not after Christ it were all lying one upon another: went about to persuade him to submit himself to the Church of Rome, and to acknowledge the Pope to be Head thereof, and to interpret the Scriptures none otherwise than that Church did; with many such like Arguments and persuasions of Hellish Wisdom.

It was the said George Marth answered, that he did acknowledge and believe (though much to be desired annexed) one holy Catholic and Apostolical Church, without which there is no Salvation, and that this Church is one, because it ever hath, doth, and shall confess and believe one only God, and him only worship, and one, as only Messiah, and in him only trust for Salvation: which one Church is ruled and led by one Spirit, one Word, and one Faith; that this Church is Universal and Catholic, because it ever hath been since the Worlds beginning, is, and shall endure to the Worlds end, and comprehending within it all Nations, Kindreds and Languages, degrees and states, and conditions of Men; and that this Church is built only upon the foundation of the Prophets and Apostles, Jesus Christ himself being the head Corner-stone, and not upon the Romish Laws and Decrees, the Bishop of Rome being the Supreme Head.

And

Marth writing his own thing for his own cause.

Marth writes his own cause.

Marth writes his own cause.

Marth writes his own cause.

Marth writes his own cause.

Marth writes his own cause.

The nature, condition, and name of the false Church.

Confession of the false Church fully denied.

Examples deducing the true Church, the false Church ever greater in number.

And where they said, the Church did stand in ordinary succession of Bishops, being ruled by General Councils, Holy Fathers and the Laws of Holy Church, and for continued by the space of fifteen hundred years and more; he made answer, that the holy Church, which is the Body of Christ; and therefore most worthy to be called Holy; was before any succession of Bishops, General Councils, or Romish Decrees; neither yet was bound to any time or place, ordinary Succession, General Councils, or Traditions of Fathers, either had any Supremacy over Empires and Kingdoms: but that it was a little poor filly Flock, dispersed and scattered abroad, as Sheep without a Shepherd in the midst of Wolves, or as a Flock of Orphans and Fatherless Children; and that this Church was led and ruled by the only Laws, Councils, and Word of Christ, he being the Supreme Head of this Church, and assisting, frowning and defending her from all Accusations, Errors, Troubles and Persecutions, wherewith she is ever compassed about.

He shewed and proved unto them also by the Flood of Noah, the destruction of Sodom, the Israelites departing out of Egypt; by the Parables of the Sower, of the Kings Sons Marriage, of the great Supper, and by other plain Sentences of Scripture, that this Church was of none estimation, and little in comparison of the Church of the Apostles and wicked Wonders.

He was thrust at with all violence of craft and subtilty, but yet the Lord upheld him and delivered him. Everlasting thanks be to that merciful and faithful Lord, which suffereth us not to be tempted above our might, but in the midst of our troubles strengtheneth us with his most Holy Spirit of Comfort and Patience, giveth us a mouth and wisdom how and what to speak; whereas all his Adversaries were not able to retile.

Another appearance of George Marth before the Bishop.

G. Marth brought before the Bishop and his College.

The Bishop with his College sitting upon G. Marth.

Marth found to answer before the Bishop.

G. Marth purged himself.

The Bishop's College moved to examine him so diligent.

Now, after that the said Bishop had taken his pleasure in punishing this his Prisoner, and often reviling him, giving taunts and odious names of Heretic, &c. he caused him to be brought forth into a Chapel, in the Cathedral Church of Chester, called our Lady Chapel, before him the said Bishop, at two of the Clock in the Afternoon, who was there placed in a Chair for that purpose, and Falk Dutton Mayor of the City, Dr. Wall, and other Priests assisting him, placed next to him the said Bishop, but somewhat lower, George Wenlock Chancellor, and one John Getham Register, late directly over against the said Bishop.

Then they caused the said Bishop to take an Oath upon a Book, to answer truly unto such Articles as should be objected against him. Upon which Oath taken, the Chancellor laid unto his charge, that he had preached and openly published most heretically and blasphemously within the Parish of Dean, Eccles, Bolton, Berry, and many other Parishes within the Bishop's Diocese, in the Months of January, February, or some other time of the year last, proceeding directly against the Popes Authority and Catholic Church of Rome, the blessed Mass, the Sacrament of the Altar, and many other Articles. Unto all which in him he answered, That he neither heretically nor blasphemously preached or spoke against any of the said Articles; but simply and truly, as occasion served, and (as it were) thereto forced in Conscience maintained the Truth touching the same Articles, as (he said) all you now present did acknowledge the fame in the time of the late King Edward the Sixth.

Then they examined him feverally of every Article, and bade them answer directly Yes or Nay, without circumstance; for they were come to Examine, and not to dispute at that present.

Then he answered them unto every Article very modestly, according to the Doctrine by public Authority received, and taught in this Realm at the death of the said King Edward, whose Answers were every one noted and written by the Registers, to the uttermost that could make against him, which cannot at this present be gotten. After this, the Company for that time brake up, and he was returned to his Prison again.

The last and final appearance of George Marth before the Bishop.

Within three Weeks after this, or thereabouts, in the said Chapel, and in like sort as before, the said Bishop and others before-named, there being assembled, the said G. Marth was brought by the Keeper and others with Bills and divers Weapons before them, where first the said Chancellor, by way of an Oration, declared unto the People present the said Bishops charge and burning Charity, who even like a good Shepherd doth feed his Flock, that none of his Sheep have the Scab or other distaste for infecting other clean Sheep, but will save and cure the said falsified Sheep; for his Lordship had sent for the said G. Marth there present, a falsified Sheep, and had weeded him out for corrupting others, and had done what he could in shewing his charitable disposition toward the said Marth, to reduce him from his naughty Heresies; but all that he could do would not help: for that he was now determined, if the said Marth would not relent and abjure, to pronounce and give Sentence definitive against him. Wherefore he bade the said George Marth to be now well advised what he would do, for it stood upon his life: and if he would not at that present forsake his Heretical Opinions, it would be after the Sentence given; now late, though he would never so gladly desire.

Then the said Chancellor first asked him, whether he were not one of the Bishops Dioceses? To which he answered, That he knew not how large his Diocese was, for his continuance was at Cambridge. But then they replied and asked, whether he had not lately been at Deane Parish in Lancashire, and there about? And he answered, Yes.

Then the Chancellor read all his former Answers that he made at that place at his former Examination, and at every one he asked him, whether he would flick to the same, or no? To which he answered again, Yes, yes.

How say you then to this, quoth the Chancellor? In your last Examination, amongst many other damnable and blasphemous Heresies, you said, That the Church and Doctrine taught and set forth in King Edward's time, was the true Church, and the Doctrine of the true Church, and that the Church of Rome is not the true and Catholic Church.

I do find indeed, quoth Marth, and I believe it to be true. Here also others took occasion to ask him (for that he denied the Bishop of Rome's Authority in England) whether Linus, Anacletus, and Clement, that were Bishops of Rome, were not good men, and he answered, Yes, and divers others; but (said he) they claimed no more Authority than I claim now, and the Bishop of Canterbury doth at Rome; and I strive not, quoth he, with the place, neither speak I against the person of the Bishop, but against his Doctrine, which in many points is repugnant to the Doctrine of Christ.

Thou art an arrogant Fellow indeed then, said the Bishop. In what Article is the Doctrine of the Church of Rome repugnant to the Doctrine of Christ?

To whom George Marth answered and said, Oh my Lord, I pray you judge not of me: I stand now upon the point of my life and death; and a man in my case hath no cause to be arrogant, neither am I, God is my Record. And as concerning the disagreement of the Doctrine, amongst many other things the Church of Rome erreth in the Sacrament. For where the Church in the Institution thereof did as well deliver the Cup, as the Bread, saying, Drink ye all of this, and Marth reported, that they did drink of it: in like manner St. Paul delivered it unto the Corinthians. And in the time for all was used in the Primitive Church by the space of many hundred years. Now the Church of Rome doth take away one part of the Sacrament from the Laity. Wherefore, if I could be persuaded in my Conscience by Gods Word that it were well done, I could gladly yield in this point.

Then said the Bishop, Now disputation is over Heresies, there is no disputing with an Heretic. And therefore when all his Answers were read, he asked him whether he would stand to the fame; being as they were, said he, full of Heresies, or else forsake them, and come unto the Catholic Church.

Answer 1555.

The last appearance of George Marth before the Bishop.

The Chancellor's Oration.

Laith bade George Marth to be well advised.

Summe of Condemnation read against Marth.

The Bishop taught in his Sermon.

God mercy protect the Queens mercy.

The Bishop preached his Sermon.

Another lay in reading his Sentence.

G. Marth's answer to the Bishop's question.

The Bishop rebuked him for his Sentence.

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To whom he made this full answer, and said, That he held no Heretical Opinion; but utterly abhorred all kind of Heresies, although they most untruly did slander him. And he said all the People present to bear him witness (if hereafter any would slander him, and say that he held any grievous Heresies) that in all Articles of Religion he held none other Opinion than was by Law most godly established, and publicly taught in England at the death of King Edward the Sixth, and in the same pure Religion and Doctrine he would, by Gods Grace, stand, live and die. And here the Chancellor spake to one Leach, which stood near unto Marth, and bade him stand farther from him: for his preference did him no good.

This being done, the Bishop took a Writing out of his bosom, and began to read the Sentence of Condemnation: but when the Bishop had read almost half thereof, the Chancellor called him aside, saying, Good my Lord, stay; for if ye proceed any farther, it will be too late to call it again, and so the Bishop stayed. Then his Popish Priests, and many other of the ignorant People, called upon Marth, with many earnest words, to recant, and amongst other one Pulley a Shoe-maker did to him, For shame man remember thy self, and recant. They bade him kneel down and pray, and they would pray for him; and he would pray for them.

The Bishop then asked him again, whether he would not have the Queens mercy in time; and he answered, that he gladly desire the same, and did love her Grace as faithfully as any of them; but yet he durst not deny his Saviour Christ, for losing his Mercy everlasting, and so win everlasting Death.

Then the Bishop put his Spectacles again upon his Nose, and read forward his Sentence about five or six Lines, and there again the Chancellor with a glavering and frowning Countenance called to the Bishop, and said, Yet good my Lord once again stay; for if that word be spoken all is past, no relating will then serve: and the Bishop (pulling off his Spectacles) said, I would stay, if it would be.

How faith thou now, he wilt thou Recant? Many of the Priests and ignorant People bade him do so, and call to God's Grace; and pulled him by the Sleeve, and bade him recant and save his life. To whom he answered, I would as faine live as you, if in so doing I should not deny my Master Christ, and again he should deny me before his Father in Heaven.

So the Bishop read out his Sentence unto the end, and strait after he said unto him, Now will I no more pray for thee, than I will for a Dog. And Marth answered, that notwithstanding he would pray for his Lordship; and after this the Bishop delivered him unto the Sheriffs of the City. Then his late Keeper bade him farewell good George; with weeping Tears, which caused the Officers to carry him to a Prison at the North-Gate, where he was very straitly kept until the time he went to his Death, during which time he had small comfort, or relief of any worldly Creature.

For being in the Dungeon or dark Prison, none that would him good could speak with him, or at least durst venture to do so for fear of Accusation: and some of the Citizens which loved him in God, for the Gospels sake (whereof there were but a few) although they never acquainted with him, would sometimes in the Evening at a hole upon the Wall of the City (that went into the said dark Prison) call to him, and ask him how he did. He would answer them most cheerfully, that he would praise God with a prayer, and thank him for his Mercy, and to suffer for the fame, wherein he did most joyfully; beseeching him that he would give him Grace not to faint under the Cross, but patiently bear the fame to his glory and comfort of his Church: with many other like godly sayings at sundry times, as one that most desired to be with Christ. Once or twice he had Money call him at the same hole, about Ten pence at one time, and Two shillings at another time: for which he gave God thanks, and used the fame to his Neighbour.

When the time and day appointed came that he should suffer, the Sheriffs of the City, whose names were Amy

and Cooper, with their Officers and a great number of poor simple Barbers with rusty Bills and Poll-Axes, went to the North-Gate, and there took out the said George Marth, who came with them most humbly and meekly with a Lock upon his feet. And as he came upon the way towards the place of Execution, some Flocks of people followed him, and looked that he should have gone to his home with a little Purse in his hand (as the manner of Felons is wont to be); but he came in his City in times past, at their going to Execution to the end to Gather Money to give unto a Priest to say Trentals or Masses for them after their death, whereby they might, as they thought, be saved; but Marth said, he would not as then be troubled with meddling with Money, but would have good Men to take the Money, if the People were disposed to give any, and to give it unto the Prisoners or poor People. So he went all the way unto his death with his Book in his hand, looking upon the same; and many of the People said, This man goeth not unto his death as a Thief, or as one that doth deserve to dye.

Now when he came to the place of Execution without the City, near unto Spittle-Busham, one Casewrey being then a Deputy Chamberlain of Chester, shewed Marth his Writing under a Great Seal, saying, That it was a Pardon for him if he would recant. Whereat Marth answered, That he would gladly accept the same (and said much more to that effect), but yet he durst not recant so far, that he loved the Queen; but forthwith he intended to pluck him from God, he would not receive it upon that condition.

After that, he began to speak to the People, shewing the cause of his Death, and would have exhorted him to stick unto Christ. Whereupon one of the Sheriffs said: George Marth, we must have no Sermoning now. To whom he said, Master, I cry you mercy: and I kneeling down made his Prayers, and then put off his Clothes unto his Shirt, and then was he chained to the wall, having a number of Faggots under him, and a stick made like a Fork, with Pitch and Tar in the same over his Head; and by reason the Fire was unskillfully made, and that the Wind did drive the same to and fro, he suffered great extremity in his death, which notwithstanding he abode very patiently.

Wherein this in him is to be noted, That when as he had been a long time tormented in the Fire without moving, having his Flesh so broiled and puffed up, that they which stood before him underneath could see the Chain Marth, whereupon he was fastened, and therefore supposed no less but he had been dead, notwithstanding suddenly he spread abroad his Arms, saying, Father of Heaven have mercy upon me, and do yield this Spirit into the hands of the Lord.

Upon this, many of the People said that he was a Martyr, and died most bravely and godly. Which thing caused the Bishop furiously after to make a Sermon in the Cathedral Church, and therein affirmed, That the said Marth was an Heretic, burnt like an Heretic, and was a Fire-brand in Hell.

In remembrance of this his good and charitable Sermon, God's blessing be upon him, the just Judgment of God appeared upon the said Bishop, recompensing him in such wise that not long after he turned up his heels and died. Upon what cause his death was generated, I have not here precisely to pronounce, because the rumor and voice of the People is not always to be followed. Notwithstanding such a Report went in all men's Mouths, that he was burned of an Harlot. Wherefore, whether he died for me, I am not certain, neither dare I lean too much upon public Speech. Albeit this is certain, that when he was afterward searched, being dead, by some of his fiercer Friends and certain Aldermen for stopping the rumor of the People, this Malignant Priest and Bishop was found not to be free from certain appearance, which declared but small Virginitie in him, and that the Rumor was not raised up altogether upon naught amongst the People. But of this I will say, and proceed no further; not because I cannot be said, but because I will not be so uncharitable in detecting these Men, as they are cruel in condemning Gods Servants to death.

forlake the chief and principal delights of this life, and those of them in giving place to the singular joys of the world, to forsake their Livings, Friends, Native Land, and other chief Pleasures of this Life, and to commit themselves to painful Exile, that if it please God, Christ may come again out of Egypt. And other things necessary to fulfill their Ministry unto the uttermost: that is to wit, with their painful imprisonments and blood-shedding, if need shall require, to confirm and faith Christs Gospel whereof they have been Ministers: and as S. Paul faith, not only to be cast into Prison, but also to dye for the Name of the Lord Jesus.

Be ye not therefore ashamed of the testimony of our Lord Jesus, neither be ye ashamed of us which are his Prisoners, but suffer ye adversity with the Gospel, for which Word we suffer as evil doers, even unto bonds: but the Word of God is not bound with us. Therefore we suffer all things for the Elects sake, that they also may obtain the salvation which is in Christ Jesus with eternal glory: wherefore stand ye fast in the Faith, and be not moved from the hope of the Gospel, and so shall ye make us even with joy to suffer for your fakes, and as the Apostle faith, To fulfill that which is behind of the Passions of Christ in our flesh, for his Bodies sake, which is the Congregation.

The meaning of S. Pauls words opened.

S. Paul doth not here mean, that there wanteth any thing in the Passion of Christ, which may be supplied by man: for the Passion of Christ, as touching his own Person, is that most perfect and omnia-fiducial Sacrifice, whereby we are all made perfect, as many as are sanctified in his Blood: but he words ought to be understood of the Elect and Chosen, in whom Christ is, and shall be persecuted unto the worlds end. The Passion of Christ then, as touching his mystical Body, which is the Church, shall not be perfected till they have all suffered, whom God hath appointed to suffer for his Sons sake. Wherefore flabish your selves, and be of good comfort, and be not moved in these Afflictions, knowing that we are appointed thereunto. For on our parts nothing can be greater consolation and inward joy to us in our adversity, than to hear of your faith and love, and that ye have a good remembrance of us always, praying for us as we do for you, as the Apostle writeth of the *Thessalonians*, saying, Now are we alive, ye stand steadfast in the Lord: for good Shepherds do always count the welfare and prosperous estate of Christs Flock to be their own: for while it goeth well with the Congregation, it goeth well with them also in whatsoever Affliction or Adversity they be: but when they see the Church in any peril or weakness, then they weary of their own lives, when they have no rest nor joy. Who is weak, faith S. Paul, and I am not weak: who is offended, and I do not burn? But this Affliction is not in them that seek their own laze and glory.

The condition of true Faith.

And forasmuch as the life of man is a perpetual warfare upon Earth, let us run with joy unto the battel that is before us, and like good warriors of Christs Church, bleed him, who hath chosen us to be Soldiers, and not like thinking Children, faint and fall away from the Truth now in time of Adversity and Tribulation, wherewith all that will live godly in Christs Flock must be tried, even as gold and silver is proved in the fire, and whereof all the Scriptures have given us so much forewarning. For God is worst for the most part, to weary his Elect and Chosen, what affliction and trouble shall happen unto them for his sake, not to the intent to fray them thereby, but rather to prepare their minds against the boisterous storm of Persecution. As we have a notable example in the Apostle S. Paul, unto whom God sent *Agrippa* to be imprisoned unto him of the Imprisonment, and Bands that he should suffer at *Jerusalem*: in whom we have also a good example of constancy and steadfastness, which regarding nothing the tears of his familiar Friends, nor yet the peril of his own life, did through fire and water go on still to set forth the glory of God: and he being delivered from the hands of his ungodly and blood-thirsty Enemies, and that so many times, is in conclusion fain to commit himself to the rough waters of the Sea, where he was a long season in great peril and jeopardy of his own life. But God was always ready to great comfort of all that shall hear of it, most ready to help and succour him. First, he did find him a most friendly and sweet company, I mean *Arifarchus* and *Lucas*, to ruling the heart of the

A Christian man, who is a warrior upon Earth.

The Church is ever for the persecuted before Affliction.

Ad. 17.

under Captain *Julius*, that he courteously intreated him, and gave him liberty to go to his friends, and to refresh himself, and he was benefited unto him at all times. In like manner was God with *Joseph*, and delivered him from all his Adversities, and gave him favour and wisdom in the sight of *Pharaoh King of Egypt*, inasmuch that he made him Governor over all Egypt, and over all his Household. In like manner was he with *Jeremy and Daniel*, in their great troubles, and appointed men for them in their most troubles, to relieve, succour, and help them, to their singular comfort.

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Also when *Peter* was in *Herods* Prison, sleeping between two Soldiers, bound with two Chains, and the Keeper *Herod* had intended to have brought him out unto the People the day following, and to have put him unto death to please the Jews withal, as a little before he had killed *Jamies* the Brother of *Jeha* with the Sword: God sent his Angel, and the Chains fell off from *Peters* hands, and the iron gate opened unto him by its own accord, and so was *Peter* wonderfully delivered by God. For it is the true living God that lootheth all Bands, and delivereth our Prison, and not that fained God S. *Leonard*. On that true God did S. *Peter* call, unto him did he ascribe the glory of his deliverance, saying, Now I know of a truth, that God hath sent his Angel, &c.

Therefore did we need of Prison.

These things are written for our learning, that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope. The God of patience and comfort, grant that we be like minded one towards another, after the example of Christ Jesus, that we all agreeing together, may with one mouth glorifie God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ.

A poor Prisoner for Christs sake, George Marth.

Another Letter of George Marth to Robert Langley.

The Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, and the Love of Another God, and the Fellowship of the Holy Ghost, with you good Brother in Christ, *Robert Langley* with all Legality, whom that love the Lord Jesus unfeignedly, Amen.

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After hearty Commendations to you, with thanks for that ye did visit me a Prisoner in Christ, and unacquainted with, to your comly, this shall be to let you know, that ye shall receive from me mine Examination and handling at *Latham*, and the cause of mine Imprisonment, according as I do promise you: and this ye shall receive by my Brother, or some one of the *Bradshaws* of *Bolton* within this fortnight, willing you to heed the same to such faithful men about *Manchester* or elsewhere, as you do take to be favourers of true Religion and Christs holy Word, and then to deliver it again. And whereas you did put me in comfort, that if I did want any thing necessary unto this life, you with some others would be bearers with me in this my costly and painful Affliction: I give you most hearty thanks, and rejoice greatly in the Lord, who stirs up the hearts of others to be careful for me in this my great necessity. I thank God as yet I do want nothing and intend to be in little chargeable to others (saying my Mother, as I said to you) will be in the way with you and others, to find for your relief and help in my necessity; desiring you in the mean while to pray for me, and all others in the Bonds of Christ, that God would perform the thing which he hath begun in us, that we may with boldness confess Jesus Christ, and fight the good fight of Faith.

Yours George Marth.

A Letter of George Marth to a certain good Friend.

Grace be with you, and Peace be multiplied in the Knowledge of God, and Jesus the Lord. After hearty commendations and thanks to you, not only for your large token, but much more for your loving Letters, full of consolation to me as touching my person to you unknown, that I should be in Christ, and I receive greatly in the Lord, when I do perceive how my sweet Saviour Christ doth stir up the minds, not only of my familiar friends in times past, but also of kindred & divers therefore

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tofore unto me unknown and unacquainted, to bear part with me in this my painful and costly Imprisonment, and in the things not only necessary for this present Life, but also comfortable Letters, encouraging and exhorting me to continue grounded and stablished in the Faith, and not to be moved away from the hope of the Gospel, whereof, according to my small talent, I have been a Minister: and daily I call and cry unto the Lord in whom is all my trust. And without whom I can do nothing, save he which hath begun a good work in me, would vouchsafe to go forth with it until the day of Jesus Christ, being fully certified in my Confidence of this, that he will do so, forasmuch as he hath given me, that not only I should believe on him, but also suffer for his sake. The Lord strengthen me with his Holy Spirit, that I may be one of the number of those blessed, which inducing to the end, shall be saved.

Why do we need of the Word?

And whereas you say, that my suffering of persecution with Christ is a thing to you most comfortable, I make answer, that in all mine adversity and necessity nothing with you shall be greater consolation unto me, than to hear of the Faith and Love of others, and how they have good remembrance of us always, even as the Apostle reporteth by the *Thessalonians*, saying, Now are we alive, ye stand steadfast in the Lord: for good Shepherds of the Gospel, and that you will be none of those forgetful and hypocritical hearsers, whereof some being but new-side hearers, the devil cometh and taketh away the word out of their hearts, lest they should believe and be saved, (but let Prayer be made without ceasing by the Congregation unto God for them) (and no doubt) God will to your Consolation gloriously deliver by one means or other the oppressed. Only tarry ye the Lords leisure; be strong, let your heart be of good comfort, and with ye fill for the Lord. He tarrieth not that will come, look for him therefore and faint not, and he will never fail you.

Yours, George Marth.

A Letter of a Godly Brother, one James Bradshaw, sent to George Marth in Prison.

Grace and Peace from God the Father, and the Lord Jesus Christ be with you always, Amen. We had a Letter from you, which is a great comfort unto us, to see you take the Cross so thankfully. Troubles and affliction doth prove, try, justify, confirm and strengthen the Faith, provoke and stir up Prayer, drive and force us to amendment of Life, to the fear of God, to meekness, to patience, to constancy to gentleness, to sobriety, temperance, and to all manner of virtues, and are the occasion of exceeding much good and well tranquility as to be to our drink. He hideth, willeth, and calleth for guests, which hunger and thirst. Come (faith he) ye that labour and are laden, and I will refresh you, cool and ease you, and you shall find rest unto your Souls.

Examples of holy men suffering affliction.

suffer is but a blast of wind. Therefore now, whatsoever is ashamed of the cross of Christ, and grieved therein, the shame is ashamed to have Christ for his fellow and companion, and therefore shall the Lord Jesus Christ be ashamed of him again at the latter day.

Thus I leave for this time, beseeching you to let me have your answer, because I do not outwardly speak with my Tongue that I do not think in my Heart. Pray for me as for you. I beseech the Holy Ghost have you in his keeping always, Amen.

By your friend, James Bradshaw.

A Prayer of G. Marth, which he used daily to say.

O Lord Jesus Christ, which art the only Physician of a wounded Conscience, have mercifully mine Sinners trusting in thee, in thy gracious goodness, be briefly open unto thee the evil Martyr tree of our hearts, with all the roots, boughs, leaves, and fruit, and with all the crooks, knots and knoures, all which thou knowest: for thou thoroughly perceivest as well the inward lusts, sinfulness, and depravity, thy provocations, as thy gross outward Sin, which we commit inwardly and deadly. Therefore we beseech thee, according to the little measure of our infirmity, although we be far unable and unworthy to pray, that thou wouldst mercifully cleanse our filthy hearts, and for thy old Hearts create new within us, and refresh us with a new Spirit, and water us, and moisten us with the juice of Heavens Grace, and wells of Spiritual Waters, whereby the inward venom and noxious juice of the flesh may be dried up, and the custom of the Old Man changed, and our Hearts, always bringing forth fruits and bring us to be burned with fire, from henceforth may our Life everlastingly, Amen.

Beloved, among other exercises, I do daily on my knees, lift this Confession of Sins, willing and exhorting you to do the same, and daily to acknowledge and confess to God your unbelief, unthankfulness, and disobedience against him. This shall ye do, if ye will diligently consider and look your selves first in the pure glass of Gods Commandments and therefore your outward hitherto and uncleanness, and so learn to vanquish the flesh, that is to wit, fall in hearty displeasure against Sin, and thereby be provided to long after Christ, for we truly are Sinners, but he is just, and the justifier of all them that believe him. We are poor, but he is rich in mercy toward all them that call upon him. If we hunger and thirst for righteousness, let us resort unto his Table, for he is a most liberal feeder. He will lift before us his own holy Body, which is given to use for our meat, and his precious Blood, which was shed for us, and for many for the remission of Sin, that we may drink. He hideth, willeth, and calleth for guests, which hunger and thirst. Come (faith he) ye that labour and are laden, and I will refresh you, cool and ease you, and you shall find rest unto your Souls.

1 Cor. 10. 26. 28.

The Life and Story of W. Flower, who for striking of a Priest, was apprehended, and for his being his hand cut off, and after Martyred for the constant standing to the Truth.

William Flower, otherwise named Branch, first was uppe being concerned his trade of Life, and bringing uppe was born at *Snowhill* in the County of *Cambridgeshire*, where he went to School certain years, and then came to the Abbey of *Ely*, where, after he had remained a while, he was a professed Monk according to the Order and Rule of the same House, wherein he remained, using and bearing the Habit of a Monk, and observing the Rules and Orders of the same House, until he came to one and twenty years of Age, or thereabout, and before he came to that Age, being a professed Monk, he was made a Priest at *Ely* in the same House, and there did celebrate and sing Mass, and was a good feast together. After that, by reason of a Visitations, and certain Injunctions given in the same time by the Authority of King *Henry* the eighth, he forsook the same Habit, and casting from him the said Monks Habit and Religion, afore said, took upon him and used the Habit of a Secular Priest, and returned to *Snowhill*, where he

was

To the left he answered and believeth, that those things before him confessed be true, and those which he had denied, be untrue; and that the said common Voice and Fame hath and doth only labour and go upon those things by him before confessed.

By me W. Flower, alias Branch.

W. Flower
examined.

After this Examination done, the Bishop began after the best sort of his fine Divinity to instruct him, and to exhort him to return again to the Unity of his Mother the Catholic Church, with such reasons as he is commonly wont to use to others, promising many fair things if he would do so, besides the remitting of that was put.

To this William Flower answering again, thanked him for his offer: And where it was in his power to kill or not to kill his Body, he flood therewith content, ready he do therein what he thought over his Soul he had no such power, which being once separated from the Body is in the hands of no man, but only of God: either to save or spill. As concerning his opinion of the Sacrament, he said he would never go from that he had spoken, do he wish him what he would.

W. Flower
examined to revoke his Faith and Doctrine.

Then the Bishop assigned him again to appear in the same place at afternoon, betwixt 3 and 4. In the mean time to advise himself of his former Answers, where he would stand to the fame his opinions or no: which if he did, he would further proceed against him, &c.

Afternoon the said William Flower, appeared again before the said Bishop the hour and place appointed. To whom the Bishop sitting in his Consistory, spake these words: Branch, ye were this forenoon here before me, and made Answer to certain Articles, and thereupon I repited you till now, to the intent you should consider and weigh with your self your fate, and to remember while you have time, both your abominable sin, and also that evil opinion which ye have conceived touching the verity of Christs true Natural Body in the Sacrament of the Altar.

Another appearance of W. Flower before the Bishop.

To whom the said Branch answered again, and said as followeth: That which I have said, I will stand to; and therefore I require that the Law may proceed against me. Whereupon the Bishop commanded his Notary (Harwood by name) to read to him again his Articles, as before. Which being read, the said William Flower persisting in his Godly Sentence, answered to all parts of the Articles, as in the forenoon before, save only that he requested the Bishop concerning the fifth Article, he might after something his Answer therein, after this tenor and manner of words, to wit, and moreover confessed and faith, that whereas he strake the Priest on Easter day last past, in S. Margarets Church in Westminster, he hath since that time, and yet doth milke himself in that doing, and doth now judge and believe that the same his Act was evil and naughty. Howbeit he faith and believeth that for the matter and cause wherefore he strook the said Priest (which was for ministering of the Sacrament of the Altar, which he taketh and judgeth abominable) he neither did nor doth milke himself at all therein.

Flower testified his own act in striking the Priest.

Moreover, he desired of the said Bishop Licence to grant him, to alter and take out somewhat of the ninth Article, and in place thereof, these words to be placed: wit, Herein he referreth himself to the Laws, Custom and Ordinance specified in this Article, &c. At which request, Bower granted to the altering of both the Articles according as he desired, and so put in the Act.

Flower desired his Answer to the ninth Article.

After this, the Bishop turning again to his old manner of exhorting, went about with words (and words only) to persuade him to submit himself to the Catholic Church, and to the Faith thereof. All which his persuasions notwithstanding, William still remained in the constancy of his Sentence, saying, that he would not be removed from that he had spoken, to dye therefore. Whereupon the Bishop assigned him the next day (being the twentieth day of April) to appear in the same day and place, between the hours of 8. and 9. before noon, and there then to hear the Sentence pronounced, in case he would not relent, &c.

The last appearance of William Flower before Bishop Boner.

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IN the which day, hour, and place, the said William Flower as he was appointed, was brought by the Keeper, belonging to the Warden of the Fleet, before Bower, who after his wonted manner of perfavation going about to reduce him to his Catholic Church and the Unity thereof, that is from Christ to Antichrist, sometimes with fair promises alluring, sometimes with menaces and terrors, taxing him, &c. To this William answering, said on this wile: Do what ye will, I am at a point: for the Heavens shall as soon fall as I will forsake mine opinion &c. Whereupon the Bishop after he had commanded these words to be registred, called for the depositions of certain witnesses, produced for the better information of this matter, the names of which witnesses were these: William Jennings, John Bray, Robert Grant, Richard Dod, William Sampson, Robert Smalwood, the Parish Priest of S. Margarets at Westminster. The sum and effect of whose depositions here ensue.

The last appearance of William Flower before Bishop Boner.

W. Flower
confessed.

William Jennings, John Bray, Robert Grant, Richard Dod, William Sampson, Robert Smalwood, the Parish Priest of S. Margarets at Westminster.

The Depositions or Attestations produced upon the Answers of William Flower.

Robert Grant of Westminster, Examined upon the said Answers of William Flower, faith and depoth; that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognize the said Answers, and subscribe the same with his own hand, and also was present in the Church of S. Margarets in Westminster, when the said William Flower did smite and wound the Priest, when (as he faith) he was Ministering the Sacrament; and how this examine among other preads towards him to take him, and was hurt thereby upon his Chin, and after he was taken, this examine hold to conduct him to the Gatehouse at Westminster.

Richard Dod of Westminster, examined upon the said Answers, faith and depoth; that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognize the said Answers, and subscribe the same with his own hand; and also did see and was present, when the said Flower upon Easter day last past drew his Wood-knife, and strake the Priest upon the head, hand, and arm: who being wounded therewith, and having a Chalice with consecrated Hosts in his hand, sprinkled with the said Priests Blood, was holpen and refused by this examine, and the said Flower carried to the Gatehouse at Westminster, and his Wood-knife taken away by this examine.

William Sampson, one of the Churchwardens of the said Parish Church of S. Margarets in Westminster, examined upon the said Answers of the said Flower, faith and depoth; that the same Answers be true, and in his sight were subscribed with the hand of the said Flower. And that upon Easter day last past, about eleven of the Clock in the forenoon in the Parish Church of S. Margarets in Westminster, among a great number of the People ready to be housled, the Priests back being turned toward the said Flower, he the said Flower suddenly drew forth his Wood-knife, and strake Sir John Chelham the Priest both upon his head, hand, and arm, whereby he was wounded, and bled abundantly; and the Chalice with consecrated Hosts being in his hand, were sprinkled with his Blood, and the People in great fear cried out lamentably, as though they should presently have been killed.

Robert Smalwood of Westminster, examined upon the said Answers, faith and depoth; that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognize the said Answers, and subscribe the same with his own hand, and touching the striking and wounding the Priest in S. Margarets Church in Westminster upon Easter day last, this examine faith, he was not there when the fact was done, but immediately after, he came to Church, and found Sir John hurt, and wounded in the head

Q. Mary.

head, hand, and arm, by the said Flower, and the People in great heaviness: by reason thereof. Also the People did report (as this examine faith) That Flower did the deed, as the Priest had the Chalice in his hand, ministering the Sacrament to the People.

William Jennings of Westminster, being examined upon the Answers of the said William Flower, faith and depoth; by virtue of his Oath, that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognize the said Answers, and subscribe the same with his own hand in the Consistory place: and further depoth; that he (upon Easter day last past) was present in the Church of S. Margarets in Westminster, where Flower strake the said Sir John Chelham Priest, first upon the head, and afterward upon his arm two fore strokes, whereby the said Priest is like to lose his hand. Also this Justice with certain Consecrated Hosts therein (in his hand) which were sprinkled with the Blood of the said Priest, and after the said Flower was apprehended by this examine and others, they carried him immediately to the Gatehouse in Westminster.

John Bray one of the Churchwardens of the Parish Church of S. Margarets in Westminster, sworn and examined upon the said Answers, faith and depoth; that he did hear and see the said Flower acknowledge and recognize the said Answers, and also subscribe unto the same. And further depoth of Flowers striking the Priest, in effect, as the rest of the examine do, and that this fact was present there at the deed doing.

After the depositions of these foreaid witnesses being taken, published, and denounced, the said Bishop speaking to William Flower, asked him if he knew any matter or cause why his Sentence should not be read any more, or be pronounced as in Heretick. Whereupon the Martyr of God answered again as followeth: Have nothing at all to say, for I have already said unto you all that I have to say; and that I have said I will not go from: and therefore do what you will, &c.

Whither when he had spoken, the Bishop proceeded to the Sentence, Condemning and Excommunicating him for an Heretic, and after pronounced him also to be degraded, and so committed him to the Secular Power. Upon the 24. day of the foreaid Month of April, which was S. Marks Even, he was brought to the place of Martyrdom, which was in S. Margarets Churchyard at Westminster, where the fact was committed: and there coming to the Stake where he should be burned, first he matcht his Prayer to Almighty God, with a Confession of his Christian Faith, in manner as followeth.

A Prayer and Confession of William Flower.

O Eternal Gods, most mighty and Merciful Father, who hast sent down thy Son upon the Earth, to save me and all Mankind, who hast died for me, and shed thy Blood upon the Earth behind him, for the redemption of our Sins; have mercy upon me, have mercy upon us, for thy dear Son our Saviour Jesus Christs sake in whom I confide only to be all Salvation and Justification, and that there is none other means, nor way, nor holiness, which or by which any man can be saved in this World. This is my Faith, which I befech all men here to bear witness of.

Then he said the Lords Prayer, and so made an end.

Then M. Cholmely came to him, willing him to recant his Heretic, whereby he might do good to the People, or else he would be damned.

Flower answered as followeth: Sir, I befech you for Godlike to be contented: for that I have said, I have said, and I have been of this Faith from the beginning; and I trust to the living God he will give me his holy Spirit to continue to the end. Then he desired all the World to forgive him whom he had offended, as he forgave all the World.

This done, first his hand being held up against the Stake, was broken off, his left hand being stayed behind

Flower testified his own act in striking the Priest.

Flower testified his own act in striking the Priest.

The burning of William Flower.

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him. At the which striking off his hand, certain that were present beholders of the matter, and purposely observing the fame, credibly informed us, that he in no part of his Body did once shrink at the striking thereof, but once a little he stirred his shoulders.

And thus fire was set unto him, who burning therein, cried with a loud Voice: O the Son of God have mercy upon me, O the Son of God receive my Soul, three times, and by his Speech being heard from him, he spake no more, lifting up notwithstanding his flump with his other arm as long as he could.

And thus indured this constant witness and Faithful Servant of God the extremity of the fire, being therein cruelly mangled, by reason that to his burning little wood was brought, so that for lack of fagots there not sufficient to burn him, they were faine to strike him down into the fire. Where he lying a long (which was doleful to behold) upon the ground, his neither part was consumed in the fire, whilst his upper part was clean without the fire, his Tongue in all mens sight flitting moving in his Mouth.

May 1555.

The third of May a Letter was sent to George Cal and Thomas Daniel, to make search for, and apprehend John Bernard and John Wallis, who used to repair to Sedbury, and carrying about with them the Bones of Peter that was burned; do they them to the People, persuading them to be constant in his Religion, and upon Examination to commit them to further orderings, according to the Laws.

This day Stephen Appes was committed to the Little East in the Tower there to remain two or three days, until further Examination.

The 12. day of M. Thomas Refs Preacher, was by the Councils Letters delivered from the Tower to the Sheriff of Norfolk, to be conveyed and delivered to the Bishop of Norwich, and he either to reduce him to recant, or else proceed against him according to the Law.

The 16. a Letter was sent to the Lord Treasurer, signifying what the L. J. had said for Refs, and that order should be given, according to his Lordships request, for Letters to the Bishops: and for Appes, whom the Lieutenant of the Tower reporteth to be mad, his Lordship perceiving the fame to be true, should commit him to Beilium, there to remain until their further order.

The 26. a Letter was sent to the Lord Treasurer, to confer with the Bishop of London, and the Justice of the Peace of that County, wherein they are to be executed, that are already Condemned for Religion, and upon agreement of places, to give order for their Execution accordingly.

The 28. a Letter was sent to the Lord Treasurer, to cause speedily preparation to be made of such money as was appointed for such persons as should carry the joyful tidings of Queen Maries good delivery of Child, to divers Princes, so as they be not compelled to stay when time shall come. The Embassadors were, to the Emperor the Lord Admiral, to the French King the Lord Fitzwater, to the King of Romani Sir Henry Sidney, to the King of Portugal Richard Shilly, whose fee paid together France M. Doctor Witten was willing to procure by Letters the 24. of June.

The 29. was a Letter directed to Sir Francis Inglesfield to make search for one John D. at London, and to apprehend him and find him to the Council and to make search for such Papers and Books as he thinketh may touch the fame D. or one Benger.

The Burning and Martyrdom of John Cardmaker and John Warne Upholster which suffered both together in Smithfield, Anno. 1555.

Upon the 30. day of May suffered together in Smithfield John Cardmaker, otherwise called Taylor, May 30. Prebendary of the Church of Wells; and John Warne Upholster, of the Parish of S. John in Walbrook. Of whom it remaineth now particularly to entreat, beginning first with M. Cardmaker, who first was an obsequer Prior before the dissolution of the Abbeyes then after was a married Minister, and in King Edwards time

John Cardmaker, otherwise called Taylor, Prebendary of the Church of Wells; and John Warne Upholster, of the Parish of S. John in Walbrook.

M. Cardmaker time appointed to be a Reader in *Pavia*, where the Papists were so much aggrieved with him for his Doctrines sake, that in his residence they cut and mangled his Gown with their knives. This *Cardmaker* being apprehended in the beginning of *Queen Maries* Reign, with *M. John* and *Bartholomew* of *Baile*, was brought to *London*, and laid in Prison in the Fleet, King *Edward* Laws were which the Pope was again admitted as Supreme Head of the Church, and the Bishops had also gotten Power and Authority, *Ex officio*, to exercise their Tyranny; these two were brought before *Winchester* Chancellor, and others appointed by Commission (as before mentioned) to examine the Faith of such as were then Prisoners, and as unto others before, so now unto them the Chancellor offered the Queens mercy, if they would agree to be conformable, &c.

To this they both made such an Answer, as the Chancellor with his fellow Commissioners allowed them for Catholics. Whether they of weakness be answered, or he of subtilty would so understand their Answer, that he might have some forged Example of a thinking that in the die of the self-will was to be exacted to him, it may easily be perceived by this, that to all them which followed in Examination, he objected the same Answer of *Barlow* and *Cardmaker*, commanding their forbearance, discretion, and learning. But whatsoever their Answer was, yet notwithstanding *Barlow* was led again to the Fleet, from whence he afterward being delivered, *Cardmaker* was conveyed to the Counter in *Breadstreet*, the Bishop of *London* procuring it to be published, that he should shortly be delivered, after that he had subscribed to Transubstantiation and certain other Articles.

To the first Article *Sanders* was brought (after the Sentence of Excommunication and Condemnation was pronounced against him) where two Prisoners had such Christian Conference, that whatsoever *Cardmaker* said to the Bishop blurted, and the tickle ears of the Protestants constant Confessors and worthy Martyrs of *Christians* of *Lawrence* Sanders is already written. After whose departure *Cardmaker* remained there Prisoner, to be baited of the Papists, which would needs seem to have a certain hope that *Cardmaker* would needs seem to have with him, with reasonings, persuadings, threatenings, and all to none effect. To the end that their doings might appear, he required them to put their reasons in writing, and promised by writing to answer them.

Doctor *Martin* who have also a part in those passages, took upon him to be the chief doer by writings, whose long unavailing Letters and simple reasons for Transubstantiation, and such papistical trash, this *Cardmaker* answered largely, learnedly, and substantially, confuting the same, opening the silliness of his Arguments, and delivering the Sentences of the Fathers (which *Martin* abused for his purpose) to their true understanding; which his Answers I would had come to our hands. Thus, constantly abode this Man of God all the crimes done, as he did also the death which he suffered in *Smithfield* in *London*; whereof ye shall hear more anon. But first we will say the matter and manner of his Articles objected against him by *B. Boners*, with his Answers annexed to each, as consequently hereunder followeth.

Articles objected by Boner against John Taylor, alias Cardmaker, with his Answers unto the same.

May 24.

Articles objected by Boner against John Taylor, alias Cardmaker, with his Answers unto the same. The first Article, that thou in times past didst profess the rule of *S. Francis*, and didst by Vow promise to keep very, chastity, and obedience, according to the rule of *S. Francis*.

Item, that thou in times past didst receive all the orders

of the Church then used: to wit, *tam majores quam Anno minores*.

Item, that thou after thy said entry into Religion and profession, and orders of said, didst take to Wife a Wife, and with her hadst carnal Copulation, and didst neglect of her a Woman Child, breaking thereby thy Vow and Order, and also the Ordinance of the Church.

Item, that thou hast believed and taught, and do dost believe, that in the Sacrament of the Altar under the visible figures there, that is to say, under the forms of Bread and Wine, there is really and truly the true and very Natural Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Item, that the Belief of the Catholic Church is, that in having the Body and Blood of Christ really and truly contained in the Sacrament of the Altar, is by the Omnipotent Power of Almighty God, the Body and Blood of Christ there invisibly and really present under the said Sacrament, and not to make thereby a new God, or a new Christ, or a new Body of Christ.

Item, that it may stand well together, and so is the Faith of the Catholic Church, that the Body of Christ is visibly and truly ascended into Heaven, and there is in the visible form of his Humanity; and yet the same Body in substance is invisibly and truly contained in the said Sacrament of the Altar.

Item, that Christ at his last Supper taking Bread into his hands, blessing it, breaking it giving it to his Apostles, and saying: *Takes, eat, this is my Body*: did institute a Sacrament there, *willing that his Body really and truly should be contained in the said Sacrament, no substance of Bread and Wine there remaining, but only the accidents thereof.

Answers of Cardmaker to the Articles aforesaid. To the first Article he answereth, and confesseth the same to be true in every part thereof.

To the second Article he answereth and confesseth, that he being under Age, did profess the said Order and Religion, and afterward by the Authority of King Henry the eighth, he was dispensed with for the same Religion.

To the third he answereth, and confesseth, the same to be true in every part thereof.

To the fourth he answereth and confesseth, the first part thereof to be true; and to the second part of the same Article he answereth and saith, that in marriage he brake no vow, because he was set at liberty to marry, both by the Laws of this Realm, and also by the Laws and Ordinances of the Church of the same.

To the fifth he answereth and confesseth, that he hath believed and taught, as it is contained in this Article, but he doth not now so believe nor teach.

To the sixth he answereth, that he doth not believe the same to be true in any part thereof.

To the seventh he answereth, that he doth not believe the same to be true in any part thereof.

To the eighth he answereth and doth believe, *videlicet*, that it is true; that is to say, that Christ taking Bread at his last Supper into his hands, blessing it, breaking it, and giving it to his Disciples, and saying: *Takes, eat, this is my Body*, did institute a Sacrament there. And to the other part of his Article, *videlicet*, willing that his Body really and truly should be contained in the said Sacrament, no substance of Bread and Wine there remaining, but only the accidents thereof: he answereth that he doth not believe the same to be true.

By me John Cardmaker.

Master Cardmaker calling to mind afterwards the ready cavillings of the Papists, and thinking himself not to have fully answered to his true meaning answered the latter part of the last eighth Article, did the next day after the fore said Answers exhibit unto the Bishop in schedule this hereafter following.

Wherein in my Answer to your Articles I say the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, I mean not his Sacramental Presence, for that I could; but my denial is of his Carnal Presence in the same. But yet further, because this word is oftentimes taken of the holy Fathers, not only for Bread and Wine, but also for the whole administration

And receiving of the same, according to Christs Institution: so I say, that Christ is present spiritually too, and in all them which worthily receive the Sacrament; so that my denial is of the Real, Carnal, and Corporal Presence in the Sacraments, and not of the Sacramental, nor Spiritual Presence.

This have I thought good to set to my former Answers, because no man should misunderstand it.

By me John Cardmaker.

Next to these Articles of Mr. Cardmaker, I thought best to infer the Articles and Answers likewise of John Warne his Martyr fellow, in manner as following.

Articles objected against John Warne, Upholder of the Parish of S. John in Waterhouse, with his Answers unto the same.

First, That thou John Warne, being of the age of 40 years, and of the Parish of S. John of Waterhouse in *London*, hast believed, and dost believe, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, there is not the very true and natural Body of our Saviour Christ in Substance, under the forms of Bread and Wine.

Item, That thou hast believed, and dost believe, that in the words of Consecration spoken by the Priest, there is not (as the Church of England doth believe and there is not) the Body of Christ; but that there doth only remain the Substance of material Bread, as it is before the Consecration, or speaking of the words of Consecration; and that the said Bread is in no wise altered or changed.

Item, That thou hast said and dost believe, that if the Catholic Church do believe and teach, that there is in the said Sacrament the Body and Blood of Christ really and truly; then that Belief and Faith of the Church is naughty, against Gods Truth and the Scripture.

Item, That thou hast said, that where about a twelve month ago, and more, a great rough Water Spaniel of thine was horned on the Head, and had a Crown like a Priest made in the same, thou didst laugh at it and like it, though thou didst it not thy self, nor knewest who did it.

Item, That thou neither this Lent last past nor at any time since the Queens Majesties Reign, hast come into the Church, or heard Mass, or been consecrated, or received the Sacrament of the Altar; and hast said that thou art sorry that thou hast done so, but thou art glad, because thou hast not therewith defiled thy Conscience, which otherwise thou shouldst have done.

Upon all which Articles John Warne being examined by the said Boner, in presence of divers Witnesses, the 23. of May, the year 1555. did confess and believe the same, and subscribe hereto his Name with his own Hand.

By me John Warne.

Also it was objected against the said John Warne, by the Bishop aforesaid, as followeth.

Item, That thou John Warne wast in time past in the City of *London*, convented in the Guildhall for Heretic against the Sacrament of the Altar, according to the order of the Laws of this Realm of England in the time of King Henry the Eighth, and when Alderman *Bonar* was Sheriff, and the Thursday after that *John Warne* was burnt in *Smithfield*, and thereupon thou wast first a Prisoner to *Newgate*, to whom *Edmund* Bishop of *London* did repair with his Chaplains, to inquire howe fully and according to his true meaning answered the latter part of the last eighth Article, did the next day after the fore said Answers exhibit unto the Bishop in schedule this hereafter following.

Wherein in my Answer to your Articles I say the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, I mean not his Sacramental Presence, for that I could; but my denial is of his Carnal Presence in the same. But yet further, because this word is oftentimes taken of the holy Fathers, not only for Bread and Wine, but also for the whole administration

and forsake thy said Heretic therein perfit and abide obstinately and wilfully thereof, thou wert according to the said Laws condemned to death and to be burnt; and thereupon labour being made for thee to the King and others in the Court, thou wast made a Prisoner of King Henry the Eighth, and so thereby dost save thy life.

Nevertheless, in thy Heart, Conscience, and Mind, thou dost both then, and also after believe no otherwise than at this present thou dost believe; that is to say, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is neither the very true Body or Blood of Christ, nor no other Substance, but the Substance of material Bread and Wine, and to receive the said material Bread and Wine, and to break it, and to distribute it among the People, only is the true receiving of Christs Body, and no otherwise: so that thy Faith and belief is, that in the said Sacrament there is no Substance of Christs material Body and Blood; but all the thing that is there, is material Bread, and the receiving thereof as aforesaid; and that the Substance of the natural and true Body of Christ, born of the Virgin Mary, is only in Heaven, and not in the Sacrament of the Altar. And this same Opinion thou dost ever continually continue, and do dost continue in this present, thou dost continue all this to be true, and in witness thereof, subscribing thy Name thereto, as followeth.

By me John Warne.

John Warne being examined upon the fore said Articles by the Bishop before certain Witnesses, whose names are, *John Russell*, *John Heywood*, *Robert Ravens*, &c. the 23. of May, did answer to the same, confessing and subscribing the Articles and the Contents thereof to be true, according as they were objected in every particular, and also the same with his Hand. Such strength and fortitude Gods holy Spirit wrought in him, so stand stoutly and confidently to the defence of the sincere Doctrine of his Son.

Whereupon the Bishop exhorting him with many words to leave his Heresies (as he called them) and to return to the bosom of his Mother the holy Church, commanded him to appear again the next day, being the 24. of the same Month.

Who so doing (and answering as he did before) was willing to come thither again at Afternoon, and he did so, and to return to the bosom of his Mother the holy Church, commanded him to appear again the next day, being the 24. of the same Month.

Upon which Answer he was willing to come again the next day, being the 25. day of the same Month, at one of the Clock in the Afternoon. At which day and hour the Bishop examined him again upon all his former Articles objected to him, which he most constantly did stick to, and with this further Answer thereto added: I am perforce constrained to say (quoth he) that I am in the right Opinion, and I see no cause to repent; for all Filthiness and Idolatry is in the Church of Rome.

The Bishop then seeing that notwithstanding all his grace Promises, and terrible Threatnings (whereof he had forewarned him) he could not do any thing prevail, finished this Examination with the definitive Sentence of Excommunication pronounced against the said John Warne, and do charged the Sheriffs of *London* with them, under whose Custody he remained in the Prison of *Newgate*, until the 30. day of the same Month of May.

Upon the which 30. of May, being the day appointed for their Execution, John Cardmaker, with the said John Warne, were brought by the Sheriffs to the place where they should suffer. Who being come to the Stake, whither the Sheriffs called Cardmaker aside, and asked with him secretly, so long, that in the mean time Warne had made his Prayers, was chained to the Stake, and had Wood and Red feet about him, so that nothing might be felt by the string; but still abode Cardmaker talking with the Sheriffs.

The People which before had heard that Cardmaker would receive and uphold this manner of doings, were in a marvelous mood and fiddish, thinking indeed that Cardmaker should now recant at the burning of Warne.

Warne. At length Cardmaker departed from the Sheriff's, and came towards the Stake, and (in his Garments as he was, kneeled down and made a long Prayer in silence to himself: yet the People confirmed themselves in their fanatic of Recanting, seeing him in his Garments, praying secretly, and no semblance of any burning.

His Prayers being ended, he rose up, put off his Clothes unto his Shirt, went with bold Courage to the

Stake, and killed it sweetly: he took Warne by the hand, and comforted him heartily, and to gave himself to be also bound to the Stake most gladly. The People seeing this so suddenly done, contrary to their fearful expectation, as men delivered out of a great doubt, cried out for joy (with fo great a shout as hath not lightly been heard a greater) saying, God be praised, the Lord strengthen these Cardmaker, the Lord Jesus receive thy Spirit. And this continued while the Executioner put fire to them, and

The Martyrdom of John Cardmaker, and John Warne Uphaffer, Anno 1550 May.



they both passed thorow the fire to the blessed Rest and Peace among Gods holy Saints and Martyrs, to enjoy the Crown of Triumph and Victory prepared for the Elect Soldiers and Warriours of Christ Jesus in his blessed Kingdom. To whom be Glory and Majesty for ever. Amen.

The Confession of the Faith of John Warne Citizen of London, which he wrote the day before he was burned, the 30th day of May, Anno 1555.

I believe in God the Father Almighty, and Maker of Heaven and Earth.

A Father, because he is the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, who is the everlasting Word, whom before all worlds he hath begotten of himself, which Word was made Flesh, and therein also manifested to be his Son; in whom he hath adopted us to be his Children, the Inheritors of his Kingdom, and therefore he is our Father; an Almighty God, because he hath of himself created all things visible and invisible, both in Heaven and in Earth, even all Creatures contained therein, and governeth them.

And in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord.

The eternal Word, perfect God with his Father, of equal Power in all things, of the same Substance, of like Glory, by whom all things were made, and have life, and without whom nothing liveth; He was made also perfect Man, and so being very God, and very Man in one Person, is the only Saviour, Redeemer, and Ransomer of them which were lost in Adam our Forefather. He is the only mean of our deliverance, the hope of our health, the fiery of our salvation.

Which was conceived by the Holy Ghost, born of the Virgin Mary.

According to the Fathers most merciful promise, this eternal Son of God, forsaking the heavenly Glory, humbled himself to take Flesh of a Virgin, according to the Scriptures, uniting the Substance of the Godhead to the

Substance of the Manhood, which he took of the Substance of that blessed Virgin Mary in one Person, to become therein very Messiah, the anointed King and Priest, for ever appointed to pacify the Fathers wrath, which was fully gone out against us all for our sin.

Suffered under Pontius Pilate, was crucified, dead, and buried, and descended into Hell.

He was Arraigned before Pontius Pilate the Ruler of Jewry, and so unjustly accused of many Crimes, that the Ruler judged him innocent, and sought means to deliver him; but contrary to known Justice, he did let go Barabbas which had deserved death, and delivered Christ to be crucified, who deserved no death: which doth declare unto us manifestly, that he suffered for our sins, and was buffeted for our offences, as the Prophets do witness, thereby to have it manifested to all men, that he is that Lamb of God that taketh away the sins of the world. Therefore suffering for our sins, he received and bore our deserved condemnation, the pains of death, the taste of abjection, the very terror of Hell, yielding his Spirit to his Father, his Body to be buried in Earth.

The third day he rose again from death to life.

To make full and perfect the whole work of our Redemption and Justification, the same crucified Body which was laid in the Grave, was raised up again the third day from death, by the Power of his Father, and Glory of his Godhead: he became the first-fruits of the Resurrection, and got the victory of death, that all by his might be raised up from death. Through whom all true penitent sinners may now boldly come unto the Father, and have remission of their sins.

He ascended into Heaven, and sitteth on the right hand of God the Father Almighty.

After that in his Death and Resurrection he had conquered Sin, Death, and the Devil, and had been conversant forty days in the Earth, being seen of the Apostles, and more than five hundred Brethren at once, in the same Body in which he wrought the work of our Salvation,

Body in which he wrought the work of our Salvation, he ascended into Heaven with eternal Triumph, for the victory over Death, Sin, Hell, leaving the Passage open, by which all true Believers may and shall enter into his Kingdom, where he now sitteth at his Fathers right hand, to be in Power and Glory equal, in Majesty coeternal.

From hence he shall come to judge the quick and the dead.

He shall appear again in great Glory to receive his Elect unto himself, and to put his Enemies under his feet, changing all living men in a moment, and ruling up all that be dead, so that all may be brought to his Judgment. In this shall he give each man according to his Deeds. They which have followed him in Regeneration, which have their sins washed away in his Blood, and are clothed with his Righteousness, shall receive the everlasting Kingdom, and reign with him for ever; and they, which after the race of the corrupt Generation of Adam have followed Flesh and Blood, shall receive everlasting damnation with the Devil and his Angels.

I believe in the Holy Ghost.

I do believe that the Holy Ghost is God, the third Person in Trinity, in Unity of the Godhead equal with the Father and the Son, given through Christ to inhabit our Spirits, by which we are made to feel and understand the great power, virtue, and loving kindness of Christ our Lord. For he illumineth quickeneth, and sanctifieth our Spirit, that by him we are failed up unto the day of Redemption, by whom we are regenerate and made new Creatures, so that by him and through him we do receive all the abundant goodness promised us in Jesus Christ.

The Holy Catholick Church.

This is an holy number of Adams Posterity, elected, gathered, washed, and purified by the Blood of the Lamb from the beginning of the world, and is dispersed through the fame by the tyranny of Gog and Magog; that is to say, the Turk and his Tyranny, and Antichrist, which was named the Bishop of Rome, and his Angels, as this day also do teach.

The Communion of Saints.

Which most holy Congregation (being as Paul teacheth, builded upon the Foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Christ being the Head-corner-stone) though it be by the tyranny of Satan and his Ministers persecuted, some by Imprisonment, some by Death, and some by other Afflictions and painful Torments; yet doth it remain in one perfect Unity, both in Faith and Fellowship: which Unity is knit in an unbreakable knot, as well of them which are departed from this mortal life, as of them which now be living, and hereafter shall be in the fame, and so shall continue until they all do meet in the Kingdom, where the Head Jesus Christ, with all his holy Members (of which number through Christ I assuredly believe I am one) shall be fully complete, knit, and united together for evermore.

The forgiveness of sins.

I do believe that my sins, and all their sins which do rightly believe the holy Scripture, are forgiven only through Jesus Christ, of whom only I do profess that I have my whole and full Salvation and Redemption, which S. Paul faith, cometh not through our works and deservings, but freely by Grace, left any should boast himself. Through the Blood of the Cross all things in Heaven and Earth are reconciled, and set at Peace with the Father; without him no heavenly life given, nor sin forgiven.

The Resurrection of the Body.

I do believe, that by the same Saviour Christ, I and all men shall rise again from death; for he, as S. Paul faith, is risen again from the dead, and is become the first-fruits of them which sleep. For by a man came death, and by a man cometh the Resurrection from death. This man is Christ, through the power of whose Resurrection I believe that we all shall rise again in those our Bodies; the Elect clothed with Immortality to live with Christ for ever; the Reprobate also shall rise Immortal to live with the Devil and his Angels in death everlasting.

And the Life everlasting.

Through the same faith, and by none other, I am free to have life everlasting. He only is the way and entrance into the Kingdom of Heaven. For so God loved the world, that he did give his only Son Jesus Christ, to the end that so many as do believe in him might have everlasting life in life. The which I am sure to posside, so soon as I am clothed, and departed out of this Tabernacle, and in the last day shall both Body and Soul posside the fame for ever, to the great Glory of God grant all men to come.

I believe, that the Sacraments, that is to say, of Baptism and of the Lords Supper, are Seals of Gods most merciful Promises towards Mankind. In Baptism, as by the outward Creature of water I am washed from the filthiness which hangeth on my flesh; so do I assuredly believe, that I am by Christs Blood washed clean from my sins, through which I have full confidence of Gods mercy. In the partaking of the Lords Supper, as I receive the Substance of Bread and Wine (the Nature of which is to strengthen the Body) so do I by Faith receive the redemption wrought in Christs Body broken on the Cross, life by his death, refection by his resurrection, and in fine, all that ever Christ in his Body suffered for my Salvation, to the strengthening of my Faith in the fame. And I believe, that God hath appointed the eating and drinking of the Creatures of Bread and Wine in his holy Supper according to his Word, to move and to stir up my mind to believe these Articles above written.

This is my faith; this I do believe; and I am content by Gods Grace to confirm and seal the truth of the fame with my Blood.

By me John Warne.

A Letter of John Cardmaker to a certain Friend of his.

The Peace of God be with you.

Y ou shall right well perceive that I am not gone back, as some men do report me, but as ready to give my life as any of my Brethren that are gone before me, although by a Policy I have a little prolonged it, and that for the best, as already it appears unto me, and shall shortly appear unto all. That day that I recant a my point of Doctrine, I shall suffer twenty kinds of death, the Lord being mine affliction, as I doubt not but he will. Commend me to my Friend, and meet him no less. This the Lord strengthen you, me, and all his Elect. My Riches and Poverty is as it was wont to be, and I have learned to rejoice in Poverty as well as Riches, for that I account now to be very Riches. Thus fare ye well in Christ. Salute my Brethren in my Name. I have conferred with some of my Adversaries, learned men, and I find that they be not Sophists and Shadows.

A note concerning Mr. Cardmaker.

After Cardmaker being Condemned, and in Newgate, one Beard a Promoter came to him two or three days before he was burned, and found him out, Sir, I am sent unto you by the Concello to know whether ye will recant or no?

Card. From which Council are ye come? I think ye are not come, nor yet sent from the Queens Council, but rather from the Commissioners, unto whom (as I suppose) ye belong. And whereas ye would know, whether I will recant or no, thus I pray you report of me to those whom ye said sent you. I know you are a Taylor by your Occupation, and have endeavoured your self to be a cunning Workman, and thereby to get your living: so I have been a Preacher these twenty years, and ever since that God by his great Mercy hath opened mine eyes to see his eternal Truth, I have by his Grace endeavoured my self to call upon him, to give me the true understanding of his holy Words, and I thank him for his great Mercy, I hope I have discharged my Confidence in the firing forth of the same, to that little Talent that I have received.

Beard. Yea Sir; but what say you to the blessed Sacrament of the Altar?

Card. I say, and mark it well, that Christ the night before

before his bitter Passion, ordained the holy and blessed Communion and hath given commandment, that his flesh should be preached before the receiving thereof in remembrance of his Body broken, and his precious Blood shed for the forgiveness of our sins, to as many as faithfully believe and trust in him.

The Sentence and Judgment of Mr. Cardmaker, who was touching the said Sacrament.

And furthermore, to conclude the matter briefly with him, he asked of him, Whether the Sacrament he spake of had a beginning or no? Whereunto when he had answered and affirmed the same to be, then Mr. Cardmaker again thus intimated to him: If the Sacrament (said he) as you confesse, have a beginning and an ending, then it cannot be God; for God had no beginning nor ending; and so willing him well to note the same, he departed from him.

The fifth day, Mr. Secretary Bourne, the Master of the Rolls, Sir Francis Englefield, Sir Richard Road, and Doctor Hughes, authorizing them, or two or three of them at the least, to proceed to further Examination of *Benger, Caryl, D. and Field*, upon such Points as they shall gather out of their former Confessions, touching their level and vain practices of Calculating or Conjurings, presently went unto them with the said Letters.

The seventh day there was another Letter to Sir John Tregonwell, willing him to join in Communion with the said Lord North, and others above named, about the Examination of the said Parties and others, for Conjuring and Witches.

And the 29. of August, *Caryl* and *D.* were set at liberty upon Bonds for their good Appearing until Christmas after.

The twelfth day a Letter was sent to the Lord Treasurer, to cause Writs to be made to the Sheriff of *Staffes*, for the burning and executing of *Dirike* a Brewer, a *Levese*, and other two, the one at *Stainings*, the other at *Chichester*.

The 23th of June a Letter was sent to *Boner*, to examine a Report given to the Council of four Fathers within the Soken of *Elles*, that should fill up the English Service, and to punish the Offenders, if any such be.

The Story of John Ardley and John Simon of the Parish of Wigborough the Great, in *Elles*.

The Story of John Simon and John Ardley, Martyrs.

VVith Mr. Cardmaker and John Wame, upon the same day, and in the same Company, and for the same Cause was also condemned *John Ardley* and *John Simon*, which were the 23th day of May. But before we come to the Story of them, first here is to be noted the Copy of the King and Queens Letter, directed from the Court the same day, and sent by a Post early in the morning to the Bishop, in tenor and form as followeth.

To the right reverend Father in God, our rights trusty and welbeloved, the Bishop of London.

The King and Queens Letter to the Bishop.

R ights Reverend Father in God, right trusty and welbeloved, we greet you well. And whereof late we addressed our Letter to the Justices of Peace within every of the Counties of this our Realm, whereby among other instructions given them for the good order and quiet government of the Country round about themselves, they are willed to have a special regard unto such disorderly persons as (forgetting their duties toward God and Us) do lean to any erroneous and heretical Opinions, refusing to show themselves conformable to the Catholic Religion of Christs Church; wherein if they cannot by good admonitions and fair means reform them, they are willed to deliver them to the Ordinary, to be by him charitably travelled without, and removed (if so may be) from their naughty Opinions, or else if they continue obstinate, to be ordered according to the Laws provided in that behalf: understanding now, to our no little marvel, that divers of the said disorderly persons, being by the Justices of Peace for their contempt and obstinacy, brought to the Ordinaries to be wiled as is aforesaid, are either refused to be received at their hands, or if they be received, are neither travelled with, as Christian Charity requires, nor yet proceeded withal according to the order of Justice, but are suf-

ferred to continue in their Errors, to the dishonour of *Al. Anna* mighty God, and dangerous example of others; like as we find this matter very strange, so we have thought convenient but to signify our knowledge, and thereunto also to admonish you to have in this behalf such regard hereafter to the Office of a good Pastor and Bishop, as when any such Offenders shall be by the said Offices or Justices of Peace brought unto you, to use your good wisdom and discretion in procuring to remove them from their Errors, if it may be or else in proceeding against them if they shall continue obstinate, according to the order of the Laws; so as through your good furtherance, both Gods glory may be better advanced, and the Commonwealth more quietly governed. Given under our Signet, at our Honour of Hampton Court, the 24th of May, the first and second years of our Reigne.

This Letter thus coming from the Court to the Bishop, made him the more earnest and lastly to the condemnation, as well of others, as of these men, of whom now we have presently to treat, of *John Simon* I mean, and *John Ardley*. Which being the King of the County, and of one Town together, and of one Trade, that is being both Husbandmen in the Town of *Wigborough* in *Elles*, and also almost both of one age, gave that *Simon* was of the age of 34. the other of 30. were brought up together by the under Sheriff of *Elles*, to *Boner* Bishop of *London*, upon the Accusation (as in that time it was called) of Heresy.

As touching the order and manner of their Examination before the Bishop; as the Articles mislaid against them, were much like, for their Answers again unto the same were not much discrepant in manner and form; as out of the Bishops own Registers here followeth expressed.

Articles objected against John Simon and John Ardley of the Parish of Wigborough the Great in *Elles*, Husbands, by *Boner* Bishop of *London*, at Fulham, May 22. Anno 1555.

1. First, that thou *John Simon* (or *John Ardley*) Husbandman of the age of 34 years or thereabout, wast and art of the Parish of great *Wigborough*, within the Diocese of *London*, and thou hast not believed, nor dost believe, that there is here in Earth one Catholic and Universal whole Church, which doth hold and believe all the Faith and Religion of Christ, and all the necessary Articles and Sacraments of the same.

Item, That thou hast not believed, nor dost believe, that thou art necessarily bounden, under the pain of damnation of thy Soul, to give full faith and credence unto the said Catholic and Universal Church, and to the Religion of the same, in all necessary Points of the said Faith and Religion, without wavering or doubting in the said Faith or Religion, or in any part thereof.

3. Item, That thou hast not believed, nor dost believe, that that Faith and Religion, which both the Church of *Rome*, *Italy*, *Spain*, *England*, *France*, *Ireland*, *Scotland*, and all other Churches in *Europe*, being the Members thereof, and Parts of the said Catholic and Universal Church, do believe and teach, is both agreeing with the said Catholic and Universal Church, and the Faith and Religion of Christ, and also is the very true Faith and Religion which all Christian People ought to believe, observe, follow, and keep: but contrariwise thou hast believed, and dost believe, that that Faith and Religion, which the said Church of *Rome*, and all the other Churches aforesaid have heretofore believed, and do now believe, is false, erroneous, and naughty, and in no wise ought to be believed, observed, kept, and followed of any Christian man.

4. Item, That albeit it be true, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is in Substance the very Body and Blood of Christ unto the forms of Bread and Wine, yet albeit that it be so believed, taught, and held by the Churches aforesaid, yet thou hast not so believed; nor dost believe; but contrariwise thou hast and dost believe firmly and steadfastly, that there is not in the said Sacrament of the Altar under the said forms of Bread and Wine, the very Substance of Christs Body and Blood, but that there is only the Substance of material and common Bread

Anno 1555.

Transcription of the original.

The Maf's account.

and Wine, with the forms thereof; and that the said material and common Bread and Wine, are only the Signs and Tokens of Christs Body and Blood, and by Faith to be received, only for a remembrance of Christs Passion and Death, without any such Substance of Christs Body and Blood at all.

5. Item, That thou hast believed and taught, and thou hast openly spoken, and to thy power maintained and defended, and so dost believe, think, maintain, and defend, that the very true receiving and eating of Christs Body and Blood, is only to take material and common Bread, and to break it, and to distribute it amongst the People, remembering thereby the Passion and Death of Christ only.

6. Item, That thou hast likewise believed, taught and spoken, that the Maf now used in this Realm of *England*, and other the Churches aforesaid, is abominable and naughty, and full of Idolatry, and is of the Ordinance of the Pope, and not of the Institution of Christ, and hath no good use in it, faving the *Gloria in Excelsis*, and the Epistle and the Gospel, and that therefore thou, last now, wilt not come to be present at the Maf now receive the Sacrament of the Altar, or any other Sacrament of the Church, as they are now used in this Realm of *England*, and other the Churches aforesaid.

7. Item, That thou hast in times past believed precisely, and obstinately affirmed and said, and so dost now believe and think, that Auricular Confession is not needful to be made unto the Priests, but it is a thing superfluous and vain, and ought only to be made to God, and to none other person: and likewise thou hast condemned as superfluous, vain, and unprofitable, all the Ceremonies of the Church and the Service of the same, and hast said, that no Service in the Church ought to be said but in the English tongue, and if it be otherwise said, it is unlawful and naughty.

The Answers of John Simon, and also of John Ardley, to the said Papers Articles.

Their Answers to the Articles.

T O the first, they believe, that here in Earth there is one Catholic and Universal holy Church, which doth hold and believe as is contained in the first Article, and that this Church is dispersed and scattered abroad throughout the whole world.

To the second, they believe, that they be bound to give Faith and Credence unto it, as is contained in the second Article.

To the third, as concerning the Faith and Religion of the Church of *Rome*, of *Italy*, *Spain*, *France*, *Ireland*, *Scotland*, and other Churches in *Europe*, they say, they have nothing to do with that Faith and Religion: But as concerning the Faith and Religion of *England*, that if the said Church of *England* be ruled and governed by the Word of Life, then the Church of *England* hath the Faith and Religion of the Catholic Church, and not otherwise; and do say also, that if the Church of *England* were ruled by the Word of Life, it would not go about to condemn them and others of this Heresy.

To the fourth they say, that in the Sacrament, commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar, there is very Bread and very Wine, not altered nor changed in Substance in any wise, and that he that receiveth the said Bread and Wine, doth spiritually and by faith only receive the Body and Blood of Christ, but not the very Natural Body and Blood of Christ in Substance under the forms of Bread and Wine.

To the fifth they say, they have answered, answering to the said fourth Article, and yet nevertheless they say, that they have believed, and do believe, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is not the very Substance of Christs Body and Blood, but only the Substance of the Natural Bread and Wine.

The Maf's account.

To the sixth they say, that they believe, that the Maf is of the Pope, and not of Christ; and therefore is not good, nor having in it any good, faving the *Gloria in Excelsis*, the Epistle and Gospel, the Creed, and the *Pater noster*; and for this cause they say they have not, nor will not come and hear Maf.

To the seventh *John Ardley* answereth and faith, that he believeth the Contents of the same to be true, but

John Simon doth answer, that he is not as yet fully resolved with himself, what answer to make thereunto; and further, that as touching the common and daily Service said and used in the Church, he faith, that he never said, that Service in the Church ought to be said but in the English Tongue, nor yet he never said, that if it be otherwise said and used than in English, it is unlawful and naughty.

John Ardley and John Simfon.

Thus these Articles being to them objected, and their Answers made unto the same, as before, the Bishop, according to the old trade of his Confortory Court, repaired them to the Afternoon, bidding them to make their Appearance the said day and place, between the hours of two and three. At what time the said Bishop, repeating again the said Articles unto them, and beginning with *John Ardley* did urge and solicitate him, according to his manner of words, to recant.

To whom *John Ardley* again, constantly standing to his protestation, answered, gave answer in words as followeth: My Lord (quoth he) neither you, nor any other of your Religion, is of the Catholic Church; for you are of a false Faith: I and I doubt not but you shall be deceived at length, bear as good a face as ye can. Ye will shed the innocent Blood, and you have killed many, and yet go about to kill more.

And added further, saying, If every hart of my head were a man, I would suffer death in the Opinion and Faith that I am now in: These with many other words he spake. Then the Bishop, yet demanded if he would relinquish his erroneous Opinions (as he called them) and be reduced again to the Unity of the Church. He answered as followeth, No, God forbid that I should do so, for then I should lose my Soul.

After this, the said Bishop asking *John Ardley* (after his usual manner) if he knew any cause, why he should have Sentence condemnatory against him; he received the Condemnation, as he also did against *John Simon*, standing likewise in the same cause and constancy with *John Ardley*: which was done the 23th day of May, and so were they both committed to the Secular Power, that is, to the hands of the Sheriff, to be conveyed to the place where they should be executed. But before I come to their Execution, here is not to be said a thing not unworthy the looking upon, which hapned in the closing up the Examination of these two innocent Martyrs of God, which is this.

At the time of the Examination of this *Simon* and *John Ardley* aforesaid, there was assembled such a great multitude of People, that because the Confortory was not able to hold them, they were fain to stand in the Church, near about the said Confortory, waiting to see the Priests when they should depart. It hapned in the mean time, that the Bishop being set in a hear with the stout and bold Answers of the said two Prisoners (especially of *John Simon*) burst out in his loud and angry voice, and said, Have him away, have him away.

Now the People in the Church hearing these words, and thinking (because the day was far gone) that the Priests had their Judgment, they being desirous to see the Prisoners had to *Newgate*, fervered themselves, one running one way, another another way, which caused such a noise in the Church, that they in the Confortory were all amazed, and marvelled what it should mean; wherefore the Bishop also being somewhat afraid of this sudden fit, asked what there was to do. The standers by answering said, That there was like to be some tumult; for they were together by the ears.

When the Bishop heard this, by and by his heart was in his heels, and leaving his Seat, he with the rest of the Court betook them to their legs, hasting with all speed possible to remove the door that went into the Bishops Houls: but the reverb being somewhat lighter of foot than my Lords, did sooner recover the door, and thronging hastily to get in, kept the Bishop still out, and cried, Save my Lord, save my Lord, but meaning yet first to save themselves if any danger should come, whereby they gave the standers by good matter to laugh at; resembling in some part a spectacle not much unlike to the old fables.

Another account of the scene, as given by a follower of the Bishop.

The Bishop's answer to the standers by.

The standers by were full of merriment and mirth.

Immediately after the Story of Doctor Taylor, mention before Bishop Borer upon the eighth day of February. The names of which Martyrs were Stephen Knight, W. Pigot, Thomas Tomkins, J. Lawrence, W. Hunter. In which number was also Tho. Hawkes, and condemned likewise with them the 9. day of the foresaid

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Month of February. But because his Execution did not so shortly follow with this, but was prolonged to the present 10. day of the Month of June, wherewith we are now in land, it followeth therefore now consequently to tractation thereof, first, beginning briefly with his Godly Conversation and Institution of Life, then shewing of his Troubles, also of his Examinations and Conflicts with the Bishop and other Adversaries, according as the order of his story doth require.

As touching therefore his education and order of Life, first he was of the Country of Essex, born of an honest, free, in calling and profession a Countryman, next, he was of such condition and stature, so well endowed with excellent qualities, that he might seem on every side a Man (as it were) made for the purpose. But his gentle behaviour toward others, and especially his fervent study and singular love unto true Religion and God, did wonderfully set him off, being such a valiant Martyr of God, him seem to nobilitate the company of other holy Martyrs, and as a bright Ray to make the Church of God and his Truth of themselves bright and clear, more gloriously than by his Example.

For if the Concepts of Martyrs are the Triumphs of Christ (as S. Ambrose doth nobly and truly write) undoubtedly Christ in few Men hath either Conquered more nobly, or Triumphed more gloriously, than in this young Man: he stood so wisely in his ends, so godly in his Life, and so constantly in his death.

But to the Declaration of the matter: first this Haukes following the guise of the Court, as he grew in years, entered service with the Lord of Oxford, where he remained a good space, there being right well esteemed and loved. But by doing all things began to go backward, Religion to decay, godliness not only was cold, but hostile to be in danger every where, and chiefly in the Houses of good Men. Haukes mistaking the state of things, and especially in such Men's Houses, rather than he would have been thought to change the place and foil, forsaking the Noblemen's House, departed thence to his own home, where more freely he might give himself to God and use his own Conscience.

But what place in this World hath a Man did so fierce for himself, whether the old wicked Serpent cannot creep, whereby he may have more matter to overthrow the quietness of the godly? Now in the same (fashion as it happened) Haukes keeping his House at home, had born unto him a young Son, whose Baptism was deferred to the third week, for that he would not suffer him to be Baptized after the papistical manner, which thing the Adversaries notable to suffer, laying hands upon him, did bring him to the Earl of Oxford, there to be reformed with, as not found in Religion, in that he seemed to contemn the Sacraments of the Church.

The Earl either intending not to trouble himself in such matters, or else seeing himself unable, to weigh with him in such cases of Religion, sent him up to London with Messengers, and Letters, and he, willing to clear his own hands, put him in the hands of Boner B. of London, the contents of which his Letter sent to Boner, be thence.

A Letter of the Earl of Oxford to Boner.

Most reverend Father in God, he is known unto you, that I have sent you one Thomas Haukes, dwelling in the County of Essex, who hath a Child that hath remained unbaptized more than three weeks, who, being upon the same examined, hath denied to have been Baptized, as it is now used in the Church, whereupon I have sent him to your good Lordship, to use as ye think best, by your good discretion.

When the Bishop had perused this Letter, and afterward read it to M. Haukes, he hearing the same, thought with himself that he should not be very well used, seeing he was put to his discretion. Then wrote the Bishop a Letter again to him that sent the Prisoner, with many great thanks for his diligence in setting forth the Queens

proceedings. Then began the Bishop to enter Communication with M. Haukes, first asking, what should move him to leave his Child unbaptized long? To whom M. Haukes answered thus again as followeth.

Haukes. Because he be bound to do nothing contrary to the Word of God.

Boner. Why? Baptism is commanded by the Word of God. Haukes. His Institution therein I do not deny.

Boner. What deny ye then? Haukes. I deny all things invented and devised by Man.

Boner. What things be those that be devised by Man, that ye be so offended with? Haukes. Your Oyl, Cream, Salt, Spittle, Candle, and conjuring of Waters, &c.

Boner. Will ye deny that which all the whole World, and your Father hath been contented withal? Haukes. What my Father and all the whole World hath done, I have nothing to do withal: but what God hath commanded me to do, to that I stand.

Boner. The Catholic Church hath caught it. Haukes. What is the Catholic Church? Boner. It is the Faithful Congregation, whereof ever it be dispersed throughout the whole World.

Haukes. Who is the Head thereof? Boner. Christ is the Head thereof.

Haukes. Are we taught in Christs, or in the Church now? Boner. Have ye not read in the eighth of John where he said, he would find his Comforter which should teach you all things?

Haukes. I grant you it is so, that he would find his comforter, but to what end? Forsooth to this end, that he should lead you into all Truth and Verity, and that is not to teach a new Doctrine.

Boner. Ah Sir, ye are a right Scripture Man. For ye will have nothing but the Scripture. There is a great number of your Countrymen of your Opinion. Do you know one Knight and Pyge?

Haukes. Knight I know, but Pyge I do not know. Boner. I thought ye were acquainted with him: it seemeth to be by your Judgment. What Preachers do ye know in Essex?

Haukes. I know none. Boner. Do ye not know one Baget there? Haukes. Yes, forsooth, I know him.

Boner. What manner of Man is he? Haukes. An honest Man for as I know.

Boner. Do you know him if ye feel him? Haukes. Yes that I do. Then said he to one of his Servants, Go call me Baget himself. And then he said to me; Ye seem to be a very proud Man and a stubborn. He that brought me up stood all this while by.

Haukes. What should move your Lordship to say to me? Boner. Because I see in a Man that came with you much humility and lowliness.

Haukes. I remember your Lordship speaketh that to me, because I make no courtesy to you: as with that came Baget. Then the Bishop said to Baget: How say ye, Sir, know ye this man?

Boner. Yes, forsooth my Lord; with that Baget and I took hands. Then said the Bishop to Baget, Sir, this man hath a Child which hath been three weeks unbaptized (as I have Letters to show) who refuseth to have it Baptized, as it is now used in the Church: how say you thereto?

Baget. Forsooth my Lord, I lay nothing thereto (with low courtesy to the hard ground).

Boner. Say you nothing thereto? I will make you tell me whether it be laudable, and to be frequented and used in the Church or not.

Baget. I beseech your Lordship to pardon me, he is old enough, let him answer for himself.

Boner. Ah Sir knight, are ye at point with me? Go call me the Porter, said he, to one of his Men, Thou shalt call him to the Stocks, and have nothing but Bread and Water. I perceive I have kept you too well. Have I made due use of you, and have I you at this point? Then came the Bishops Man, and said, The Porter is gone to London: Then said the Bishop to Baget, Come

Anno 1555

Private talk of one Haukes, who was once conversant with Boner.

The Calke Link Church.

The Knight and Pyge.

Boner's talk to Haukes.

Boner's talk to Haukes.

Boner's talk to Haukes.

Anno 1555. Came with me, and he went away with him, and commanded me away, and take one of his Gentlemen to talk with me (who was one of his own teaching) who was acquainted in Essex, and what men they were that were my teachers.

Haukes. When I see your Commission, I will make you answer. And then immediately came the Bishop again: but ere he came, his man and I had much talk. Then the Bishop fate down under a Vine in his Orchard, and called Baget to him, whom he carried away, and brought again, and called me also, and said to Baget: How say ye now Sir unto Baptism? Say whether it be frequented and used in the Church, as it is now, or not?

Baget. Forsooth my Lord, I say it is good. Boner. I beseech your heart, could ye not have said so before? Ye have wounded this mans Conscience. Then the Bishop turned to me, and said, How say ye now, Sir, this man is turned and converted.

Haukes. I build my Faith neither upon this man, neither upon that man, but only upon Christ Jesus, who (as Paul faith) is the founder and author of all mens Faith.

Boner. I perceive ye are a stubborn fellow. I must be glad to work another way with you, to win you.

Haukes. Whatsoever ye do, I am ready to suffer it: for I am in your hands to abide it.

Boner. Well ye are so, Come on your waies, ye shall go in, and I will use you Christianlike: You shall have meat and drink, such as I have in my House: but in any wise talk not.

Haukes. I purpose to talk nothing but the Word of God and Truth.

Boner. I will have no Herefie talked on in my House. Haukes. Whys the Truth become Herefie? God hath commanded that we should have none other talk in our Houses, in our Beds, at our Meats, and by the way, all that Truth.

Boner. If ye will have my favor, be ruled by my Council.

Haukes. Then I trust you will grant me my request. Boner. What is that?

Haukes. That your Doctors and Servants give me none occasion for if they do, I will surely utter my Conscience. Then commanded he his Men to take in Baget, and let not Haukes and him talk together. And so thus we departed, and went to dinner, and I dined at the Swards Table.

After Dinner, his Chaplains and his Men began to talk with me. But amongst all other, there was one Darby, their principal of Broadgates in Oxford, and the Bishops kinsman, who said to me, that I was too curious: for ye will have (said he) nothing but your little pretty Gods Book.

Haukes. And is it not sufficient for my Salvation? Yes, (said he) it is sufficient for our Salvation, but not for our Instruction.

Haukes. God send me the Salvation, and you the Instruction. And as thus reasoned, came the Bishop, who said unto me: I gave you a Commandment that you should not talk.

Haukes. And I defied you that your Doctors and Servants should give me none occasion, Then went we into his Orchard again, he and his Doctors and I.

Haukes. Would not ye be contented to have that your Child should be Christened after the Book that was set out by King Edward?

Haukes. Yes, with a good will: it is a thing that I desire.

Boner. I thought for ye would have the same thing. The principal it is in the Name of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and in the necessity it may serve.

Haukes. Christ did use it without any such necessity: and yet we lack the chiefest point.

Boner. What is that?

Haukes. Go teach all Nations, Baptizing them, &c.

Boner. Thou speakest that because I am no Preacher. Haukes. I speak the Text: I do not mean you. Then spake all the Doctors and his Men that were with him: Make it of you my Lord (with a great noise that they made).

Boner. Will ye be content to tarry here, and your Child shall be Baptized, and you shall not know of it, so that you will agree to it?

Haukes. If I would I have done, I needed not to have come to you: For I had the same Counsel given before.

Boner. You seem to be a lusty young Man; you will not give your head for the washings, you will stand in the defence of the honor of your Country: Do ye think that the Queen and I cannot command it to be done in spite of your teeth?

Haukes. What the Queen and you can do, I will not stand in it: but ye get my consent never the sooner.

Boner. Well, ye are a stubborn young Man: I perceive I must work another way with you.

Haukes. Ye are in the hands of God, and so am I.

Boner. Whatsoever you think, I will not have you speak such words unto me. And so we departed until called for them upon us, but only upon Christ Jesus, who (as Paul faith) is the founder and author of all mens Faith.

Haukes. I perceive ye are a stubborn fellow. I must be glad to work another way with you, to win you.

Haukes. Whatsoever ye do, I am ready to suffer it: for I am in your hands to abide it.

Boner. Well ye are so, Come on your waies, ye shall go in, and I will use you Christianlike: You shall have meat and drink, such as I have in my House: but in any wise talk not.

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Haukes. Would not ye be contented to have that your Child should be Christened after the Book that was set out by King Edward?

Haukes. Yes, with a good will: it is a thing that I desire.

Boner. I thought for ye would have the same thing. The principal it is in the Name of the Father, the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, and in the necessity it may serve.

Haukes. Christ did use it without any such necessity: and yet we lack the chiefest point.

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Boner. Will ye be content to tarry here, and your Child shall be Baptized, and you shall not know of it, so that you will agree to it?

Haukes. If I would I have done, I needed not to have come to you: For I had the same Counsel given before.

Boner. You seem to be a lusty young Man; you will not give your head for the washings, you will stand in the defence of the honor of your Country: Do ye think that the Queen and I cannot command it to be done in spite of your teeth?

Haukes. What the Queen and you can do, I will not stand in it: but ye get my consent never the sooner.

Boner. Well, ye are a stubborn young Man: I perceive I must work another way with you.

Haukes. Ye are in the hands of God, and so am I.

Boner. Whatsoever you think, I will not have you speak such words unto me. And so we departed until called for them upon us, but only upon Christ Jesus, who (as Paul faith) is the founder and author of all mens Faith.

Haukes. I perceive ye are a stubborn fellow. I must be glad to work another way with you, to win you.

Haukes. Whatsoever ye do, I am ready to suffer it: for I am in your hands to abide it.

Anno 1555

Private talk of one Haukes, who was once conversant with Boner.

The Calke Link Church.

The Knight and Pyge.

Boner's talk to Haukes.

Boner's talk to Haukes.

Boner's talk to Haukes.

Boner's talk to Haukes.

Boner. Well, ye shall Answer me to the Sacrament of the Altar, the Sacrament of Baptism, the Sacrament of Penance, and the Sacrament of Matrimony.

Haukes. There is none of these, but I dare keep my Confidence in them.

Boner. The Sacrament of the Altar ye seem to be bound in.

Haukes. In the Sacrament of the Altar? why Sir, I do not know it.

Boner. Well, we will make you to know it, and believe in it too, ere ever we have done with you.

Haukes. No, that shall ye never do.

Boner. Yes, a Fagot will make you do it.

Haukes. No, no, a point for your figot. What God thinketh meet to be done, that shall ye do and more ye shall not do.

Boner. Do ye not believe that there remaineth in the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, after the words of Consecration be spoken, no more Bread, but the very Body and Blood of Christ? and at that word he put off his Cap.

Haukes. I do believe as Christ hath taught me.

Boner. Why? did not Christ say, *Take, eat, this is my Body*?

Haukes. Christ said so: but therefore it followeth not, that the Sacrament of the Altar is so as ye teach, neither did Christ ever teach it to be so.

Boner. Why? the Catholic Church taught it so, and they were of Christ's Church.

Haukes. How prove you it? The Apostles never taught it so. Read the Acts, the second, and the twenty. Neither Peter nor Paul ever taught it, neither instituted it so.

Boner. Ah Sir, ye will have no more than the Scripture teacheth, but even as Christ hath left it bare.

Haukes. He that teacheth me any otherwise, I will not believe him.

Boner. Why? then ye must eat a Lamb, if ye will have but Christ's Institution only.

Haukes. Nay, that is not so, before that Christ did institute the Sacrament, that Ceremony ceased, and then began the Sacrament.

Boner. Alas, you know not how it began, neither of the Institution thereof.

Haukes. Then I would be glad to learn.

Boner. Marry, we will teach you: but you are so stubborn that ye will not learn.

Haukes. Except ye learn me by the word of God, I will never credit you, nor believe you and thus we concluded. Then the Bishop and his Chaplains laughed and said, *Jesu, Jesu*, what a stubborn and arrogant is this? and this was in his Chamber where he lay. Then said the Bishop to me, go ye down and drink, for it is falling day: it is *Midsummer* Evening, but I think ye have neither fasting nor Praying.

Haukes. I will never deny fasting neither Praying, but that it be done ought to be done, and without Hypocrite or vain glory.

Boner. I like you the better for that: and so we left for that night.

The next day the Bishop went to London: for Feckenham was made Dean that day and I tarried still at Fulham.

Then did the Bishops men desire me to come to them, but I did utterly refuse it, answering them as I did their Master.

That Night the Bishop came home to Fulham again.

Talk between Harpsfield and Thomas Haukes.

Then upon the Monday Morning very early, the Bishop did call for me. There was with him Harpsfield Archdeacon of London, to whom the Bishop said: this is the Man which I told you of, who would not have his Child Christened, nor will have any Ceremonies.

Harpsfield. Christ used Ceremonies. Did he not take Clay from the ground, and took Spittle, and made the Blind Man to see?

Haukes. I was well that, but Christ did never use it in Baptism. If ye will needs have it, put it to the use that Christ put it unto.

Harpsfield. Admit your Child be unchristened: what a heavy case shall you be in?

Haukes. I admit that if it do, what then?

Harpsfield. Marry then ye are damned, and your Child be both.

Haukes. Judge you no farther than ye may by the Scriptures.

Harpsfield. Do ye not know that your Child is born in Original Sin?

Haukes. Yes that I do.

Harpsfield. How good an answer? what a way?

Haukes. By true Faith and Belief of Christ Jesus.

Harpsfield. How can your Child being an Infant be saved?

Haukes. The Deliverance of it from Sin standeth in the Faith of his Parents.

Harpsfield. How prove you that?

Haukes. By S. Paul, in the seventh and the first to the Corinthians, saying: *The unbelieving man is sanctified by the believing Woman, and the unbelieving Woman is sanctified by the believing Man, or else were your Children damned.*

Harpsfield. I will prove that they whom thou putteth thy trust in, will be against thee in this Opinion.

Haukes. Who be those?

Harpsfield. Your great learned Men in Oxford.

Haukes. If they do it by the Scriptures, I will believe them.

Boner. Recant, recant: do ye not know that Christ said, Except ye be Baptized ye cannot be saved?

Haukes. Doth Christianity stand in outward Ceremonies, or no?

Boner. Partly it doth: what say you to that?

Haukes. I say S. Peter faith, *Not the washing of Water purgeth the filthiness of the Flesh, but a good Conscience* conjoining unto God.

Harpsfield. Beware of Pride, Brother, beware of Pride.

Haukes. It is written, *Pride serveth not for Men, nor yet for the Sons of Men.*

Harpsfield. Let us make an end here. How say you to the Mass, Sir?

Haukes. I say it is detestable, abominable, and profitable for nothing.

Boner. What nothing profitable in it? what say you to the Epistle and Gospel?

Haukes. It is good, if it be used as Christ left it to be used.

Boner. Well, I am glad that ye somewhat recant: recant all, recant all.

Haukes. I have recanted nothing, nor will do.

Boner. How say you to Confession?

Haukes. I say it is abominable and detestable, yea, and a Blasphemy against God and his Son Christ, to call upon any, to trust to any, or to pray to any, have I love to Christ Jesus.

Boner. To trust to any, we bid you not: but to call upon them, and to pray to them, we bid you. Do ye not know when ye come into the Court ye cannot speak with the King and the Queen, unless ye call to some of the privy Chamber that are next to the King and the Queen?

Haukes. They that lift receive your Doctrine. You teach me that I should not believe nor trust in any, but call upon them, as S. Paul faith, *How should I call upon him, in whom I believe not?*

Boner. Will you have no Body to pray for you when praying to the dead?

Haukes. No, I fairly, except you can prove it by the Scriptures. Then the Bishop pointed unto Harpsfield, and said unto me, Is it not well done to desire this man to pray for me?

Haukes. Yes surely, for as long as we live, Prayer of the Righteous Man is available: but this Man Prayers, you being dead, profiteth nothing at all.

Boner. Will ye grant the Prayer of the Righteous Man to prevail?

Haukes. I grant it doth for the living, but not for the dead.

Boner. Not for the dead?

Haukes. No, forsooth, for David faith, *No Man can deliver his Brother from death, nor make agreement unto God.*

God for him: for it cost more to redeem their Souls, so that ye must live that alone for ever.

Alto Ekebell faith, *Though Noah, Daniel, or Job dwell among them, yet can they in their righteousness exceed no further than themselves.* Then the Bishop said to me, Sir, ye see this Man hath no need of our Law.

Harpsfield. Sir, ye see this Man hath no need of our Law, neither of any of the Blessed Saints. Well, I will trouble you no longer: I did call you hoping that you should do some good on him, but it will not be. And he said to me, Sir, it is time to begin with you, we will rid you away, and then we shall have one Heretic left.

Harpsfield. What Books have you?

Haukes. The New Testament, Salomons Books, and the Psalter.

Harpsfield. Will you read any other Books?

Haukes. Yea, if you will give me such Books as I will require.

Harpsfield. What Books do you require?

Haukes. Latins Books, my Lord of Canterburys Book, Bradshaws Sermon, Killeys Books.

Boner. Away, away, he will have no Books but such as maintain his Heresie, and so they departed, for Harpsfield was beaten to ride unto Oxford, and I went to the Porters lodge again.

The next days talk.

The next day came thither an Old Bishop, who had a Pearl in his Eyes, and he brought with him to my Lord a dish of Apples, and a Bottle of Wine. For he had told his Lady, because he had a Wife. Then the Bishop called me again into the Orchard, and said to the Old Bishop, this young Man hath a Child, and will not have it Christened.

Haukes. I deny not Baptism.

Boner. Thou art a Fool thou canst not tell what thou wouldst have, and he spoke with much anger.

Haukes. A childer, nor given to anger.

Boner. I thought I should be to angry: no by my Faith am I not, and froke himself upon the Breast.

Then said the Old Bishop, Alas good young Man, you must be taught by the Church, and by your ancestors and so for your forefathers have done before you.

Boner. No, no, he will have nothing but the Scriptures, and God wot he doth not understand them. He will have no Ceremonies in the Church, no not one, What say you to Holy Water?

Haukes. I say to it, as to the rest, and to all that be of his making that made them.

Boner. Why, the Scriptures do allow it.

Haukes. Where prove you that?

Boner. In the Book of Kings, where *Elizem* threw salt into the Water.

Haukes. Ye say truth: 'tis it is written in the fourth Book of the Kings, the second Chapter, the Children of the Prophets came to *Elizem*, saying *The dwelling of the City is pleasant, but the Waters be Corrupted.*

Then said the Bishop, that *Elizem* threw Salt into the Waters, and it became sweet and good: and so when our Waters be corrupted, if ye can by putting in of Salt make them sweet, clear, and wholesome, we will the better believe your Ceremonies.

Boner. How say you to Holy Bread?

Haukes. Even as I said to the other. What Scriptures have you to defend it?

Boner. Have ye not read where Christ fed five thousand men with Loaves, and three Fishes.

Haukes. Will ye make that Holy Bread? There Christ fed five with his Holy Bread.

Boner. Look I pray you how Cautious this Man is.

Haukes. Christ did not this miracle, or others, because he should do the like miracle, but because we should believe and credit his Doctrine thereby.

Boner. We believe no Doctrine, but that which is wrought by miracles.

Haukes. No, forsooth, for Christ faith, *Thief Taken shall follow them that believe in me: They shall speak with new Tongues, they shall cast out Devils, and if they drink any deadly poison, it shall not hurt them.*

Boner. With what new Tongues do ye speak?

Haukes. Forsooth, where before that I came to the knowledge of Gods Word, I was a foul Blasphemer and filthy talker, since I came to the knowledge thereof, I have lauded God, praised God, and given thanks unto God, even with the same Tongue; and is not this a new Tongue?

Boner. How do you cast out Devils?

Haukes. Christ did cast them out by his word, and he hath left the same word, that whosoever doth credit and believe in, shall cast out Devils.

Boner. Did you ever drink any deadly Poison?

Haukes. Yea, forsooth that I have, for I have drunken of the penitent Traditions and Ceremonies of the Bishop of Rome.

Boner. Now you shew yourself to be a right Heretic.

Haukes. I pray you, what is Heresie?

Boner. All things that are contrary to Gods Word.

Haukes. If I stand in any thing contrary hereto, then am I worthy to be so called.

Boner. Thou art one, and thou shalt be burned, if thou stand and continue in this Opinion. Ye think we are afraid to put one of you to death, ye see, therefore Brotherhood of you, but I will break it; I warrant you.

Haukes. Where prove you that Christ or his Apostles did kill any Man for his Faith?

Boner. Did not Paul Excommunicate?

Haukes. Yes my Lord, but there is a great difference between Excommunicating and Burning.

Boner. Have ye not read of the Man and the Woman in the Acts of the Apostles, whom Peter destroyed.

Haukes. Ye forsooth, I have read of one *Ananias*, and *Sapphira* his Wife, which were destroyed for lying against the Holy Ghost, which forbiddeth nothing to your purpose.

Boner. Well you will grant one yet.

Haukes. Well, if you will have us to grant you be of God, then they mercy, for that God requireth.

Boner. We will show such mercy to you, as ye sheweth unto us, for my Benefice or Bishoprick was taken away from me, so that I had not one penny to live upon.

Haukes. I pray ye my Lord what do you give him now that was in the Bishoprick or Benefice before that ye came again to it? whereunto he answered me never a word: for he turned his Back unto me, and talked with other Men, saying that he was very sorry for me, but he trusted that I would turn with S. Paul, because I was so earnest, and so he departed and went to Dinner, and to the Porters Lodge again.

After Dinner I was called into the Hall again and the Bishop desired the Old Bishop to take me into his Chamber: for I would be glad (said he) if ye could convert with him. So he took me into his Chamber, and fate him down in a Chair, and said to me, I would to God I could do you some good, Ye are a young Man, and I would not wish you to go too far, but learn of your elders to bear some fault.

Haukes. I will bear with nothing that is contrary to the Word of God, and I looked that the Old Bishop should have made me an Answer, and he said, *Thou shalt fast a Week.*

Then I departed out of the Chamber again, and went to the Porters Lodge again, and there saw I the Old Bishop: I suppose he is not yet awake.

Talk between Fecknam and Haukes.

The next day came Fecknam unto me and said, Are ye he that will have no Ceremonies?

Haukes. What mean you by that?

Fecknam. Ye will not have your Child Christened, but in English, and you will have no Ceremonies.

Haukes. Whatsoever the Scripture commandeth to be done I refuse not.

Fecknam. Ceremonies are to be used by the Scriptures.

Haukes. Which be those?

Fecknam. How say you by Paul Breeches?

Haukes. I have read no such thing.

Feck. Have ye not read in the Acts of the Apostles, how

Christ, and the Cap which we blest, the partaking of the Blood of Christ? which if it were not so, Paul would never have said it.

Haukes. What your Church doth, I cannot tell: but I am sure that the holy Catholic Church doth never so take it, nor believe it.

Boner. Whether doth the Catholic Church teach and believe the Baptism that now is used in the Church, or no?

Haukes. I answered to it as I did to the other question before. Then did the Bishop with much flattery counsel me to be perjured, and to keep me out of Prison, which I utterly refused and so departed. And I supposed that the next day I should have gone to Prison, and so I had, five for the Archdeacon of Canterbury, whose name is Harpsfield, whom the Bishop had desired to talk with me, and began to perjure me concerning the Sacrament, and the Ceremonies: and after much talk he said, that the Sacrament of the Altar was the same Body that was born of the Virgin Mary, which did hang upon the Cross.

Haukes. He was upon the Cross both alive and dead: which of them was the Sacrament?

Harpsfield. The Archdeacon answered, alive.

Haukes. How do you prove that?

Harpsfield. You must believe, Doctor not St. John say, He is condemned already that believeth not?

Haukes. St. John saith, He that believeth not in the Son of God is already condemned, but he saith not, He that believeth not in the Sacrament is already condemned.

Harpsfield. There is no talk with you: for ye are both without Faith and Learning, and therefore I will talk no more with you in Scripture.

Haukes. Then two that stood by bade me enter further in talk with him; and then said I unto him, Why is the Roadstiff fet with the body of the Church and the Church?

Harpsfield. I cannot tell: for ye have asked a question which you cannot afford your self.

Haukes. Yes that I can: for this faith one of your own Doctors, That the body of the Church doth represent the Church Militant, and the Chancel the Church Triumphant: and so because we cannot go from the Church Militant to the Church Triumphant, but that we must bear the Cross of Christ, this is the cause of the Roadstiff, being between the body of the Church and the Chancel.

Harpsfield. This is well and Clerically concluded.

Haukes. As all the rest of your Doctrine is; and so with many perjurations on his part we ended, and so departed: and I to the Porters-Lodge again.

Another days Talk.

*T*he next day in the Mornings, which was the first day of *July*, the Bishop did call me himself from the Porters-Lodge, commanding me to make me ready to go to Prison, and to take such things with me as I had of mine own. And I said, I do neither intend to bribe, neither to steal, God willing. Then he said my Warrant to the Keeper of the Gate-house at *Westminster*, and delivered it to *Harpsfield*, who with his own man and one of the Bishops men brought me to Prison, and delivered the Warrant and me both to the Keeper: and this was contained in the Warrant.

I will and command you, that you receive him who cometh named in this Warrant, and that he be kept as a life Prisoner, and that no man speak with him, and that ye deliver him no man, except he be the Council, or to a Justice: for he is a Sacramentary, and one that speaketh against Baptism, a seditious man, a perilous man to be abroad in these perilous days. And thus was I received, and they departed. And there I remained thirteen days, and then the Bishop sent two of his Men unto me, saying, My Lord would be glad to know how ye do. I answered them, I do like a poor Prisoner. They said, My Lord would know, whether ye be the same man that ye were when ye departed. I said, I am no Changing. They said, My Lord would be glad that ye should do well. I said, if my Lord will me any

good, I pray you defer him to suffer my Friends to come to me. So they did they would speak for me, but I heard no more of them.

This is the first Examination of me *Thomas Haukes*, being examined by *Edmund Boner*, then Bishop of London, and by his Chaplains and Doctors at *Fulham*, four miles from London, where I lay, till I came to Prison to *Westminster*: and after his two Men had been with me, I heard no more of him till the third day of September.

Here followeth the second time of mine Examination, the which was the third day of September, for the Bishop did send his Men for me to come to his Palace of London; and so my Keeper and his Men brought me to his Palace the same day.

*T*he Bishop of *Winchester*, then being Chancellor, Preached that day at *Pauls-Cross*, and the Bishop of London said to my Keeper, I think your Man will not go to the Sermon to day.

Haukes. Yes my Lord, I pray you let me go; and that that is good I will receive, and the rest I will leave behind me, and so I went. And when the Sermon was done, I and my Keeper came to the Bishops House, and there we remained till Dinner was done: and after Dinner the Bishop called for me, and asked me, if I were the same Man that I was before.

Haukes. I am no Changing, nor none will be.

Boner. Ye shall find me no Changing neither. And so he returned into his Chamber, and there he did write the fide of a sheet of Paper, and all that while I stood in the great Chamber, and as many with me as might well stand in the Chamber. And as I stood there, *Dr. Smith* came unto me, (who once recanted, as it appeared in Print) saying, That he would be glad to talk brotherly with me. I asked him what he was. Then said they that stood by, he is *Dr. Smith*. Then said I, Are you he that did recant? And he said, it was no recantation, but a declaration.

Haukes. You were best to term it well for your own Honesty.

Dr. Smith. Shall I term it as it pleaseth you?

Haukes. To be short with you, I will know whether ye will recant any more or no, before that I talk with you, credit you, or believe you: and so I departed from him to the other side of the Chamber. Then said the Bishops Men and his Chaplains, that my Lord commanded me to talk with him. Then they that stood by cried with a great noise, Hang him, burn him; it is pity that he liveth, that disobeyeth my Lords commandment.

Then said one *Miles Huggard*, Where prove you that Infants were baptized?

Haukes. God teach all Nations, baptizing them in the name of the Father, and of the Son; and of the Holy Ghost. Sir, here is none excepted.

Mr. Huggard. What shall we go to teach Children?

Haukes. That word doth trouble you; it might be left out full well: it is too much for you to teach. Is not your name *Miles Huggard*?

Mr. Hug. So am I called.

Haukes. Be you not a Hostler, & dwell in *Pudding-Lane*?

Mr. Hug. Yes that I am, and there I do dwell.

Haukes. It should seem so, for ye can better skill to eat a Pudding, and make a Host, than in Scripture either to answer or oppose. With that he was in great rage, and did chafe up and down. Then I desired that some man would take some pain to walk the Gentlemen, he did fret for longer. Then one that stood by (who was Parson of *Horn-Church* and *Rumford* in *Essex*) said, Alas, what do you mean? a young Man to be so stubborn? there cometh too much Pride in you.

Haukes. Did ye not the Parson of *Horn-Church*.

Parson. Yes that I am.

Haukes. And ye not fit such a Priest in your Benefice?

Parson. Yes for a Priest.

Haukes.

Haukes. Like will to like; such Master, such Man. For I know the Priests to be a very vile man, as any Collier. I asked the Parson, what he was to the *Went-Cock* of *Paul* and he fell into a great Laugh with the rest of his Companions. He said that I did

Then said another that stood by unto me; what Book have you here? I answered, the New Testament. May I look in it, said he? Yes, that ye may, said I. And so he looked in my Book, and said it was corrupt. I answered him, if the things contained in it be true, then are ye false Prophets. He said that he would oppose me in the first word of the Testament, saying, Here is a generation of Christ: and *Esay* saith, No man can tell his Generation.

Haukes. What meaneth *Esay* by that?

I would learn of you, said he.

Haukes. Ye would be angry if the Scholar should teach the Master: but if ye will have me to teach you, I will tell you *Esay* meaning.

Then said he, No man can tell the Generation between the Father and the Son: but you (I dare say) did know it better.

Haukes. Why then *Esay* denieth not the Generation.

Then said he, Why is Christ called Christ?

Haukes. Because he is a Messiah.

Then said he, Why is he called a Messiah?

Haukes. Because he was so prophesied by the Prophets.

Then said he, Why is your Book called a Book?

Haukes. These words do breed more strife than godly edifying.

Beware, said he, that ye do not decline from the straight path, for if you do, you will prove your self an Heretic.

Haukes. Even as ye do call us Heretics, that do incline to Christ's Church from your Church: for are ye all false Prophets that do decline from Christs Church to your own Church. And by this shall all men know you to be false Prophets, if ye say this of the Church: and will not say, This faith our Lord. And so he went his way, so that he had a Flea in his Ear.

Then came another and said unto me, He would talk with me; for he perceived (as he said) that I was angry, and out of patience.

Haukes. I will see your Communion, or ever I talk with you, or with any man more. For I will not how to be rid of them, they came so thick about me. For I said, that I came to talk with my Lord, and not with any of them.

With that came the Bishop, bringing a Letter in his hand, the which he had written in my Name, and read it unto me after this manner: I *Thomas Haukes* do here confess and declare before my said Ordinary *Edmund* Bishop of London, that the Mass is abominable and detestable, and full of all Superstition; and also as concerning the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ (commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar) that Christ is in no part thereof, but only in Heaven: this I have believed, and this I do believe.

Haukes. Stop there my Lord: what I have believed, What have you to do withal? But what I do believe, that to stand I, and will. Then he took his Pen, and said that he would scrape it out for my pleasure, and so he did it by my thinking.

Then he went further with his writing, and said, I *Thomas Haukes* have talked with my said Ordinary, and with certain goodly and learned Men. Notwithstanding I stand still in mine Opinion.

Haukes. Shall I grant you to be goodly and learned Men, and yet grant my self to stand in a contrary Opinion? No, I will not grant you to be goodly and learned Men.

Boner. Ye will grant that ye have talked with us. The other I will put out for your pleasure. Then said all his Doctors, If your Lordship be ruled by him, he will cause you to put out all together: and then he read more to me. Here unto this Bill have I set my hand; and then he offered me the Bill and his Pen, and bade me set my hand to it.

Haukes. Ye get not my hand to any thing of your making or devising.

Boner. Will not thou set to thy hand? It shall be to thy shame for the denying of it.

And then he called all his Doctors, and said, he would have every man hand to it that was in the Chambers; and so he had all their hands to it and said: He that will not set his hand to it, I would be hanged and so said all his Chaplains and Doctors with a great noise.

Then the Bishop thrust me on the Breast with great anger; and said he would be even with me, and with all such proud Knaves in *Essex*.

Haukes. Ye shall do no more than God shall give you leave.

Boner. This Jeer shall not be unpunished, trust to it.

Haukes. As for your Curings, Railings and Blaphemings, I care not for them: for I know the Moths and Worms shall eat you, as they eat Cloth on Wool.

Bishop. I will be even with you, when time shall come.

Haukes. You may in your malice destroy a man: but when ye have done, ye cannot do it with make a finger, and ye be meely even with some of us already.

Boner. If I do thee any wrong, take the Law of me.

Haukes. Solomon saith, Go not to Lew with a Judge; For he will judge according to his own honour.

Boner. Solomon saith, Give not a Fool an answer.

Haukes. What, do you count me a Fool?

Boner. Ye say my Troth do I, and do doft thou me too; but God forgive thee, and do do I.

Haukes. Thought is free, my Lord. Then took *Boner* the Bill and read it again; and when he saw that he could not have my hand to it, then he would have had me to take it into my hand, and to give it to him again.

Haukes. What needeth that Ceremony? Neither shall it come into my hand, heart, or mind. Then he wrote it up, and put it in his Bosom, and in a great anger went his way, and called for his Horse and went to *Hortleback*, for the same day he rode in Visitation into *Essex*: and so went I to Prison, from whence I came with my Keeper. And this was the second time of my Examination.

Written by me *Thomas Haukes*, who desired all Faithful men and Brethren to pray unto God, for strength in his Truth, unto the end. *Pray, pray, pray, gentle Brethren pray.*

The publick Examination of Tho. Haukes.

After all these private Conferences, Perjurations and long Debating had with *Thomas Haukes* in the Bishops House, as hitherto hath been declared, the Bishop seeing no hope to win him to his wicked way, was fully set to proceed openly against him after the ordinary course of his Popish Law. Whereupon *Thomas Haukes* shortly after was cited with the rest of his other Fellows above-specified, to wit, *Thomas, St. John, St. Peter, St. Lawrence, and St. Hunter*, to appear in the Bishops Consistory, the 8 day of February, this present year, viz. 1555. Upon which appearance, was laid against him in like order as to the others, first the Bill of his Confession, written with *Boners* hand, to the which Bill ye heard before how the blessed Servant of God desired to subscribe.

After which Bill of Confession, being read, and being constantly standing to the said Confession, the Bishop then assigned him with the other five the next day following, which was the 9th of February, to appear before him again, to give a resolute Answer what they would stick unto. Which day being come, and these five said Prisoners being severally called before the Bishop at the coming of *Thomas Haukes*, the Bishop willed him to remember what was said to him yesterday, and now while he had time and place, to advise with himself what he would answer, for he stood upon Life and Death. Well quoth *Mr. Haukes* again, I will willingly receive whatsoever shall be put upon me. Then were certain other interrogatories Articles conferred against him by the said Bishop (in like manner as

to the other.) to the number of four, with another bill also which *Boner* brought out of his pofom, containing private matters againft the faid *Thomas Haukes*, which the Bifhop called *Heretics and Errors*, but we may better call them *Christian Verities*. To the which matter being read, the faid *Haukes* answered openly again, laying, that it was true, and that he was glad it was fo true as it was, with more words to the like effect. And this was in the forenoon, the ix. day of *February*. In the afternoon again the faid *Haukes* appearing and hearing the forefaid bill of his Confeflion, with the Articles and interrogatories read unto him, with like Confidence in answering again to the Bifhop; My Lord (faid he) as you being my Friend have caufed thofe my fayings to be written; fo you caufe them to be read: and yet I will never go from them. And then being exhorted by the Bifhop, with many fair words, to return again to the Unity of the Mother Church; No my Lord (faid he) will I not: for if I had an Hundred Bodies, I would fuffer them all to be torn in pieces, rather than I will abjure or recant. And fo continuing fill in the fame fong & notable withftanding that the Doctors and Lawyers were ever calling upon him to come again to the Unity of the Church, he ever kept them off with this Answer, that he would never go from the belief he was in, fo long as he believed. Whereupon *Boner* at the laft read the Sentence of Death upon him, and fo he was condemned the fame day with the reftide of his fellows, which was the ninth of *February*. Nevertheless his execution was prolonged, and he remained in prifon till the 10. day of

June. Then was he committed to the hands and charge of the Lord *Rich*, who being affifted with power full consent of the Worfhifful of the Shire, had the forefaid *Thomas Haukes* down into *Exeter*, with Six other fellow prifoners whole Stories hereafter follow, there to fuffer Martyrdom, *Haukes* at *Cox-Hall*, the other feveral in other feveral places.

Thomas Haukes by the way full much exhortation to his Friends, and whensoever opportunity befet to talk with them he would familiarly Admonifh them.

A little before his Death, certain there were of his familiar Acquaintance and Friends, who frequented his company more familiarly, which feared not a little to be confirmed both by the example of his confilancy, and by this talk; yet notwithstanding, the fame again, being feared with the flames of the punishment which he was going to privily, defired that in the middle of the Flame he would fhew them fome token if he could, whereby they might be more certain, whether the pain of fuch burning were fo great that a man might not therein keep his mind quiet and patient. Which thing he promifed them to do: and fo fecretly between them it was agreed, that if the rage of the pain were tolerable and might be fuffered, then he fhould lift up his hands above his head toward Heaven, before he gave up the Ghoft.

Not long after, when the hour was come, *T. Haukes* was led away to the place appointed for the slaughter, by the Lord *Rich* and his Affiliants who being now come unto the flake, there mildly and patiently addreffed himfelf to the fire, having a chain chain call about his middle, with

The words of *Thomas Haukes* at his judgment, the invincible confilancy of *Thomas Haukes*.

The flake, condemned by *Bishop Boner*.

The death of *Haukes* defcend, *Thomas Haukes* brought down to *Exeter* by the Lord *Rich*.

The Martyrdom of *Thomas Haukes* in *Exeter*, at a town called *Coxhall*, Anno 1555. June 10.



The flake, *Haukes* flanding at the flake, refilting with the Lord *Rich*.

A token given to the flake, *Haukes* flanding at the flake, refilting with the Lord *Rich*.

The burning of *Thomas Haukes*, Martyr.



Anno 1555. you may in all your doings, that you may always direct your deeds according to his Holy Word; that when he shall appear to reward every man according to their works, ye may as obedient Children, be found watching, ready to enter into his everlasting Kingdom, with your lamps burning; and when he shall come to visit himself, ye need not to be affrighted of this life which God hath lent you, which is but transitory, vain, and like unto a vapour, that for a feason appeareth and vanifheth away: fo soon patheth away all our terreftriall honour, glory and felicity. For all Flefh (faith the Prophet) is as grafs, and all his glory as the flower of the field, which for a feason flourisheth her beauty, and as soon as the Lord bloweth upon it, it withereth away, and departeth.

For in this transitory and dangerous wilderness, we are as Pilgrims and strangers following the footfteps of *Moses*, among many unpepable dangers, beholding nothing with our outward man, but all vain vanities and vexation of mind, fubject to hunger, cold, nakedness, bonds, ficknes, foils, labours, banishment, in danger of that dreadful Dragons, and his finful feed, to be devoured, tempted and tormented, who cannot not behold every bufh to lay a bait, when we walk away to have his pleasure upon us, calling about his apples in all places, times, and feafons, to fee if *Adam* will beallured and enticed to leave the Living God, and his moft holy commandments, whereby he is affured of everlasting life, promifing the World as will, to all that will fall down in all ages, and for a mefs of portage fell and fit at nought the Everlafting Kingdom of Heaven. So frail is Flefh and Blood; And in fpecial *Israel* is moft ready to walk away, when he is filled with all manner of Riches, as faith the Prophet.

Therefore I am bold in bonds, as entirely defiring your everlafting health and felicity) to warn you, and moft heartily defire you to watch and pray: For our eftate is dangerous, and requireth continual prayer. For on the high Mountains, doth not grow moft plenty of grafs, neither are the highest trees furnished from fpring, but feldom firs, and always shaken of every wind that bloweth. Such a deceitful thing (faith our Saviour) is Honour and Riches, that without grace it chokeeth up the good feed fown on his creatures, and blindeth fo their feing, that they go groping at noon day in darknes: it teacheth a man think himfelf fomerwhat, that is nothing at all. For though for our Honour we eftem our felives and ftand in our own light, yet when we fhall ftand before the living God, there fhall be no refpect of perfons. For riches helpeth not in the day of vengeance: neither can we make the Lord partial for money. But as ye have miniftered unto the Saints, fo fhall ye receive the reward, which I am fully perfwaded and affured fhall be plentifully poured upon you all, for the great goodnefs fhewed unto the Servants of the Living God. And I moft heartily befeech Almighty God to pour forth a plentiful reward upon you for your faith, and that he will affift you with his Holy Spirit in all your doings, that ye may grow, as ye have begun, unto fuch a perfection as may be to Gods Honour, your own falvation, and the ftrengthening of the weak members of Chrifit. For the World rage and blafteth the elect of God, ye know that it did fo unto Chrifit his Apoftles, and to all that were in the Primitive Church, and fhall be unto the World End.

Therefore believe in the light while ye have it, left it be taken away from you: if you fhall feem to neglect the great Mercy of God that hath been opened unto you, and your hearts confented unto it, that it is the very and only truth pronounced by Gods only Son *Jehus* Chrifit, that the good will of our Heavenly Father. Therefore I to you in the bowels of my Lord *Jehus* Chrifit, flick faft unto it; let it never depart out of your hearts and confessions, that you with us and we with you at the great day, when one flock, as we have one Shepherd, may rife to the life immortal, through *Jehus* Chrifit our only Saviour, Amen.

Yours in him that liveth for ever, *Thomas Haukes*.

Here followeth another letter of *Thomas Haukes*, fent to his Wife after his condemnation, being prifoner in *Newgate*: the copie whereof is this.

The copie of *Thomas Haukes* Letter to his Wife.

Race be with you, and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord *Jehus* Chrifit, which gave himself for our fins, to deliver us from this prefent evil World, through the good will of God our Father, to whom be praife for ever and ever, Amen.

My dear yoke-fellow in the Lord, forasmuch as the Lord hath not only called me to work in his vineyard, but hath also fulfilled his good work in me (I trust to his glory, and to the comfort of all thofe that look for his coming) I thought it my duty, dear yoke-fellow, to write unto you some letters out of Gods Book; and if you will direct your self thereafter, doubt not of it but God, who refufeth none that will come to him with their whole hearts, will affift you with his Holy Spirit, and direct you in all his ways, to his Honour and Glory, who grant it for his mercy fakes, Amen.

First, I exhort you to fear God, to ferve and honour his holy Name, to love him with all your heart, foul, and mind, to believe faithfully all his promifes, to lay bare hold upon them, that in all your troubles whatsoever they be, will bring you forth to the great mercy of God, and shall be a fire that neither Devil, Flefh, nor Hell fhall be able to burn you.

But take heed; if you will not keep his Holy Precepts and Laws, and to the uttermost of your power call for the help of God to walk in the fame, but will leave them, and run to all abominations with the wicked World, and do as they do; then be fure to have your part with the wicked World in the burning Lake that never fhall be quenched. Therefore beware of Idolatry, which doth the moft of all flink before the face of Almighty God, and was of all good men moft detested from the beginning of the World. For the which, what Kingdoms, Nations, and Realmes God hath punished with moft terrible plagues, with fire, brimftom, hunger, fword, and pestilence, &c. to the utter fubverfion of them. It is manifestly to be feen through the whole Bible. Ye chiftown people, whom he had done fo much for, when they fell from him, and went and ferved other gods, contrary to his commandment, he utterly destroyed and rooted them out from off the Earth: and as many as dedin that damnable flat, not repenting their abominable evil, he threw them into the Pit of Hell. Again, how he hath preferred thofe that abhor Superftition and Idolatry, and that have openly taken hold upon God with their whole hearts, to ferve him, and to love him, to fear him, &c. it is moft manifestly to be feen even from the beginnings, out of what great dangers he hath ever delivered them: ye when all hope of deliverance was paff as touching their expectation, even then in the fight of all his enemies would he work his godly will and purpose, to the utter amazing and destruction of all thofe that were his manifold enemies.

Further, I exhort you in the bowels of Chrifit that you will exercise and be ftedit in prayer; for prayer is the only mean to please the Heavens, to obtain at the hand of God whatsoever we desire, fo that it be asked in faith. Oh what notable things do we read in Scriptures that have been obtained through fervent prayer! We are commanded to call upon him for help, aid, and fuccour in necessities and troubles, and he hath promifed to help us. Again, they that will not call upon him with their whole heart, but upon other dead creatures, in whom there is no help: for there was none found worthy to open the books, but only the Lamb *Chrifit* which was killed for our fins I fay, who that will refuf: his help, muft even by the terrible judgments of God come utterly to confufion: as it hath, and is daily manifest to be feen. And whatsoever you desire of God in your prayer, ask it for *Jehus* Chrifits fakes, for whom and in whom God hath promifed to give us all things necessary. And though that which we ask come not by and by at the first and fecond callings, yet continue fill knocking, and he will at the length open his Treafures of mercy, do that ye fhall be fure to obtain; for he hath fo promifed: if ye continue in faith, hoping fully in him. Thiefe former letters, with all fuch instructions as I have told you by mouth,

believe now as he had done in times past; for I will not believe as the Church then believed; for he did not so believe; for the Church of Rome had refused; and therefore he said he did not believe as the Church of Rome believed; but as Christ hath taught him; and further said that he was to fight to be true by preaching of one M. *Hay*, and other whole names he remembered, which *Hay* he said did preach the Word of God truly and sincerely.

To this, child he answered, that he hath and doth believe, that Christ's Body is in Heaven, and no where else; and further, that he will never believe that Christ's Body is in the Sacrament.

To the fourth he answered, confessing and firmly believing the same to be true.

To the fifth, that he did believe, that the Mass is abominable, and that he will not go once for that his belly.

To the sixth, that he neither did, nor yet doth believe, that the Priest can absolve him of his sins; howbeit, he doth not think it good to ask counsel at the Priests mouth.

To the seventh, he said, that he knew not what the opinions of the said persons named in the said Article were; and in case the said persons did believe, that the Body and Blood of Christ were really and in very deed the Sacrament of the Altar, then that they were not men. But in case they did believe that the Body and Blood of Christ was not in the Sacrament of the Altar really and truly, then he believed that they were good Christians men.

To the eighth, that he had not spoken as is contained in this Article, a boy said, that he hath and doth believe, that filth, prayers, and almsdeeds be works of a lively faith.

To the ninth he confessed that he did utter and speak as in this Article is contained; and further he desired God that he might die in that faith and belief, wherein he now is.

To the tenth he answered and said, that he will fulfil himself herein to the order of the law; and further said, that he trusteth that with God he shall be blessed, although with men he may be cursed.

To the eleventh he said, that he believed that the Bishop of Rome is a mortal enemy to Christ and his Church; and as for *Tiedy* he said, he did never see or know him; but in case the said *Tiedy* did with pray as is contained in the Article, then he did likewise with and consent with him therein.

To the twelfth he answered, that all which before he confessed to be true, is also true; and all that he hath desired to be true, shall be true; and he hath confessed the same to be according to such things as he hath conceived by me Thomas Wats.

Another appearance of Thomas Wats in the Confraternity.

These Articles thus pronounced and answered, the Bishop commanded him to appear again in the same place at three of the Clock in the afternoon, upon the same day. At which hour being brought thither by his Keeper, the Bishop began with him in this wise: *Wats*, you know that I had you to my house, and what I appointed you at this time. The time is now come; weigh and consider with your self, that you are but a Man, and albeit that you will wilfully cut away your Body, yet can't so away your Soul; but while ye have time, return and confess the truth.

Whereunto *Thomas Wats* answered and said, I am weary to live in such idleness as ye would have me to live in. Upon which answer the Bishop ceased his Articles again to be read. He thereto answered as before, and further, subscribed the same with his own hand.

Another appearance before D. Harpsfield.

The Bishop after many persuasions to cause him to recant, willed him to depart at noon, and to come again on Saturday at eight of the clock in the morning. Where the Bishop being absent, D. *Nicholas Harpsfield*, as then being his Deputy, did sit, and earnestly exhorted

him to deny his opinions. To whom in the end he answered.

Well, ye have a law to condemn me, and I submit my self to the law; but not to the laws of the Church (as you call it). And further I do affirm, and fill stand to mine answers that I have made.

Whereupon Dr. *Harpsfield* willed him to appear there again upon *Friday* being the 10 day of the same Month *May*. Upon which day the Bishop privately sent for the said *Thomas Wats* into his Chamber, and there with many fair promises tempted and tried him, whether he would revoke his errors (as he then termed them). But *Wats* answered him in this sort; I will not believe your Church, neither the Romish Church, and therefore you do but labour in vain thus to travail with me. He was heretofore again dismissed for that time until *Friday* the 17 day of *May*, and then commanded to appear in the Confraternity; which commandment he obeyed, and having the accustomed former Articles ministered unto him, made then such Answers as before.

Thomas Wats brought again to the Confraternity.

Thus being told to and fro from day to day, and hour to hour, he was in the 18 day of *May*, the *Mother of May*, brought into the Confraternity, where first was made a brief recital of all the former proceedings; and there the said *Wats* being (by the Bishop and others) willed to deny his profession, made this final Answer; God keep me from the Doctrine that ye will have me to come unto, which ye have now declared. And I beseech God that I may persevere in that, that I have done, for I will stand to mine Answers.

The Bishop perceiving his flat flattery promises nothing to prevail (and having no great store of other reason to persuade with) put forth his last and strongest argument of Condemnation. Which being ended, he was delivered to the Sheriffs of *London*, and by them was sent to *Newgate*, where he remained until the 9 day of the same Month *June*, or (as some record) to the 22 of *May*; at what time he was carried unto *Chelmsford*, and there was brought to some house, keeping then under in *Chelmsford*, where, as they were eating meat with *Hancks* and the rest that came down to their burning; they prayed together both before and after their meat.

Then *Wats* went and prayed privately to himself, and afterward came to his wife and his five Children being there, and said their vespers in a Church; Wife, and my good Children, I must now depart from you. Therefore henceforth know I you no more, but as the Lord hath given you unto me, so I give you again unto the Lord; and whom I charge you see you do obey, and fear him; and beware ye turn not to this abominable Papistry, for I am against the which I shall anon, by Gods grace, give my Blood. Let not the murdering of Gods Saints cause you to relent, but take occasion thereby to be the stronger in the Lords quarrel; and I do doubt not but he will be a merciful Father unto you. All these and such like words spake he unto them, and they unto him: of whom two, as it is said, offered to be burnt with him. In the end he bade them farewell, and kissed them all and was carried to their.

At the stake, after he had said it, he spake to my Lord *Rich* these words: *My Lord, I bid ye to beware, beware, for you do against your own Conscience, God's Law, herein, and without you repent, the Lord will revenge it: For you are the cause of this my Death.*

Concerning the Child of Queen Mary as it was recovered among the People.

Long persecution had been in *England* with great expectation for the space of half a year or more, that the Queen was conceived with Child. This report was made by the Queens Physicians, and other night about the Court: so that divers were punished for saying the contrary. And commandment was given, that in all Churches supplication and prayer should be made for the Queens good delivery, the ceremony whereto was read before in the letter of the Connect *unto Rome*. And

Also the same moreover may appear by provision made now in Act of Parliament for the Child.

And now forasmuch as in the beginning of this month of *June*, about *Whitsonide*, the time was thought to be high that this young Master should come into the World, and that *Middlers*, *Rockers*, *Nurles*, with the *Cradlads* all were prepared and in a readiness to follow upon what cause or occasion it uncertain, a certain vain Rumor was blown in *London* of the prosperous delivery of the Queen, and the Birth of the Child. Information that the Bells were rung, Bonfires and Proceffions made, not only in the City of *London*, and in most other parts of the Realm, but also in the Town of *Strasbourg*, and the Mariners thereof rewarded with an hundred *Pi* of *Italian Crowns* by the Lady Regents, who was the Queens Deliverer, and that there was a Prince born. Yea, divers Preachers, namely one the Parson of *S. Anne* within *Aldersgate*, after Proceffion and *Te Deum* sung took upon him to describe the proportion of the Child, how fair, how beautiful, and great a Prince it was, as the like had not been seen.

In the midst of this great ado, there was a simple man (this I speak but upon Information) dwelling within four miles of *Barwick*, that never had been before half way to *London*, which said concerning the Bonfires made for Queens Maries Child, Here is a joyful Triumph, as at length all will not prove worth a piece of Potage, as indeed it came to pass: For in the end all proved clean contrary, and the joy and expectations of Men were much deceived. For the People were certified, that the Queen-child was as then delivered, nor after wasin hope to have any Child.

At this time many talked diversely. Some said this Rumor of the Queens Conception was spread for a Policy; some other affirmed, that the was deceived by a Timpany or some other like device, to think her self with Child, and was used, some thought the was Child, and that it did by some chance miscarry, or else that the was brought to some house, keeping then under in *Chelmsford*, where, as they were eating meat with *Hancks* and the rest that came down to their burning; they prayed together both before and after their meat.

There came to me, whom I did both hear and see, one *Isabel Malt*, a Woman dwelling in *Aldersgate* street in *Horse Alley*, not far from the House where this present Book was printed, who before witness made this declaration unto us. That she being delivered of a Male child upon *Whitsonday* in the Morning, which was the 11 day of *June*, Anno 1555, there came to her the Lord North, and another Lord to her unknown, dwelling then about *Old Fishstreet*, demanding of her if she would part with her Child and would swear that the never knew nor had any such Child. Which, if he would, her Son (they said) should be well provided for, he should take no care for it, with many fair offers if he would part with the Child.

After that came other Women also, of whom one they said should be the Rooker; but the which he would let go her Son, who at the writing hereof being alive, and called *Timothy Malt*, was of the Age of 13 years and upward.

Thus much, I say, I heard of the Woman her self. What credit is to be given to her relation, I do not believe it they that list, to them that list not, I have no further warrant to assure them.

Among many other great preparations made for the Queens deliverance of Child, there was a Cradle very pompously and gorgeously trimmed, upon the which Cradle for the Child appointed, these Verses were written, both in Latin and English.

Quam Maria sollemn, Deu optime, summe dediti, Anglia incolumem reddes, tuere, Reges.

The Child which thought Mary, O Lord of Might hath said, To Englands Joy, in health preserve, keep and defend.

About this time there came over into *England* a certain English Book, giving warning to Englishmen of the Spaniards, and disclosing certain close practices for recovery of *Abby-Lands*, which Book was called *A Warning for England*. Whereof, I have written more, God willing, when we come to the *Spanish Inquisition*. So that by the occasion of this Book, upon the 3 day of this Month came out a certain Proclamation; and dismissing all manner of Books written or printed, whatsoever should touch any thing the emperours of the Popes Dignity, whereby not only much good Edification was hindered, but also great peril grew among the People. The Copy of which Proclamation here followeth.

A Proclamation set out by the King and Queen, for the refraining of all Books and Writings, tending against the Doctrine of the Pope and his Church.

Whereas by the Statute made in the second year of King Henry the Fourth concerning the repressing of Heretic, there is ordained and provided a great punishment, not only for the Authors, Makers, and Writers of Books containing wicked Doctrine, and erroneous and Heteretical Opinions, contrary to the Catholic Faith and Determination of the holy Church, but also for the Fators and Supporters; but also for such as shall have or keep any such Books or Writings, and not make delivery of them to the Ordinary of the Dioceses or his Ministers, within a certain time limited in the said Statute, which said Statute being by Authority of Parliament of late revived, was also openly proclaimed, to the intent the Subjects of the Realm upon such Proclamation should the rather eschew the danger and penalty of the said Statute, and as yet nevertheless in most parts of the Realm the same is neglected, and little regarded: The King and Queen our Sovereign Lord and Lady, therefore, forasmuch as they charge and command, that no person or persons, of what estate, degree, or condition hever he or they be, from henceforth presume to give or convey, or cause to be brought or conveyed into this Realm, any Books, Writings, or Works hereafter mentioned; that is to say, any

any Book or Books, Writings or Works made or forth by or byor in the name of *Martin Luther*, or any of the Books, Writings or Works made and set forth, by or in *Pomeranus*, *John Alcas*, *Bellinger*, *Bucer*, *Melancthon*, *Flugh Latimer*, *Robert Barnes*, *Peter Martyr*, *Barnes*, *John Bale*, otherwise called *Frian Bale*, *John Jones*, *John Hooper*, *Miles Coverdale*, *William Tindal*, *Thomas Cranmer* late Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *William John Frith*, *Roy*, and the Book commonly called *Halls Chronicle*, or any of them in the Latin Tongue, Dutch Tongue, English Tongue, Italian Tongue, or French Tongue, or any other like Books, Papers, Writing or Work, made, printed, or set forth, by any other person or persons, containing false Doctrine, contrary and against the Catholic Faith, and the Doctrine of the Catholic Church. And also that no person or persons presume to write, print, utter, read, or keep any, or cause to be written, printed, or kept any of the said Books, Papers, Works or Writings, or any Book or Books written or printed in the Latin or English Tongue, or any other like Books, Service and Administration set forth in English to be used in the Churches of this Realm, in the time of King Edward the Sixth, commonly called the Communion Book, or Book of Common Prayer and ordering of Ministers, otherwise called: The Book set forth by Authority of Parliament, for Common Prayer and Administration of the Sacraments, or to be used in the Mother Tongue within the Church of *England*, but fall within the space of fifteen days next after the publication of this Proclamation, bring or deliver, or cause the said Books, Writings, and Works, and every of them remaining in their custody and keeping, to be brought and delivered to the Ordinary of the Dioceses, where such Books, Works, or Writings be or remain, or to his Chanceller or Commissioners, without fraud, colour or deceit, at the full Or-

The power of this Book will be manifest.

dinaries will and disposition to be burnt, or otherwise to be used or ordered by the said Ordinaries, as by their persons or spiritual Laws it is in that case limited and appointed, upon pain that every Offender contrary to this Proclamation, shall incur the danger and penalties contained in the said Statute, and as they will avoid their Majesties high indignation and displeasure, and further answer at their uttermost peril.

And their Majesties by this Proclamation give full power and authority to all Bishops and Ordinaries, and all Justices of the Peace, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bayliffs of Cities and Towns Corporate, and other Head Officers within this Realm and the Dominions thereof, and expressly command them and will them the same and every of them, that they and every of them, within their several Limits and Jurisdictions, shall in the default and negligence of the said Subjects, after the said fifteen days expired, inquire and search out the said Books, Writings and Works; and for this purpose enter into the House or Houses, Closets and Secret places of every Person, of whatsoever degree, being negligent in this behalf, and suspected to keep any such Book, Writing or Works, contrary to this Proclamation: And that the said Justices, Mayors, Sheriffs, Bayliffs, and other Head Officers above specified, and every of them within their said Limits and Jurisdictions finding away of the said Subjects negligent and faulty in this behalf, shall commit every such Offender to ward, there to remain without Bail or Mainprize, till the same Offender or Offenders have received full punishment as the said Statute doth limit and appoint in this behalf. Given under our Signe Manuall our Honour of Hampton Court, the 13 day of June, the first and second years of our Reignes.

Imprinted by John Cawood, Anno 1555.

Articles to be enquired upon by the Wardens of every Company, touching Seditious Books, especially touching the Book called, A Warning for England.

This Book called, A Warning for England, look for hereafter when we come (God willing) to the next Part of this Book.

1. Whether they have seen any of the forsaide Books.
2. Whether they have heard of any of the said Books.
3. Where they were, and in what place they have seen them.
4. Whom they know to have lately come from beyond the Sea, especially from Zurich, Strasbourg, Frankfurt, Wesel, Emden and Disburg.

5. Whom they know or vehemently suspect to be common Carriers of Letters, or Money, thither from hence.

6. That they bring by my Lord Mayor all such Seditious Books as they have, or shall have found hereafter. In this Proclamation thou hast heard, Christian Reader, the profound and learned Censure of the Catholic Church of England, what Books they mislike and reject as Heretical, Schismatical, and pernicious. Against the which Catholic Censure of these learned Fathers, I have not at this time to infer: neither doth any Licensee here serve to write Apologies in defence of those Authors here condemned. Only so much leave it may please the Reader to grant me to set before him a pair of Ballances, wherein we will weigh the Books on the one side condemned, with the Books on the other side allowed, to the end that we weighing the one with the other, may discern the better between them, which part weigheth best with Gods holy Truth and true Catholic Church, against manifest Idolatry and palpable Abomination. And now therefore as they have in the present Proclamation given their condemnation upon these Books above rected: I do define thee to give thy censure upon their Books by them allowed, and upon the matter in them contained, and mark well what good stuff it is.

The Books of the Protestants to be weighed with the Books of the Catholics.

And first to begin with the Primer in English, for Children after the use of Salisbury, Imprinted with Privilege according to the King and Queens Majesties Letters Patents in the Reign of Queen Mary. Let us peruse and survey some part of the said Primer (for to express all it were too long) beginning with the first Lesson of our Lady, in these words:

Holy Mary; Mother most pure of Virgins all; Mother and Daughter of the King Celestiall; So comfort us in our dejection, That by thy Prayer and special Mediation. We enjoy the reward of thy Heavenly Reign, &c.

Confer this with the Scriptures, good Reader, and judge uprightly whether this Doctrine be tolerable in the Church or not.

It followeth more in the second Lesson.

Holy Mary, of all goodly the goddess, Pray for us; all holy the blessed; That by thy Prayer we may in good wise, Which of thee was born, and reigneth above the Skies, &c.

In the third Lesson.

Thy Son befech with humble Intercession, To purge us clean of our Transgressions; That by being redeemed we may the place ascend, Where thou dwellest with him World without end.

The Verficke.

Pray for the People, invocate for the Clergy, make In-tercession for the devout Woman-kind; let all feel thy help, that worthily solemnize thy memorial, &c.

Another Verficke.

Holy Mother of God, make thy Petition, that we may deserve Christs Promission, &c.

And in the Anthem after Benedicite, thus it followeth:

We befech thee of thy pity to have us in remembrance, and to make means for us unto Christ; that we being approved by thy help, may deserve to attain the Kingdom of Heaven.

Furthermore in the Collect after it followeth:

And virgin, that through the gracious Intercession of thy Mother, we may be delivered from this present heaviness, and have the fruition of eternal gladness.

It followeth moreover in the said Primer thus, concerning the material Crofs.

O God, which hast adorned thy most holy Crofs, and hast given light to the darkness of the World, vouchsafe the material by the virtue of thy Crofs to illumine, visit and comfort both our Hearts and Bodies, &c.

Moreover, in the name of St. John Baptift thus it prayeth:

O Lord, defend us alway through the continual Course of St. John Baptift. For the more frail we be, the more need we have to be relieved with necessary Prayers, &c.

In which words note (good Reader) not only the absurdity of Doctrine, but also the solidity of the Reason. For where their Doctrine pretendeth that S. John Baptift should pray for us, here we pray to God for St. John Baptift, that he will hear his Prayer for praying for us. It followeth furthermore in the name of Peter and Paul: We pray for us mercifully, and grant that through the merits of them both, we may obtain the glory everlasting, &c.

Of St. Andrew.

So let him, O Lord, be a continual Petitioner for us to thee, &c.

Of St. Lawrence thus:

Saint Lawrence the Deacon did work a great work. For by the virtue of the Holy Crofs he gave light to the blind, &c.

And how can this be true, when the Holy Crofs was not yet found in the time of St. Lawrence? For Helen which first found the Crofs, as they say, came after St. Lawrence more than forty years.

To Thomas Becker Archbishop of Canterbury. By the Bless'd Thomas which he for the did find, Make us, Christs, its climb, whither Thomas did ascend.

Hand this Book to the Clerk.

Of

Anno

1555

O God, which hast glorified blessed Nicholas, thy holy Bishop, with innumerable Miracles, grant we befech thee, that by his Merits and Prayers we may be delivered from the fire of Hell.

Of Mary Magdalen.

Grant we befech thee, through thy mercy, to let us purchase for us the Bliss everlasting, &c.

Another Prayer to our Lady.

The dolorous compassion of Gods sweet Mother, Bring us to the Bliss of Almighty Gods Father, &c.

Another Prayer in the said Primer to our Lady.

Establish us in peace and tranquillity.

And change the name of Israfel Era:

Lo! thy Prisoners from Captivity;

Unto the blind give sight again.

Deliver us from malignity,

To the end and to be a Mother.

Show thyself to be a Mother.

So that be accept our Petition.

Deliver us from bondage of Sin, &c.

Item,

Holy Mother succour the miserable, comfort the weak

spirit, give courage to the desolate, pray for the People,

make Intercession for the Clergy, and be a mean for the devout Woman-kind, &c.

Blasphemy.

Another blasphemous Prayer.

O thou sweet Mother, have mercy therefore

On Wretches, for whom thou hast these pains all,

Seeing thy Son that Vine cluster pressed forth,

And from the pestilence of Death eternal,

Keep us by avoiding the Fiend infernal,

And save us with them which rewarded be

With eternal Bliss, being the Duty.

Blasphemy.

Another blasphemy in the said Primer.

Hail Queen, Mother of Mercy, our life, our sweetness,

into thee do we cry and sigh, weeping and

wailing. Come of thy dear Patronage, cast upon us

thy pitiful eyes, and after this our banishment, place us in

the blessed fruit of thy Womb. O Gate of glory be for us

a Reconciliation unto the Father and the Son. From the

wretched their faults expel: wipe the spots of sin, un-

clean, &c.

Item, to our Lady.

The fruit of thy Womb everlasting.

We may behold through thy deserving, &c.

Item,

Grant we befech thee, that by thy Merits and Prayers

we may attain to that unspeakable Joy, whereto the being

assumpt, dost now receive with thine Heavens for ever.

And thus much hitherto of this Catholic Primer, call-

ed our Ladies Mattens. Whereunto, if it were not ted-

ious for the Reader, we would also adjoin our Ladies

Pfalter, to the intent that all indifferent Readers, as they

have seen what Books these Catholic Fathers have con-

demned and do condemn for Heretical; so they may also

may see and judge, what Books on the other side they

approve as lawful and Catholic. And furthermore as it is

not known peradventure to all men, what our Ladies

Pfalter is, or what it meaneth; yea, and some peradven-

ture will deny any such Book of our Ladies Pfalter to be

written or approved, here therefore we will first pro-

duce the name of the Author, who was Bonaventura, a Sen-

atorial Doctor, a Bishop also and Cardinal, Canonized

moreover by Pope Sixtus the Fourth, An. 1482. for a

Saint in the Kalender, who in his Book thus intitled in

Latin, Incipit Pfalterium beate Virginis, complendum per

Seraphicum Doctorem Sanctum Bonaventuram Episcopum

Albanensem, necnon sancte Romanæ Ecclesie Prof-

essorem Cardinalem, in honorem genetricis, &c. Fol. 84.

In the second part of his whole works (which were im-

printed at Argentea, An. 1495.) to these himself a de-

vout Servant to his Lady, hath taken every Psalm of

David Pfalter (which he peculiarly made and referred

to Almighty God) and hath in divers of the said Psalms

and Verses put out the name of the Lord, and hath

placed in the name of our Lady. This being done through the whole Psalms and every one of them, it is now called our Ladies Pfalter, used to be sung and said in the praise and service of our Lady. A brief table whereof for Examples sake (for, to dwell all, it were too long) we thought here to exhibit unto the Reader in order, as followeth.

The Title in English of the Pfalter.

¶ Here beguneth the Pfalter of the blessed Virgin, The Title made by the Seraphical Doctor St. Bonaventura; the Book called our Bishop of Alham, and Cardinal of the holy Church of Rome.

1. *Beatus vir, qui intelligit nomen tuum, Maria Virgo, Beatus qui gratia tua animam ejus confortabit. Tanquam aquarum fontem proutum aherum in eo fructum iustitie propagabit. Univerſa enim femina vultus ejus pulchritudine carnis; superius angelus & archangelus excellens sanctitatis. Misericordia tua & gratia ubique predicatur.* Gloria Patri.

That is to say, Blessed is the man which understandeth thy Name, O Virgin Mary, thy Grace shall comfort his soul. Thou shalt bring forth in him the most plentiful fruit of Justice, being watered as it were with fountains of water. All Women thou shalt fill in the beauty of thy body; all Angels and Archangels in the excellency of thy Holiness. Thy mercy and thy grace is magnified every where, &c. Glory be to the Father, &c.

2. *Quare peremerunt inimici nostri, & advenſum nos mittunt sine manu? Propterea nos dextera tua, Mater Dei, nos tuos terribiliter confandens & destruens eos. Venie ad eam, qui laboravit & reſolvisti ejus, & dabis refrigerium animabus vestris. Accedite ad eam in invocationibus vestris, & ſtabitis vos ſerenitas vultus ejus. Benedicite illam in toto corde vestro, misericordia enim illius plena est terrarum.* Gloria Patri.

Why do our Enemies rise and imagine vain things against us? Let thy right hand defend us, O Queen Mary, terribly confounding and destroying them with thy Sword. Come unto her all ye that labour and are troubled, and the will give rest unto your Souls. Come unto her in your temptations, and her loving Countenance shall comfort you. Bless her with all your heart; for the Earth is full of her mercy. Glory be to the Father, &c.

3. *Domina quid multiplicati sunt qui tribulant me? In impetrate tua persequari & diſſipabis eos. Diſſolve colligationes impietatis nostræ; tolle ſuſceptionis peccatorum noſtrum. Miſere mei Domine & ſana inſirmitatem meam; tolle dolorem & angustiam cordis mei. Ne tradas me manibus inimicorum meorum, & in die mortis mee confortata animam meam. Deduc me ad portum ſalutis & ſpiritus meum redde ſalutem.*

Why are they so many, O Lady, that trouble me? In thy fury thou shalt persecute and destroy them. Loose the bonds of our impiety, and take away the burden of our sins. Have mercy upon me, O Lady, and heal my infirmity. Take away my sorrow and the anguish of my heart. Deliver me not into the hands of mine Enemies, and in the day of my death comfort my Soul. Bring me unto the haven of Salvation, and restore my Spirit unto my Maker and Creator. Glory be to the Father, &c.

4. *Com invocemus, exaudiſti me Domine, & i sublimi ſolo tuo mei dignata es recordari. A regentibus me liberasti gratia tua. Quoniam benigna es misericordia & pietas tua omnia, qui invocant nomen ſanctum tuum. Benedicite ſi Domine omnes gentes.*

When I called to thee, thou heardest me, O my Lady, and out of thy high Throne thou didst vouchsafe to think upon me. From the roaring of them that prepare themselves to devour me, and out of the hands of such as seek after my life, thy grace shall deliver me. Because thy mercy and thy pity are great towards all them that call upon thy holy Name. Blessed be thou, O Lady, for ever, and thy mercy for ever and ever. Glorify her all Nations of the Earth, &c.

5. *Psalm.*

hold this Belief of our Lady; which Believers, unless every one shall hold perfect and found, he shall perish without doubt for ever.

Moreover, after these so horrible things and intolerable to be heard, consequently in the next tractation followeth the Rosary or Garland of our Lady, compiled by the said *Bonaventura*; wherein this world is to be read as follows: *O Mediatrix between God and Man, the Lord hath wondrously magnified thee, that thou only shouldst conceive his Son. Wherefore, O good Mary our Mediatrix, our Lady Mother of Grace, and Mother of Mercy, &c.* And moreover, within few lines it followeth in these words: *Therefore, O our Empress and Lady most beautiful, by the intercession of a Mother commandment, I beseech thee, O thou beloved Son, that he will stir up our minds from the love of worldly things, to heavenly desires, &c.*

Item, *O the Advocate of the miserable, the eyes of thy Servants be directed to thee.*

To these premises, I might also adjoin the horrible and most blasphemous words of the said *Bonaventura*, as in the said Book, fol. 100. pag. 2. Col. 1. which I beseech thee to read and note. *Que major bonitas quam quod Christus, i. What greater goodness can be, than that Christ is content to be captive upon the Altar?*

Whereupon he speaketh in the person of *Jheremy*, saying, *Behold I am in your hands, do with me as you see good, &c.* Where not (saith he) that when any Duke or Prince is taken Prisoner for his Subjects, he is not let to go, before he pay some great sum of Money for his ransom. Even so neither we ought to let Christ go out of our hands before our Prisoner and Captive, except he grant to us redemption of our Sins and his heavenly Kingdom. The Priest therefore lifteth up the Body of Christ upon the Altar, as though he said thus, *Behold him whom the whole World is not able to comprehend, he is bidden here our Captive, wherefore let us hold him fast, and not let him go before we obtain of him our requests, &c.*

Note.

Is not here good Catholic stuff? (Christian Reader) now you consider I beseech you this Doctrine with the Doctrine of the Apostles, which teach us that we are fully complete in Christ; and I will refer me to no better Judge than to your own Confidence. And now therefore, if any man have seen in books inimes part of the Doctrine and proceeding of the Church of Rome, whether it be rightly charged with blind Errors, with Blasphemy intolerable, and Idolatry abominable or not, here now he may be fully certified and relieved. For where was ever Idolatry or Blasphemy to be found, if it be not here in this Mattins and Pfalter of our Lady? If Idolatry be to make an Idol to be worshipped as God, which is no god, what do we here but make an Idol of our Lady (as we call her) to be worshipped with no less dignity, glory, authority, reverence and service, than is the Lord God himself? And as he is called our Lord, so she is called our Lady. And if he be King, yet she is the Queen of Heaven. And though he have the name of God, yet she beareth so to be the Mother of God; that as Mothers have authority over their Children, so she is willed to have her self to be his Mother, to cause him to grant our Petitions. Finally, if he be our Patron, yet she is our Patroness. The Commandment faith, *Thou shalt worship the Lord thy God, and him only shalt thou serve.* And what worship or service can we give to God, more than we do ourselves to her?

And what benefit is to be asked at the hands of Christ our Saviour, which is not equally asked of her? To save our Souls, to give us peace, to grant grace, to comfort the desperate, to loose our captivity, to release our sins, to deliver from the Fiend, to bring to Heaven, &c. To her we pray, we cry, we weep, we sigh, groan, we kneel, and kneel, to her we trust, and if we believe not also in our Lady, we be Heretics in fact.

Furthermore, as Christ our only Lord and Saviour hath his Church and Congregation which profits his Name of whom we are called *Christian*; so neither is the likewise without her Chappels, her Cloysters, her Chapters, Fraternities and Brotherhoods, which profit his name in like sort, are called our Ladies Brethren, or white Friars, besides an innumerable sort of other Pa-

trons of Churches, of whom every one hath his peculiar Church and Religion by himself, yet all these together be included under the general devotion of our Lady their supreme Patroness and Governess.

Now to proceed further to the other part of the Commandments, which faith, *Him only shalt thou serve.* What service hath the Lord in all the Church, but our Lady only jointly with him hath she? Her Mass, her Matins, her Evensong, her Hours and Complainer, her Offices, her Anthems, her Collects, her Prayers, her Pfalter, her Holy-days likewise, yet five to one. Finally, as the Lord hath his Prayer called the Lords Prayer, so hath the said *Mary*, yet ten to one her *Te Deum*; and yet shall we read further in the said *Bonaventura*, and yet shall we be able to love her *Te Deum*, her *Benedictus*, her *Magnificat*, and also her *Quincunq* vult.

If the Lord our God had not exprefsed unto us his own will by plain words, limiting unto us by express Injunction what to believe, what to follow, and how to worship and love him, and how to receive from him our Salvation; but had left us to the imagination of our own Inventions, every man to shift for himself after his own policy, then peradventure this way taken by the Popes Church, to make friends and mediators between God and us for reconciliation, remission, and salvation, might have some shine or reason; but now Gods Word doth bind us, doth prescribe and limit in precisely in every point touching Salvation, what to believe, and what to do, shewing us plainly that we cannot be saved, but by the Blood of his Son only, neither can be justified but by Faith only in the same Christ his Son: Wherefore not to believe that which he hath promised, is Infidelity, and to follow any other belief than he hath for us, is plain Idolatry. The which two special Errors most commonly do follow the Doctrine of the *Romish Church*, as not only in this Primer and Pfalter of our Lady abroad, but also in all their proceedings, teachings and preachings, besides may well appear. For where the Scripture doth perfectly promise and pronounce us to be justified through our Faith in Christ, and willeth us to seek our Salvation no where else, but only in the merits of Jesus: the Institution of the Church of Rome, neither will receive that God hath freely given, (wherein standeth Infallibility) neither yet will seek the same there where as they should, but in the merits and prayers of our Lady, of St. John Baptist, St. Peter and Paul, St. Andrew, St. Nicholas, St. Thomas, St. Christopher, and by the worthiness of the material Cross, and such other unlawful means, wherein standeth plain Idolatry. And yet such Books as these, can be suffered among the Catholics to be current, as good, wholesome and lawful Books; whereas the other, which lead us the true way from Infidelity and blind Idolatry to the true Christianity, in no wise can be sufferable. But of this we will to complain it is vain. Wherefore to pass from this Proclamation, let us proceed (God willing) in the course of our History.

The Story of Thomas Osmond, William Bamford, and Thomas Oxford, Mary.

Mention was made before in the story of *Thomas Harker*, of six Prisoners besides, which were sent down with him to *Exeter* the same time as he went to Execution. Of which six Prisoners, three were yet to be burned, the other three to recant, and to do penance: Of whom it followeth next in the story now to treat. The names of which six were these: *Thomas Oxford*, *William Bamford*, *alias Butler*, *Weaver*, *Thomas Oxford*, *Nicholas Chamberlain Weaver*, *Richard Braden*, *alias Weaver*, *Richard Web Weaver*, being all of the Town of *Coxhall*. All which six *Christians* were sent after the Examinations of *Thomas Harker*, and *Thomas Warr*, were first up to *Bow*, to be examined, by the Earl of *Oxford* and Sir *Philip Perie* Knight, with a Letter also sent them the Copy whereof here followeth.

A Letter sent from the Earl of Oxford to Boner Bishop of London.

After our hearty Commendations unto your good Lordship, which I beseech you to advertise the same, that the Confessors of *Coxhall* within your Diocese, have brought before us this day six Persons dwelling in the Town

of *Coxhall* abroad, whose names hereafter do follow, *quidam*, *Nicholas Chamberlain Weaver*, *John Waller Fuller*, *Thomas Braden*, *alias Weaver*, *Richard Web Weaver*, *William Bamford*, *alias Butler*, *Weaver*, and *Thomas Oxford*. These six persons, who were sent down with *Thomas Harker* to the Order of the holy Church in receiving of the Sacraments; but ultimately refusing the same, besides of holding divers other Opinions, contrary to the Faith of the said Church. Wherefore we have thought it good to send the same Persons unto your good Lordship further to be ordered, as in such case shall appear. Thus we commend your good Lordship to the keeping of Almighty God. From *Hedingham* the first of May Anno 1555.

Your Lordships assuredly, Oxford, Philip Paris.

Thus the said Prisoners being sent up the first day of the said Month to be examined upon divers and sundry Articles ministered and objected against them; wherunto they were compelled to answer, and to put their hands to the same: the Copie of which their Articles and Answers, being all one in form and effect (if the Register lay true) here followeth.

The Copy of the Articles objected against Thomas Osmond, William Bamford, and Nicholas Chamberlain of Coxhall.

First, That thou *Thomas Osmond* Fuller, wast and art of the Parish of *Coxhall*, within the Diocese of *London*, and thou hast not believed nor dost believe, that there is here in the Earth one Catholic and Universal whole Church, which doth hold and believe all the Faith and Religion of Christ, and all the necessary Articles and Sacraments of the same.

2. Item, That thou hast not believed nor dost believe, that thou art necessarily bounden under the pain of the said damnation of thy Soul, to give full Faith and Credence unto the said Catholic and Universal Church, and to the Faith and Religion of the same in all necessary points of the said Faith and Religion, without doubting or wavering in the said Faith and Religion, or in any part thereof.

3. Item, That thou hast not believed nor dost believe, that the Church of *Rome*, *Italy*, *Spain*, *England*, *France*, *Ireland*, *Scotland*, and all other Churches in *Europe*, being true members and parts of the said Catholic and Universal Church, do believe and teach both agreeing with the Faith and Religion of Christ, and also is the very true Faith and Religion which all Christian People ought to believe, observe, follow and keep; but contrarywise, thou hast believed and dost believe, that the Church of *Rome*, and all the other Churches abroad, have heretofore believed, and do believe, is false erroneous and naught, and in no wise ought to be believed, observed, kept, and followed of any Christian person.

4. Item, That albeit it be true, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is in substance the very Body and Wine of our Saviour Christ under the forms of Bread and Wine; and albeit that it be so believed, taught and preached undoubtedly in the said Church of *Rome*, and all other Churches abroad; yet thou hast not so believed, nor dost believe, but contrarywise thou hast believed, and dost believe, and dost hold, that therein is not in the said Sacrament of the Altar, under the said forms of Bread and Wine, the very substance of Christs Body and Blood, but that there is only the substance of material and common Bread and Wine, with the forms thereof, and that the said material and common Bread and Wine are only the signs and tokens of Christ, is only to take material Bread and Wine, and to break it and distribute it among the People, remembering thereby the passion and death of Christ only.

5. Item, That thou hast believed and taught, and hast openly spoke and defended, and so dost believe, think maintain and defend, that the very true receiving and eating of Christs Body and Blood, is only to take material Bread and Wine, and to break it and distribute it among the People, remembering thereby the passion and death of Christ only.

6. Item, That thou hast likewise believed, thought and spoken, that the Mass, now used in the Realm of *England*, and in all the Churches abroad, is a blasphemous and naughty, and full of Idolatry, and is of the Ordinance of the Pope, and not of the Institution of Christ, and hath no goodness in it, having the *Gloria in Excelsis*, the Epistle and Gospel, and therefore thou hast not, nor will not come and be present at Mass, nor receive the Sacrament of the Altar, nor any other Sacrament of the Church, as they are now used in the Realm of *England*, &c.

7. Item, That thou hast in times past believed, and yet dost now believe, that Auricular Confession is not needful to be made unto the Priest, but is a thing superfluous, void and naught, only to be made to God and to man, and other person. And likewise thou hast concluded as superfluous, vain and unprofitable, all the Ceremonies of the Church, and the Service of the same, and hast said that no Service in the Church ought to be said but in the English Tongue; and if it be otherwise, it is unlawful and naught.

8. Item, That thou being notoriously and openly infected for an Heretic, and a person culpable in the Prelates, wast of late called and convented before the Earl of *Oxford*, and Master *Philip Paris*, and there wast charged with the said Heresies, especially against the Sacrament of the Altar. And because thou didst maintain and stand to thy said Heresies, and wouldst not come to the Church and be confessed, and receive the said Sacrament as other Christian People did, but utterly didst refuse to do the same, thou wast by the said Earl of *Oxford*, and Master *Philip Paris* sent up by a Constable unto me Bishop of *London* and wast by them denounced, excommunicated, and put up to me as an Heretic and misbelieving person.

9. Item, That thou hast known and believed, thou dost know and believe, or at least thou hast credibly heard reported, spoken and said, and all manner of persons, which do teach, preach, or hold any thing concerning the Sacraments of the Church, or any the Articles of the Faith, otherwise than is found already discussed and determined by our Mother the holy Church, or doth call into doubt or question that thing which is already decided or determined by the Church, or that willingly and wittingly do utter, openly or privily, any fanciful or blasphemous words concerning the said Sacraments or any of them; that do preach, teach or keep any Sect or kind of Heresy against the wholesome Doctrine of the Church, and do wittingly, willingly, or obtinately defend the Sect or kind of Heresy, as by the Canons of the whole Universal Catholic Church, and also by the Ecclesiastical Laws of this Church of *England*, by their so doing, as cursed with that Curse, which doth separate them from the entry into the Church, from the receiving of the Sacraments, and from the company of faithful People, and are (in continuing in this said Sect and Heresy) to be pronounced, declared, and taken for Heretics, and to be delivered to the Secular Power, and by the Laws Temporal of this Realm of *England*, and the custom of the same, to be by the said Secular Power put to death and burnt for this said Sect and Heresy.

10. Item, That thou by reason of the Premises said and art to be pronounced, taken, had, reputed, and judged for a manifest and open, wilful and obstinate Heretic, for a wicked and cursed Person, and to be punished accordingly for the same, according to the said Canon Laws, statutes and customs.

The Answers which the said Thomas Osmond, William Bamford, and Nicholas Chamberlain severally made unto these Articles.

TO the first they answered and confessed the same to be true, except that they do believe that there is here in the Earth one Catholic and whole Church, and that the same Church doth hold and believe, as is contained in this Article.

To the second they answer, and believe the said Article not to be true; for they say that they have and do believe that they are necessarily bounden, under the pain of damnation of their Soul, to give full faith and credence unto the said Catholic Church and to the Faith and Religion of the same, in all necessary points of the same Faith and Religion, without wavering or doubting in any part thereof.

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Cham. Now after a little pausing, my Lord Chancellor beginneth again to declare, that the Doctrine taught in King Edwards days was Herefie, ufing for probation and demonstration thereof, no Scripture nor Reason, but this: that it ended with Treason and Rebellion, to u (quoth he) the very end were enough to prove the Doctrine to be naughty,

Cham. Here the L^d Chancellor replied, and said that the said Bradward began with a true fence, *Quod fletum in magna, &c.* But quoth he, this and all thy gellure clarish but Hypocrite and vain-glory. And further he said, that he would purge himself, that he fought with guileful Blooded to be a long process how that Bradward fact at *Pauls Crois*, was preumptuous, & arrogant, and declared a taking upon him to lead the People, who could not turn to much diffidence in that thou (said he) *to Bradward* thou shouldst have commended him to the Court, which-as thou wilt then come to go on, so hitherto thou hast been in prison, where thou hast written Letters to no little hurt to the Queens peace as by report of the Earl of *Dorby* in the Parliament House was evidently declared. And to this he added, that the said Bradward was a man of a very low condition, and that he was before them and therefore not for any other thing, than I demand of thee, quoth he, but of and for thy Doctrin and Religion.

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of

Bradford
stands still
to his Oath. tal
fo

L.Chan. These be gay glorious words, full of hypo-

L.Chan. Here yet more the Lord Chancellor was stirred, and said, how that *Bradford* went about to deny all

Difference
of Oaths :
some with
Faith and
Charity

The Oath
against the
Bishop of
Rome, is not
against the

Rom. 13.
Bishops, Pro-
phets and
Apostles
Subject to
Temporal
Magistrates.

Brad. Indeed, my Lord, this is small Charity, to condemn a man as you have condemned me, which never broke your Laws. In Turkey a man may have Charity, but in England I could not find it. I was condemned for my Faith, so soon as I uttered it at your requests, before I had committed any thing against the Laws. And as for conference, I am not afraid to talk with whom ye will. But to say that I desire to confer, that I do not.

Boner. Well, well, and he called for Mr. Taylor, and Bradford went his way.

Another private matter of talk between Mr. Bradford and Willerton, Cresswell, Harding, Harpsfield, and others more.

Upon another day of February, one Mr. Willerton, Chaplain of the Bishop of London, did come to confer with Bradford, but when he perceived that Bradford desired not his coming, and therefore without his departing then abiding: Well, Mr. Bradford, quoth he, yet I pray you let us confer a little, perchance you may do good, if I can do you none. Upon which words Bradford was content, and so they began to talk. Willerton spake much of the Doctors, the Fathers, the Bread in the sixth of John, &c. labouring to prove Transubstantiation, and that wicked men do receive Christ.

But Bradford on the contrary part proposed his Authorities, so that they came to this issue, that Willerton should draw out of the Scriptures and Doctors his Reasons, and Bradford would peruse them; and if he could not answer them, then he would give place. Likewise also should Bradford draw out his Reasons out of the Scriptures and Doctors, to which Willerton should answer if he could: and so for that day they departed.

The next day following in the Morning, Willerton sent half a sheet of Paper written on both sides, containing no Reasons how he gathered his Doctrine, but only bare Sentences; *Panis quod ego dabo, &c. The Bread which I will give is my flesh, &c.* And the places in the 26. of Matthew, the 14. of Mark, the 22. of Luke, and the 10. and 11. to the Corinthians, with some Sentences of the Doctors, which made as much against him as with him.

In the Afternoon he came again, as with him, and made a long talk to little effect. At the length Willerton began to talk of the Church, saying that Bradford sweared from the Church.

Brad. No that I do not, but ye do. For the Church is Christ's Spouse, and Christ's obedient Spouse, which your Church is not, which robbers the People of the Lords Cup, and of Service in the English Tongue.

Willer. Why? It is not profitable to have the Service in English; for it is written, *Labis Sacrae doli custodiam legem: The lip of the Priest should keep the Law, and out of his mouth man must look for knowledge.*

Brad. Should not the People then have the Scriptures? Wherefore serveth this saying of Christ's Church the Scriptures.

Willer. This was not spoken to the People, but to the Scribes and Learned men.

Brad. Then the People must not have the Scriptures.

Willer. No, for it is written, *Errant doli de Deo: They that err shall be all taught of God.*

Brad. And must we learn all at the Priests?

Willer. Yes.

Brad. Then I see you would bring the People to hang up Christ, and let Barabbas go, as the Priests did then pervert the People. As which words Mr. Willerton was so offended, that he had no talk to talk any more.

In the end Bradford gave him the Reasons which he had gathered against Transubstantiation, and prayed him to frame his into the form of Reasons, and then quoth Bradford, I will answer them.

Willer. Well, I will do so. But first I will answer yours.

The which thing until this day he has not done.

Upon the 12. of February, there came one of the Earl of Dorset's Servants to Bradford, saying, My Lord hath sent me to you, he willeth you to tender your self, and he will be a good Lord to you.

Brad. I thank his Lordship for his good will towards me: but in this case I cannot tender my self more than Gods Honour.

Servant. Ah Mr. Bradford, consider your Mother, Sir Anno's Friends, Kinsfolks, and Country, what a great dishonour will it be unto them to see you dye as an Heretic?

Brad. I have learned to forsake Father, Mother, Brother, Sister, Friend, and all that ever I have, yea, even mine own self, for life I cannot be Christ's Disciple.

Servant. If my Lord should obtain for you that ye might depart the Realm, would you not be content to be at the Queens appointments, where he would appoint you beyond the Sea.

Brad. No, I had rather be burned in England, than be buried beyond the Seas. For I know that if he should send me to Paris, Louvain, or some such place, forthwith they would burn me.

Talk between Mr. Bradford and one Percival Cresswell, and after that with Dr. Harding.

Upon the fourteenth of February, Percival Cresswell, an old Acquaintance of Bradford's, came to him, bringing with him a Kinsman of Mr. Fecknam's, who after many words, said;

Cres. I pray you let me make labour for you.

Brad. You may do what ye will.

Cres. But tell me what ye will do, if I should make you an old Acquaintance of Bradford's, who after many words, said;

Brad. Forsooth that ye will do, if I should make you an old Acquaintance of Bradford's, who after many words, said;

Cres. I pray you let me make labour for you.

Brad. You may do what ye will.

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Brad. You may do what ye will.

lutions, he made a long Oration, of which this is a short part; That all men, even the Infidels, Turks, Jews, Anabaptists, and Libertines, desire felicity as well as the Christians, and how that every one thinketh they shall attain unto it by their Religion. To which Bradford answered briefly, that he spake not far amiss.

Harf. Then said Harpsfield, But the way thither is not alike: For the Infidels by Jupiter, Juno, the Turk by his Alcoran, the Jew by his Talmud, do believe to come to Heaven. For so may I speak of such as believe the immortality of the Soul, briefly, that he spake not far amiss.

Brad. You speak truly.

Harf. Well, then here is the matter, to know the way to this Heaven:

Brad. We may not invent any manner of ways. There is but one way, and that is Jesus Christ, as he himself doth witness: I am the way.

Harf. It is true that you say, and false also: I suppose that you mean by Christ, believing in Christ.

Brad. I have learned to discern between Faith and Christ. Albeit Confess, that who so believeth in Christ, the same shall be saved.

Harf. No, not all that believe in Christ; for some shall say, Lord, Lord, have not saved on Devils, &c. But Christ will answer in the day of judgment to thee, Depart from me, I know you not.

Brad. You must make difference between believing, and saying I believe: As for example, If one should say and swear he loveth you, for all his sayings, ye will not believe him, when you see he speaketh so to utter and do all the evil against you that he can.

Harf. Well, this is not much material. There is but one way, Christ. How come we to know him? Where shall we seek to find him?

Brad. Forsooth, we must seek him by his Word, and in his Word, and after his Word.

Harf. Very good; but tell me now how first we came into the company of them that could tell us this, but by the word of Baptism.

Brad. Baptism is the Sacrament, by the which outwardly we are engendered into Christ: I say outwardly, because I dare not exclude from Christ all that dye without Baptism. I will not say that God will be so true to some. Some infants dye, whose Parents desire Baptism for them, and say, have them.

Harf. To these we may think perchance that God will give them Mercy.

Brad. Yes, the Children whose Parents do condemn Baptism will not condemn, because the Child shall not bear the Fathers offence.

Harf. Well, we agree, that by Baptism then we are brought, and (as a man would say) begotten to Christ. For Christ is our Father, and the Church his Spouse is our Mother. As all men naturally have Adam for their Father, and Eve for their Mother: so all spiritual men have Christ for their Father, and the Church for their Mother: and as Eve was taken out of Adams side, so was the Church taken out of Christs side; whereout flowed blood for the satisfaction and purgation of our sins.

Brad. All this is truly spoken.

Harf. Now then tell me whether this Church of Christ be not always?

Brad. Yes, since the creation of man, and shall be forever.

Harf. Very good. But yet tell me whether this Church is a visible Church, or no?

Brad. It is, no otherwise visible, then Christ was here in Earth; that is, by no outward pomp or show that stretch her forth commonly, and therefore to see her we must put on such eyes, as good men put on to see and know Christ when he walked here on Earth: for as Eve was of the same substance that Adam was of, so was the Church of the same substance that Christ was of, Fifth of his flesh, and bone of his bone; as Paul faith, Ephes. 5. Look therefore how Christ was visibly known to be Christ when he was on Earth; that is, by considering him after the Word of God, so is the Church known.

Harf. I do not come to reason at this present, and therefore I will go on forward. Is not this Church a multitude?

Brad. Yes that it is. Howbeit, *Latet angui in herba,*

as the Proverb is. For in your Question is a subtilty. What visible multitude was there in *Helias* time, or when *Moses* was on the Mount, *Aaron* and all *Israel* worshipping him the Cal? I

Harf. Ye divert from the matter.

Brad. No, nothing at all. For I do prevent you, knowing well where about you go. I do therefore fewer words might well serve if that you so would.

Harf. Well, I perceive you have knowledge and by a little perceive I the more. Tell me yet more, whether this multitude have not the ministry or preaching of the Word?

Brad. Sir, ye go about the bush. If ye understand preaching for the confining of the Gospel, I will go with you: for else if you will, you may know that perfection often letteth preaching.

Harf. Well, I mean it so. Tell me yet more: hath it not the Sacraments administered?

Brad. It hath the Sacraments, howbeit the administration of them is often letted. But I will put you from your purpose, because I see where about you go. If Heretics have Baptism, and do baptize, as they did in *S. Cyprus* time, you know this Baptism is Baptism, and not the one that we reiterate. This Bradford did speak, that the founders by might say, that though the Papists Church have Baptism which we have received of them, yet therefore it is not the true Church, neither need we to be baptized again.

Harf. You go far from the matter, and I perceive you have more Errors than one.

Brad. So you say, but that is not enough till you prove them.

Harf. Well, this Church is a multitude. Hath it not the preaching of the Gospel, and the ministrations of the Sacraments? And yet more, hath it not the power of Jurisdiction?

Brad. What Jurisdiction is exercised in Perfection and Affliction.

Harf. I mean by Jurisdiction admonishing one another, and so forth.

Brad. Well, go to; what then?

Harf. It hath also Succession of Bishops. And here comes much ado to prove that this was an essential point.

Brad. You say as you would have it; for if this part fail you, all the Church that you go about to set up will fall down. You shall not find in all the Scripture this your essential part of Succession of Bishops. In Christs Church, that Antichrist will fall. And *Peter* saith us, as it is written in the Old Church after Christs coming, so will it be in the New Church since Christs coming; that is, as there were false Prophets, and such as bear rule were Adversaries to the true Prophets, so shall there be (faith he) false Teachers, even of such as are Bishops, and bear rule amongst the People.

Harf. You go always out of the matter: but I will prove further the Succession of Bishops.

Brad. Do so.

Harf. To tell me, were not the Apostles Bishops?

Brad. No, except you will make a new definition of a Bishop: that is, give him no certain place.

Harf. Indeed, the Apostles Office was not the Bishops Office: for it was universal, but yet Christ instituted Bishops in his Church, as Paul faith, he hath given Pastors, Prophets, &c. So that I trow it be proved by the Scriptures the Succession of Bishops to be an essential point.

Brad. The ministry of Gods Word and Ministers, be an essential point. But to translate this to the Bishops of the Church, and their Succession, is a plain subtilty. And therefore Sir, be as plain as I can, I will ask you a Question. Tell me, whether the Scripture knew any difference between the Bishops and Ministers, which ye called Priests?

Harf. No.

Brad. Well, then go on forward, and let us see what they shew now by the Succession of Bishops: that is, of Ministers which can be understood of such Bishops as pass minister not, but Lord it.

Harf. I perceive that you are far out of the way. By your Doctrine you can never show in your Church multitude which ministereth Gods Word, and his Sacraments, which hath Jurisdiction and Succession of Bishops, which

from time to time believed, as you believe, beginning new, and going upwards, as I will do of our Doctrine, and therefore are ye out of the Church, and ye cannot be saved. Perchance you will bring me conwards a frow to bear Peoples eyes; but to go upwards, that you can never do, and this is the true trial.

Brad. Ye scuff and with I am assured, give me leave to follow the Scriptures and Examples of good men.

Harf. Yea.

Brad. Well then, Stephen was accused and condemned as I am, that he had taught new and false Doctrine, before the Fathers of the Church then as they were taken. **Steph.** for his Purpation improve their Accusation. But how? doth he by going upwards? no, but by coming downwards, beginning at Abraham, and continuing still till *Elias* time, and the Peoples Captivity. From whence he maketh a great leap until the time he was in which (I think) upon 400. years, and called them by their right names, Hell-hounds, rather than Heaven-lands. On this names, Hell-hounds, and that can you never do you.

Harf. Yea Sir, if we did know that you had the Holy Ghost, then could we believe you. Here **Bradford** would have answered, that **Stephens** Enemies would not believe he had the Holy Ghost, and therefore they did as they did: but as he was in speaking, Mr. **Harpsfield** rose up and the dead Child said, Keeper and others that stood by took gently, and praying **Bradford** to take lead to him. Archdeacon spoke, who still said that **Bradford** was out of the Church. **Brad.** Sir I am most certain that I am in Christs Church, and I can flee a demonstration of my Religion from time to time continually.

God our Father, for the name and blood of his Christ be merciful unto us, and unto all his people, and deliver them from false Teachers, and blind Guides, through whom (alas) I fear me, much hurt will come to this Realm of England. God our Father bless us, and keep us in his Truth, and your Church for ever. Amen.

Then the Archdeacon departed, saying, that he would come again the next Morning.

The next days talk between Dr. Harpsfield and Mr. Bradford.

Upon the 16. of February in the Morning, the Archdeacon, and the other two with him, came again, and after a few by-words spoken, they fate down. **Harf.** Mr. Archdeacon began a very long Orations first repeating what they had said, and how far they came over night, and thereafter did begin to prove upwards the Succession of Bishops here in England for 800 years: in Church by Succession of Bishops here in Spain at Hispan for 800 years: in Italy at Milan for 1200 years, labouring by this to prove his Church. He used all Succession of Bishops in the East Church for the more confirmation of his words, and so concluded with an Exhortation and an Interrogation: The Exhortation, that **Bradford** would obey this Church; the Interrogation, whether **Bradford** could flee any such Succession for the demonstration of his Church (for he called it) which followed.

Brad. Unto this his long Orations, **Bradford** made this short Answer: My memory is evil, for he said that I cannot answer particularly your Orations.

Therefore I will generally do, thinking because your Orations is rather to persuade than to prove, that a small Answer will serve. If Christ or his Apostles, being here on Earth, had been required by the Prelates of the Church then; to have made a demonstration of that Church by the truth of Gods Word, which true Doctrine which he taught, I think that Christ would have done as I do: that is, have alledged that which upholdeth the Church, even the Verity, the Word of God taught and believed, not by the high Priests, which of long time had perverted it, but by the Prophets and other good simple men which perchance were counted for Heretics of the Church; which Church was not tied to Succession, but to the Word of God. And this to think *S. Peter* giveth me occasion, when he saith that as it went in the Church before Christs coming, so shall it go in the Church after his coming: but then the Willers of the Church were Persecutors of the Church; therefore the like we must look for now.

Harf. I can gather and prove Succession in Jerusalem Anno of the high Priests from *Aaron* time.

Brad. I grant, but not such Succession as allowed the Truth.

Harf. Why, did they not allow *Moses* Law.

Brad. Yes, and keep it, as touching the Books thereof, as you do the Bible, and holy Scriptures. But the true interpretation and meaning of it they did corrupt, as you have done and do, and therefore the Perfection which they stirred up against the Prophets and Christ, was not for the Law, but for the interpretation of it. For they they taught as you do now, that we must fetch the interpretation of the Scriptures at your hands. But to make an end, I look daily for, ye hourly, and I think my time will be very short. Therefore I need to spend as much time with God as I can whilst I have it, for his help and comfort, and therefore I pray you bear with me, that I do not now particularly and in more words answer your long talk. If I saw death not so near me as it is, I would then weigh every piece of your Orations, if you would give me the sum of it, and I would answer accordingly: but because I dare not, nor I will not leave off looking and preparing for that which is at hand, I shall defer you to hold me excused, though I do as I do, and heartily thank you for your gentle good will: I shall heartily pray God our Father to give you the same light and life. I do wish to my self; and do **Bradford** began to rise up.

Harf. But then began Mr. Archdeacon to tell him he was in very perilous case, and that he was sorry to see him so fed. As for death, whether it be nigh or far, I know no, neither foresee it, so that you did it well. **Brad.** I doubt not in this case but that I shall dye well. I for as I hope and am certain my death shall please the Lord, so I trust I shall dye cheerfully to the comfort of his Children.

Harf. But what if you be deceived?

Brad. What if you should say the Sun did not shine now; (and the Sun did shine through the window where they fate.)

Harf. Well, I am sorry to see you so secure and careless.

Brad. Indeed I am more carnally secure and careless than I should be: God make me more vigorous. But in this case I cannot be so secure, for I am most assured I am in the Truth.

Harf. That ye are not; for you are out of the Catholic Church.

Brad. No, though you have Excommunicated me out of your Church, yet am I in the Catholic Church of Christ, and am, and by Gods Grace shall be a Child, and an obedient Child of it for ever. I hope Christ will have no less care for me than he had for the blind man Excommunicated of the Synagogue: And further, I am sure that the necessary Articles of the Faith, I mean the twelve Articles of the Creed, I confess and believe with that which you call the holy Church, so that even your Church hath taken too much upon her to Excommunicate me for that which by the testimony of my Lord of *Durham*, in the Book of the Sacrament lately put forth, was free many an hundred year after Christ, to believe or not believe.

Harf. What is that?

Brad. Transubstantiation.

Harf. Why: ye are not condemned therefore only.

Brad. For that, and because I deny that wicked men do receive Christs Body.

Harf. You agree not with us in the Prefence, nor in any thing else.

Brad. How you believe you know: for my part I confess a Prefence of whole Christ, God and Man, to the Faith of the Receiver.

Harf. Nay, you must believe a Real Prefence in the Sacrament.

Brad. In the Sacrament? Nay, I will not shut him in, nor yet him to it otherwise than Faith feed and receive. If I should include Christ really present in the Sacrament, or yet him to it otherwise than to the Faith of the Receiver, then the wicked men should receive him, which I do not, nor will by Gods Grace believe.

Harf. More pity: But a man may easily perceive, you make no Prefence at all, and therefore you agree nothing in with us.

Brad.

Brad. I confess a Prefence, and a true Prefence but to the Faith of the receiver.

What (quoth one that stood by) of Christs very Body which died for us?

Brad. Yea, even of whole Christ God and Man, to feed the Faith of him that receiveth it.

Harf. Why? this is nothing else but to exclude the Omnipotency of God, and all kind of miracle in the Sacrament.

Brad. I do not exclude his Omnipotency, but you do it rather: for I believe that Christ can accomplish his promise, the substance of Bread and Wine being there, as well as the accidents, which you believe not. When we come to the Sacrament, we come not to feed our Bodies, and therefore we have but a little piece of Bread, but we come to feed our Souls with Christ by Faith, which the wicked do want, and therefore they receive nothing but *panem Domini*, as *Judas* did, and not *panem Dominum*, as the other Apostles did.

Harf. The wicked do receive the very Body of Christ, but not the Grace of his Body.

Brad. They receive not the Body. For Christs Body is no dead Carcase: he that receiveth it, receiveth the Spirit, which is not without Grace I row.

Harf. Well, you have many errors. You count the Mass for abomination, and yet *Saint Ambrose* said Mass, and so he read out of a Book written a Sentence of *Ambrose* to prove it.

Brad. Why Sir? the Mass as it is now, was nothing so in *S. Ambrose* time. Was not the most part of the Canon made since by *Gregory* and *Scholasticus*?

Harf. Indeed a great piece of it was made (as ye say) by *Gregory*: but *Scholasticus* was before *S. Ambrose* time.

Brad. I ween not: howbeit I will not contend. *Saint Gregory* saith, that the Apostles said Mass without the Canon, only with the Lords Prayer.

Harf. You say true: for the Canon is not the greatest part of the Mass, the greatest part is the Sacrifice, which is the Body of Christ.

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Harf. You say true: for the Canon is not the greatest part of the Mass, the greatest part is the Sacrifice, which is the Body of Christ.

Elevation, Transubstantiation, and Adoration.

Brad. I can away with none of those.

Harf. No, I think the same: but yet *He facit*, let plain the Sacrifice of the Church.

Brad. You confound Sacrifices, not differing betwixt the Sacrifice of the Church, and for the Church. The Sacrifice of the Church is no propitiatory Sacrifice, but a gratulatory Sacrifice. And as for *He facit*, is not referred to any Sacrifice, and as to the whole action of taking, eating, &c.

Harf. You speak not learnedly now: for Christ made his Supper only to the twelve Apostles, not admitting his Mother or any of the seventy Disciples to it. Now the Apostles do signify the Priest.

Brad. I think that you speak as you would Men should understand it: for else you would not keep the Cup away from the Laity. We have great cause to thank you, that you will give us of your Bread. For I perceive you order the matter so, as though Christ had not commanded it to his whole Church.

Harf. Then *Harpsfield* would have proved Elevation by a place of *Basilian*.

Brad. I have read the place, which seemeth to make nothing for elevation: but be it as it is, this is no time for me to scan the doubtful places of the Doctors with you. I have been in Prison long without Books and necessities for study, and now death draweth nigh, and I by your leave must now leave off to prepare for him.

Harf. If I could do you good, I would be right glad, either in Soul or Body. For you are in a perilous case both ways.

Brad. Sir, I thank you for your good will. My cafe is as it is. I thank God it was never so well with me, for Death to me shall be Life.

Harf. It were best for you to desire Master Archdeacon that he would make sure for you, that you might have a time to confer.

Harf. I will do the best I can: for I pity his cafe.

Brad. Sir, I will not desire any Body to sue for time

Certain Bishops talking with Mr. Bradford in Prison.



Two Spanish Friars, talking with Mr. Bradford.



The talk of Doctor Heath Archbishop of York, and Day Bishop of Chichester, with Master Bradford.

The three and twentieth of the same Month, the Talk between the Archbishop of York and the Bishop of Chichester, when the Bishop came to the Counter to speak with Bradford. When he was

Tork. I pray you whereby?

Brad. Forsooth *Chrysofom* faith, *Tantummodo per Scripturas*, alone by the Scriptures, and this speaketh he very contentedly, as ye well know.

Tork. Indeed that is of *Chrysofom* in *opere imperfecto*, which may be doubted of. Thetting whereby the Church may be known belid, is sufficient of Bishops.

Bradford No, my Lord, *Lysa* full well writeth upon *Matthew*, that *Ecclesia non confititur in hominibus ratione*, *sed in Ecclesiis*, *sed in hominibus in quibus est ratio vera*, *et confititur fidei et veritati*: that is, The Church confiteth not in Men by reason either of Secular or Temporal Power, but in Men indeed with true knowledge, and confession of Faith, and of verity.

And in *Epistolam* time, you know he writeth to *Ausencia*, that the Church did *desertit* *desertit* in *caverna*, *then emense in primariis* *edibus*: that is, was hidden rather in Caves and Holes, then did glitter and shine in Thrones of prebendence.

Then came one of the Servants and told them, that my Lord of *Durham* tarried for them at *Matter Tork* House; and this was after that they had tarried three hours with *Bradford*. And after that their Man was come they put up their written Books of common places, and said that they lamented his case: they willed him to read over a Book which did *D. Crome* goods; and to witting him good in words they went their way, and poor *Bradford* to his Prison.

After this Communication with the Bishops ended, within two days following came into the *Comer* two Spanish Friars to talk with *Master Bradford*, sent (as they said) by the Earl of *Derby*; of whom the one was the Kings Confessor, the other was *Alphonso*, who had before written a *Popish* Book against Heretics, the effect of which their reasoning here likewise followeth.

Talk between Master Bradford and two Spanish Friars.

Upon the five and twentieth day of *February*, at eight of the Clock in the Morning, two Spanish Friars came to the *Comer* where *Bradford* was Prisoner; to whom *Bradford* was called. Then the one Friar, which was the Kings Confessor, asked in Latin (for all their talk was in Latin) of *Bradford*, whether he had not seen or heard of one *Alphonso* that had written against Heretics?

Brad. I do not know him.

Conf. Well, this Man (pointing to *Alphonso*) is he, we are come to you of Love and Charity, by the means of the Earl of *Derby*, because you desire to confer with us.

Brad. never desired your coming, nor to confer with you, or any other. But being you are come of Charity, as you say, I cannot but thank you: and as touching conference, though I desire not, yet I will not refuse to talk with you if you will.

Alphon. It were requisite that you did pray unto God, that ye might follow the direction of Gods Spirit, that he would inspire you, so that ye be not addit to your own self-will or will.

Brad. Whereupon *Bradford* made a prayer, and besought God to direct all his works, words, and works, as the wills, words, and works of his Children for ever. *Alphon.* Yea, you must pray with your Heart. For if you speak with Tongue only, God will not give you his Grace.

Brad. Sir, do not judge, lest ye be judged. You have heard my words, now Charity would have you leave the Judgment of the Heart to God.

Alphon. You must be as it were a *neuter*, and not wedded to your self, but as one standing in doubt: pray and be ready to receive what God shall inspire, for in vain labourerth our Tongue to speak etc.

Brad. Sir, my Sentence, if you mean it for Religion, I must not be in a doubting or uncertain, as I thank God I am certain in that for which I am Condemned. I have no cause to doubt of it, but rather to be more certain of it; and therefore I pray God to move in it. For it is his truth, and because it is to certain and true

that it may abide the light, I dare be bold to have it looked on, and confer it with you, or any Man in respect whereof I am brought of your coming, and thank you for it.

Alphon. What is the matter whereof you were condemned? We know not.

Brad. Sir, I have been in Prison almost two years: never transgressed any of their Laws wherefore I might justly be Prisoned, and now am I Condemned, only because I frankly confessed, whereof I repent not, my Faith concerning the Sacrament, when I was demanded in these two points: one, that there is no Transubstantiation, the other, that the wicked do not receive Christs Body.

Alphon. Let us look a little on the first: Do you not believe the Church is present really, and corporally in the Eucharist?

Brad. No, do believe that Christ is present to the Faith of the worthy receiver: as there is present Bread and Wine to the senses and outward Man: as for any such presence of including and placing Christ, I believe not, nor dare believe.

Alphon. I am sure you believe Christs Natural Body is circumscribable. And here he made much ado of the two Natures of Christ, how that the one is every where, and the other is in his proper place, demanding such questions as no wife Man would have spent any time about. At length because the Friar had forgotten to conclude, *Bradford* put him in mind of it, and thus then at length he concluded. How that because Christs Body is circumscribable, concerning the Humane Nature in Heaven, therefore it was so in the Bread.

How hangeth this together? Even as if you should say: because you are here, *Ergo*, it must needs follow that you are at *Rome*. For this you reason; Because Christs Body is in Heaven: *Ergo*, it is in the Sacrament under the form of Bread: which no wife Man will grant.

Alphon. Why? will you believe nothing but that which is expressly spoken in the Scriptures?

Brad. Yes Sir, I will believe whatsoever you shall by demonstration out of the Scriptures declare unto me.

Alphon. He is obdurate, quoth *Alphonso* to his fellow: and then turning to *Bradford*, said, Is not God able to do it?

Brad. Yes, but here the question is of Gods will, and not of his power.

Alphon. Why? doth he not say plainly, This is my Body? *Brad.* Yes, and I deny not but that it is so, to the Faith of the worthy receiver.

Alphon. To the Faith? how is that?

Brad. Forsooth Sir, as I have no Tongue to express it: so I know ye have no ears to hear and understand it. For I will be more than Man can utter.

Alphon. But I can tell that I believe.

Brad. You believe not much then. For if you believe the joys of Heaven, and believe no more thereof then you can tell, you will not yet desire to come thither. For as the mind is more capable and receiveth then the mouth, so it conceiveth more then Tongue can express.

Alphon. Christ faith it is his Body.

Brad. And so say I, after a certain manner.

Alphon. After a certain manner? that is, after another manner then it is in Heaven.

Brad. Saint *Augustine* telleth it more plainly, that it is Quodammodo, the Covenant of Gods, and the Sacrament of Faith is Faith; or to make it more plain, as Baptism and the Water of Baptism is Regeneration.

Alphon. Very well said, Baptism and the Water thereof is a Sacrament of Gods Grace and Spirit in the Water cleansing the Baptized.

Brad. No Sir, away with your enclosing: but this I grant, that after the same sort Christs Body is in the Bread, on which forth the Grace and Spirit of God is in the Water.

Alphon. In Water is Gods Grace by signification.

Brad. So is the Body in the Bread in the Sacrament.

Alphon. You are much deceived, in that you make no difference between the Sacraments that be Handers, and the Sacraments that are transitory and passers by. As for example,

Example, the Sacrament of Orders, which you deny, though *S. Augustine* affirm it, it is a Handers, although the Ceremony pass. But in Baptism is soon as the Body is washed, the Water ceaseth to be a Sacrament.

Brad. Very good and so it is in the Supper of the Lord: no longer then it is in use, is it Christs Sacrament.

Here was the Friar in a wonderful rage, and spake so high (as often he had done before) that the whole House rang again, chafing with me and do. He hath a great name of learning, but surely he hath little patience: for if *Bradford* had been any thing hot, one House could not have held them. At the length he cometh to this point, that *Bradford* could not find in the Scripture Baptism and the Lords Supper to bear any familiarity together. And here he triumphed before the conquest, saying, that these Men would receive nothing but Scripture, and yet were able to prove nothing by the Scripture.

Brad. Be patient, and you shall see that by the Scripture I will find Baptism and the Lords Supper coupled together.

Alphon. No, that canst thou never do. Let me see a text of it.

Brad. Paul faith; *That as we are Baptized into one Body, so were we potati in uno spiritu, i. we have drunk of one Spirit*, meaning the Cup in the Lords Supper.

Alphon. Paul hath no such words.

Brad. Yes that he hath.

Conf. I trow he hath not.

Brad. Give me a Textament, and I will show you.

So a Priest that fate by them gave him his Testament, and he shewed them the plain Text. Then they looked one upon another. In fine the Friar found this simple file, that *Paul* faith not of the Sacrament.

Brad. Well, the Text is plain enough, and there are of the Fathers which do so understand the place: For *Chrysofom* doth expound it so.

Alphon. *Alphonso* which had the Testament in his hand, desirous to suppress this foil, turned the Leaves of the Book from Leaf to Leaf, till he came to the place, 1 Cor. 11 and there he read how that he was guilty, which made no difference of the Lords Body.

Brad. Yes, but therewith he faith, *He that eateth of the Bread*: calling it Bread still: and that after Consecration (as ye call it) as in the tenth of the *Corinthians* he faith, *The Bread which we break*, &c.

Alphon. Oh how ignorant are ye, which know not that things after their Conversion do retain the name Names which they had before, as *Moses* Rod: and calling for a Bible after he had found the place, he began to triumph:

But *Bradford* cooled him quickly, saying,

Brad. Sir, there is mention made of the Consecration, as well as that the same appeared to the sense. But here ye cannot find it so. Find me one word how the Bread is converted, and I will then say, ye bring some matter that maketh for you.

Alphon. At these words the Friar was troubled, and at length he said, how that *Bradford* hangeth on his own file.

Brad. No that do I not; for I will bring you forth the Fathers of the Church 800. years after Christ, to confirm this which I speak.

Alphon. No, you have the Church against you.

Brad. I have not Christs Church against me.

Alphon. I see that you have. What is the Church?

Brad. Christs Wife, the Chair and Seat of verity.

Alphon. Is the visible?

Brad. Yea that is to them that will put on the Spectacles of Gods Word to look on her.

Alphon. This Church hath defined the contrary, and that I will prove by all the good Fathers from Christs Ascension, even for 800. years at the least continually.

Brad. What will you prove? Transubstantiation?

Alphon. Yea, that the Bread is turned into Christs Body.

Brad. You speak more then you can do.

Alphon. That do I not.

Brad. Then will I give place.

Alphon. Will you believe it?

Brad. Belief is Gods gift; therefore cannot I promise: but I tell you that I will give place; and I hope I shall believe his truth always, so good is he to me in Christs my Saviour.

Alphon. Here the Friar found a great fault with *Bradford*; that he made no difference between *Habitus* and *Ides*; as though *Adam*, which he called credulity, had been his power. But this he let pass, and came again asking *Bradford*, if he could prove it as he said, whether he would give place?

Brad. Yea that I will. Then called he for Paper, Pen, and Ink, to write; and then said, I What and if that I prove by the Testimony of the Fathers, that continually for 800. years after Christ, at the least, they did believe that the substance of Bread doth remain in the Sacrament? what will ye do?

Alphon. I will give place.

Brad. Then write you what you will give place if I do prove, and I will write that I will give place if you prove: because ye are the ancient, ye shall have the Prebendancy.

Here the Friar fumed marvellously, and said; I came not to learn at thee: Are not here witnesses? (meaning the Priests) be not they sufficient? But the Man was so chafed, that if *Bradford* had not passed over this matter of writing, the Friar would have slain to plain folding.

Conf. At the length the Kings Confessor asked *Bradford* what the second question was?

Brad. That wicked Men receive not Christs Body in the Sacrament, as *S. Augustine* speaketh of *Judas*, that he received *Panem Domini*, but not *Panem Dominum*.

Alphon. *Alphonso* faith not so.

Brad. Yea that doth he. So they strove and talked no more of the matter. Thus went they away, without bidding *Bradford* farewell.

A Priest. After they were gone one of the Priests came, and willed *Bradford* not to be so obtinate.

Brad. Sir be not you to wavering; in all the Scripture cannot you find me, nor off point.

Priest. Yes that I can in five places.

Brad. Then I will eat your Book. So the Book was opened, but no place found; and he went his way finding. God help us.

Talk between Master Bradford and Doctor Welton, and others.

I T followed after this upon the twenty one of the Month of *March*, that by means of one of the Earl of *Derby* Men, there came to the *Comer* to dinner one *M. Collier*, once Warden of *Mancaster*, and the said Servant of the Earl of *Derby*, of whom *M. Bradford* learned that Doctor *Welton* Dean of *Westminster* would be with him in the afternoon about Two of the Clock. At Dinner time, when the said Warden did discommend King *Edward*, and went about to set forth the Authority of the Pope, which *Bradford* withstood, defending the Kings Faith, that it was Catholic, and that the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome* Supremacy was usurped, bringing forth the Testimony of *Gregory*, which affirmed the name of Supreme head to be a Title of the forerunner to Antichrist. A Woman Prisoner was brought in, whereupon the said *Bradford* took occasion to rise from the Table, and went to his Prison Chamber to beg of God Grace, and help therein, continuing there still until he was called down to speak with Master *Welton*, which was then come in.

Mr. *Bradford* then being called down, so from the Hall, he entered into the Hall, Master *Welton* very gently took M. *Bradford* by the hand, and asked how he did, with such other talk. At length he willed avoidance of the Chamber: so they all went out, save Master *Welton* himself, Master *Collier*, the Earl of *Derby* Servant, the Subdean of *Westminster*, the Keeper, *M. Clenden*, and the Parson of the Church where the *Comer* is.

Now when he began with Master *Bradford*, to tell how that he was often minded to have come unto him, being thereto desired of the Earl of *Derby*; and quoth he, that I perceived by this Man, that you could be contented rather to speak with me, than any other; could not but come to you good, I can for hurt you be sure will not.

Brad. Sir, quoth Mr. *Bradford*, when I perceived by the report of my Lords Servant, that you did bear me good will: more (as he said) than any other of your sort, I will not.

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nor things that be in this world; but long for the Lord Jesus his coming, at which time your Bodies shall be made like unto his glorious Body, when he appeareth you shall be like unto him; when your life shall thus be revealed, then shall ye appear with him in glory.

In the mean season live in hope thereof. Let the life you lead be in the faith of the Son of God: *For the just shall live by faith*: which faith lieth from all evil, and followeth the Word of God as a Lanthorn to his feet, and a Light to his steps; her eyes be above where Christ is, she beholdeth not the things present, but rather things to come, the glory in Affliction; the knoweth that the Afflictions of this life are not like to be compared to the Glory which God will reveal to us, in us. Of this Glory God grant us have a lively taste; then shall we run after the fount it fendeth forth will make us valiant men to take to us the Kingdom of God, whether the Lord of Mercy bring us in his good time through Christ our Lord, to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, three Persons and one God, be all honour and glory, a world without end, Amen.

My dearly beloved, I would gladly have given here my Body to have been burned for the confirmation of the true Doctrine I have taught here unto you. But that my Country must have. Therefore I pray you take in good part this signification of my good will towards every of you. Impute the want hereto to time and trouble. Pardon me mine offensive and negligent behaviour when I was amongst you. With me repent, and labour to amend. Continue in the Truth which I have truly taught unto you by preaching in all places where I have come; and God's Name therefore be praised. Confess Christ when you are called, whatsoever cometh thereof, and the God of Peace be with us all, Amen. This 11. of February, 1555.

Your Brother in bonds for the Lords sake,
John Bradford.

To the University and Town of Cambridge.

To all that love the Lord Jesus and his true Doctrine, being in the University and Town of Cambridge, John Bradford a most unworthy Servant of the Lord, now not only present, but also condemned for the same true Doctrine, with grace, peace, and mercy, with increase of all goodlines from God the Father of all mercy, through the bloody Passion of our Saviour Jesus Christ, by the lively working of the Holy Spirit for ever, Amen.

Although I look hourly when I should be had to the Stake (my right dearly beloved in the Lord) and although the charge over me is great and dreight, yet having by the Providence of God secretly Pen and Ink, I could not but something signify unto you my sollicitude which I have for you and every of you in the Lord, though not as I would, yet as I may. You have often and openly heard the truth (especially in this matter wherein I am condemned) disputed and preached, that it is needful to do any more but only to put you in remembrance of the same; but hitherto have you not heard it confirmed, and as it were sealed upon you do and shall hear by me, that is, by my death and burning. For albeit I have deserved (through my uncleanliness, hypocrisy, avarice, vain-glory, idleness, unthankfulness, and carnality, wherever I accuse myself, to my confusion before the world, that before God though Christ I might, as my assured hope is I shall, find mercy) eternal death, and hell fire much more than this affliction, yet prepared for me: yet, my dearly beloved, it is not these, or any of these things, whereby the Prelates do persecute me, but Gods verity and truth; yea, even Christ himself is the only cause and thing wherefore I am now condemned, and shall be burned as an Heretic, because I will not grant the Anichrist of Rome to be Christs Vicar general and supreme Head of his Church, here and every where upon earth, by Gods Ordinance; and because I will not grant such corporal, real, and carnal Presence of Christs Body and Blood in the Sacraments doth transubstantiate the substance of Bread and Wine, and is received of the wicked, of Dogs and Horses. Also I am excommunicated, & counted as a dead Member of Christs Church, as a rotten Branch, and therefore shall be cut into the fire.

Therefore ye ought heartily to rejoice with me, and to give thanks for me, that God the eternal Father hath vouchsafed our Mother to bring up any Child in whom it would please him to magnify his Name as he doth, and I hope for his mercies and truths sake, will do in me as by me. Oh, what such benefit upon earth can it be as that I, which deserved death by reason of my sins, should be delivered to a demonstration, a testification, and confirmation of Gods verity and truth? Thus my Mother the Church manifesteth unto thee by reading, disputing, and preaching publicly and privately; but now to make thee altogether excited, and as it were, almost to find against the Holy Ghost, if thou put to thy helping hand with the Romish rout to fippered the verity, and set out the contrary, thou hast my life and blood as a Seal to confirm thee, if thou wilt be confirmed, or else to confound thee, and bear witness against thee, if thou wilt take part with the Prelates and Clergy, which now fill up the measure of their Fathers which flew the Prophets and Apostles, that all the righteous blood from Abel to Bradford, shed upon earth, may be required at their hands.

Of this therefore I thought good before my death, as Cambridge, liberty would suffer me (for love and duty I bear unto thee) to admonish the good Mother, and my Sister the Town, that you would call to mind from whence you are fallen, and study to do the first works. You know (if you will) these matters of the Romish Superstition, and the Antichristian Transubstantiation, whereby Christs Supper is overturned, his Priesthood evanished, his Sacrifice frustrated, the Ministry of his Word unplaced, Repentance repelled, Faith fainter, Goodness evacuated, the Mass maintained, Idolatry supported, and all impiety cherished: you know I say (if you will) that these Opinions are not only besides Gods Word, but even directly against it, and therefore to take part with them, is to take part against God, against whom you cannot prevail.

Therefore for the tender mercy of Christ, in his bowels and blood I beseech you, to take Christs Calvary and Eye-fall to annoy your eyes, that you may see what you do and have done in admitting (as I hear you have admitted, you alas, authorized, and by consent confirmed) the Romish rotten rags, which once you utterly expelled. O be not *Gentis reus et ad causam*. Be not *Sine lege reverſa ad voluntarium* cuncti. Beware lest the Satan enter in with seven other Spirits, and then *postrema* shall be worse than the first. It had been better ye had never known the truth, then after knowledge to run from it. Ah, wo to this world and the things therein, which hath now brought you with you. Oh that ever this dirt of the Devil should daub up the eyes of the Realm. For thou, O Mother, art as the eye of the Realm. If thou be light and give shine, all the Body shall fare the better: But if thou the light be darkness, alas how great will the darkness be! What is man whose breath is in his nostrils, that thou shouldst thus be afraid of him?

Oh what is his honour and life here? Bubbles. What is the glory in this world, but shame? Why art thou afraid to carry Christs Cross? Wilt thou that thou shouldest not, and not drink of his Cup? Dost thou not know Rome to be Babylon? Dost thou not know that the old Babylon had the Children of Judah in Captivity, so hath this Rome the true Judah, that is, the Comforters of Christ? Dost thou not know that as destruction hanged unto us, so shall it do unto this? And trowest thou that God will not deliver his People now when the time is come, as he did then? Hath not God commanded his People to come out from hence and wilt thou give ensample to the whole Realm to run unto her? Haft thou forgotten the wo that Christ threateth to offence givers? Wilt thou not remember that it were better that a Millstone were hanged about thy neck, and thou thrown into the Sea, than that thou shouldst offend the little ones?

And alas, how hast thou offended? Yea, and how dost thou still offend? Wilt thou consider things according to the outward here? Was not the Synagogue more lovely and like to be the true Church, than the simple Flock of Christs Disciples? Hath not the Whore of Babylon more costly Array, and Rich Apparel externally to feed forth her self, than the homely Housewife of Christ? Where

where is the beauty of the Kings Daughter the Church of Christ? Without or within? Doth not David say, *Whither O remember* that as they are happy which are not offended at Christ, so are they happy which are not offended at his poor Church. Can the Pope and his Prelates mean honestly, which make so much of the Wife and little of the Husband? The Church they magnify, but Christ they contemn. If this Church were an honest Woman (that is, Christs Wife) except they would make much of her Husband, Christ and his Word, the would not be made much of them.

When Christ and Apostles were upon earth, who was more like to be the true Church, or the Prelates, Bishops, and Synagogue? If a Man should have followed custom, unity, antiquity, or the more part, should not Christ and his company have been cast out of the doors? Therefore bade Christ, Search the Scriptures. And good Mothers, shall the Servant be above his Master? Shall we look for other entertainment at the hands of the World, then Christ and his dear Disciples found? Who was taken in Naobs time for the Church? Poor Naob and his Family, or others? Who was taken for Gods Church in Sodom? It was Lot, and doth not Christ say: As it was, so shall it go now towards the coming of the Son of Man? What meaneth Christ when he saith, *Iniquity shall have the upper hand*? Doth not he tell, that Charity shall wax cold? And who feeth not a wonderful great lack of Charity in those, which would now be taken for Christs Church? All that fear God in this Realm truly can tell more of this then I can write.

Therefore, dear Mother, receive full admonition of one of thy poor Children, now going to be burned for the testimony of Jesus. Come again to Gods Truth; come out of Babylon, confess Christ and his true Doctrine; repent that which is past; make amends by declaring thy repentance by the fruits. Remember the Readings and Preachings of Gods Prophet the true Preacher *Martin Bucer*. Call to mind the threatnings of God, now something felt by thy Children Leaver and others. Let the exile of *Leaver, Pilkington, Grindal, Haldon, Harg, Scriver, Pont, &c.* something awake thee. Let the Imprisonment of thy dear Sons, *Crammer Ridley, and Latimer* move thee. Consider the Martyrdom of thy Chickens, *Rogers, Sanders, Taylor*. And now call not away the poor admonition of me going to be burned, altho to receive the life Crown of Glory with my Phylax. Take to heart Gods calling by us. Be not as Pharisees, when thou wilt it happen unto thee as it did unto him. What is that? Hardness of heart. And what then? Destruction eternally both of Body and Soul. Ah therefore, good Mother, awake, awake, repent, repent, buckle thy self, and make haste to turn to the Lord. For he shall be merciful for *Sodom and Gomorrah* in the day of Judgment than for thee. O harden not your hearts, O stop not your ears to day in hearing Gods voice, though it be by a most unworthy Messenger. O fear the Lord: for his anger is begun to kindle. Even now the Axe is laid to the root of the Tree.

As I told to the root of the Tree. You know I prophesied truly to you before the Sweet came, what would come, if you repented not your carnal Gossiping. And now I tell you before I depart hence, that the cars of Men will tingle to hear the vengeance of God that will fall upon you all, both Town and University, if you repent not, if you leave not your Idolatry, if you turn not speedily to the Lord, if you shall be ashamed of Christs truth, which you know.

Oh *Peter* repent, Oh *Thompson* repent, Oh you Doctors, Bachelors, and Masters repent. Oh Major, Aldermen, and Town-dwellers repent, repent, repent, that you may escape the near vengeance of the Lord. Rent your hearts, and come apace, calling on the Lord. Let us all say, *Peregrinus*, we have all sinned, we have done wickedly, we have not heard unto thy voice, O Lord. Dead not with us after our deserts, but merciful to our iniquities, for they are great. Oh pardon our offences. In time anger remember thy mercy. Turn us unto thee, O Lord God of hosts, for the glory of thy names sake. See us and call be merciful unto us. Let not the wicked People say, Where is now Gods Word for mine own sake? Let thy names sake, be merciful to us. Turn thy self unto us, and unto us thee, and we will praise thy name for ever.

If in this forty my dearly beloved in Heart and Mouth we come unto our Father and prostrate our selves before the throne of his grace, then surely, surely we shall find mercy. Then shall the Lord look mercifully upon us, for his mercy sake in Christ: then shall we hear him speak peace unto his People. For he is gracious and merciful, of great pity and compassion, he cannot be chiding for ever; his anger cannot last long to the penitent. Though we were slow in the morning, yet at night we shall have our sorrow to cease. For he is exorable, and hath no pleasure in the death of a Sinner: he rather would our conversion and turning.

Oh turn ye now and convert yet once again, I humbly beseech you, and then the Kingdom of heaven shall draw nigh. The eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, nor the Heart of Man is able to conceive the joys prepared for us if we repent, amend our lives, and heartily turn to the Lord. But if ye repent not, but be as you were, and go on forwards with the wicked, following the fashion of the World, the Lord will lead you on with wicked doors, you shall perish in your wickedness, your Blood will be upon your own heads, your pains shall be with Hypocrites, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth: shall be cast from the face of the Lord for ever and ever: eternal flame, sorrow, woe, and misery, shall be both in Body and Soul to you. World without end. Oh therefore, right dear to me in the Lord, turn you, repent you, repent you, amend and amend your lives, depart from evil, do good, follow peace and purity. Come out of Babylon, call of the works of darkness, put on Christ, confess his truth, be not ashamed of his Gospel, prepare your selves to the Cross, drink of Gods Cup before it come to the dregs, and then shall I with you, and for you, rejoice in the day of Judgment, which is at hand, and therefore prepare your selves thereto, I heartily beseech you. And thus I take my *Vale in eternum*, with you in this present lifeline own dear hearts in the Lord. The Lord of mercy be with us all, and give us a joyful and sure meeting in his Kingdom, Amen. Out of Prison the eleventh of February, Anno 1555.

Your own in the Lord for ever
John Bradford.

To Lancashire and Cheshire.

To all those that profess the Name and true Religion of our Saviour Christ in Lancashire and Cheshire, and especially abiding in Manchester and thereabout, John Bradford a most unworthy servant of the Lord, now not only in bonds, but also condemned for the same true Religion, with grace, peace, and increase of all goodlines from God the Father of all pity, through the deserts of our Lord Jesus Christ, by the working of the most mighty and lively Spirit the Comforter for ever, Amen.

I heard it reported recently, my dearly beloved in the Lord, that my Heavenly Father hath thought it good to provide, that as I have Preached his true Doctrine and Gospel amongst you by word, I shall receive it and confirm the same by deed, that is, that shall with you leave my life, which by his providence I first received there (for in Manchester I was born) for a seal to the Doctrine I have taught with you, and amongst you: so that if from henceforth you waver in the faith, you have none excuse at all. I know the enemies of Christ, which exercise this cruelty upon me (I speak in respect of mine offences, which is none to themwards) I think by killing of me amongst you to affray you and others, lest they should attempt to teach Christ truly, or believe his Doctrine hereafter. But I doubt not but my Heavenly Father will by my death, more confirm you in his Truth for ever. And therefore I greatly rejoice to see Souldiers and Souldiers furnished in their own sapience, which is plain, foolishness amongst the wise indeed, that is, amongst such as have heard Gods Word, and do follow it for they only are counted wise of the Wisdom of God our Saviour.

Indeed if I should simply consider my life with that which it ought to have been, and as God in his Law requires, then could I not but cry as *Isaiah* saith, *Domine, & omnia judicium tua veritas*. Righteous art thou, O Lord, and

And all thy judgments are true. For I have much grieved thee, and transgressed thy holy precepts, not only before profaning the gospel, but thence also: yea, thence my coming into prison I do not excuse, but accuse my fall before God and all his Church that I have grievously offended my Lord God. I have not loved his Gospel as I should have done, I have fought my self, and not simply and openly my glory and my brethren's commodity, I have been too unthankfull, feare, carnal, Hypocritical, vainglorious, &c. All which my evils, the Lord of mercy pardon me for his Christs sake, as I hope and certainly believe he hath done for his great mercy in Christ our Redeemer.

But when I consider the cause of my condemnation, I cannot but lament, that I do no more rejoice than I do. For it is Gods verity and Truth; So that the condemnation is not a condemnation of Bradford simply, but rather the condemnation of Christ and of his Truth. Bradford is nothing else but an instrument in whom Christ and his Doctrine is condemned. And therefore my dearly beloved, rejoice, joy, and give thanks with me and for me, that ever God did vouchsafe so great a benefit to our Country, as to choose the most unworthy (I mean my self) to be one, in whom it would please him to suffer any kind of affliction: much more this violent kind of death, which I perceive is prepared for me with you for his sake. All glory and praise be given unto God our Father, for his great and exceeding mercy towards me through Jesus Christ our Lord, Amen.

But perchance you will say unto me, what is the cause for which you are condemned? We hear say, that ye deny all presence of Christ in his holy Suppers, and so make it a bare sign and common Bread, and nothing else. My dearly beloved, what is said of me, and what will be, I cannot tell. It is told me that *Pendleton* is gone down to preach with you, not as he once recanted (for you all know he hath preached contrary to that which was wont to be preached) but came amongst you, but to recant that which he hath recanted. How he will speak of me, and report before me, when I am come, and when I am turned, I much paine not: for he that is so uncertain, and will speak to often against himself, I cannot think he will speak well of me, except it may be for his purpose and profit: but of this I cannot say.

Indeed the chief thing which I am condemned for, as an Heretic, is because I deny in the Sacrament of the Altar (which is not Christs Supper, but a plain perverting of it, being used as the Papists now use it) to be a real, natural, and corporal presence of Christs Body and Blood, under the forms and accidents of Bread and Wine, that is, because I deny Transubstantiation, which is the doctrine of the Devil, and daughter and heir to Antichrists Religion, whereby the Mass is maintained, Christs Supper perverted, his Sacrifice and Cross impierced, his Priesthood destroyed, the Ministry taken away, Repentance repelled, and all true Godliness abandoned. In the Supper of our Lord our Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood, I confesse and believe that there is true, and very presence of the whole Christ, God and Man, to the Faith of the receiver (but not of the flander by and looker on) as there is a very true presence of Bread and Wine to the senses of him that is partaker thereof. This Faiths Doctrine, which consisteth with the word of God and with the true testimony of Christs Church, of which the Popish Church doth profane, will I not forsake, and therefore I am condemned as an Heretic, and shall be burned. But, my dearly beloved, this Truth which I have taught, and you have received, I believe, and do believe, and therein give my life: I hope in God shall never be burned, bound, nor overcome, but shall triumph, have Victory, and be at liberty, nudge the head of all Gods adversaries. For there is no count against the Lord, nor can any device of Man be able to defeat the verity in any other then such as the Children of unbelief, who have no love to the Truth and therefore are given up to believe lies. From which plague the Lord of mercy deliver you and all the Realm, my dear hearts in the Lord, I humbly beseech Heresy, Amen.

And to the you might be delivered from the plagues, right dear to me in the Lord (I shall) for my farewell with you for ever in this present life, heartily desire

you all in the Bowels and Mercy of our most merciful Anno Saviour Jesus Christ, to attend unto these things which I now shall shortly write unto you out of the Holy Scriptures of the Lord.

You know an heavy plague (or rather plague) of Gods wrath is fallen upon us, in taking away our good King, and true Religion, Gods true Prophets and Ministers, &c. And fitting over us, such as seek not the Lord after knowledge: whose endeavours God prospereth wonderfully to the trial of many, that his People may both better know themselves, and be known. Now the cause hereof is our iniquities and grievous Sins. We did not know the time of our visitation: we were unthankful unto God: we contemned the Gospel, and carnally abused it, to knowe our Hypocrite, our vain-glory, our viciousities, our avarice, idleness, feurty, &c. Long did the Lord linger, and tarry to have shewed mercy upon us, but we were ever the longer the worse. Therefore, most justly hath God dealt with us and dealt with us; yet we may see that his justice is tempered with much mercy, whereto let us attribute that we are not utterly consumed. For if the Lord should deal with us after our deservings, how could we abide it? In his anger therefore, seeing he doth remember his mercy unto us, let us be converted to our behalf: let us take occasion the more speedily to go out to meet him, not with force of arms (for we are not so able to withstand him, much less to prevail against him) but to beseech him to be merciful unto us, and according to his wonted mercy to deal with us.

Let us arise with *David*, and say, *We metes in juda*. *Enter cum cum Seno*, &c. i. e. Enter into judgment with thy Servant O Lord, for in thy sight no flesh living shall be justified. Let us find Embassadors with the *Cen*, *tuion*, and say, Lord, we are not worthy to come our selves unto thee. Speak the word and we shall have peace. Let us penitently with the *Publican* look down on the earth, knock our head heere to harden them, and cry out upon the Lord God be merciful unto us wretched Sinners! Let us with the *Old Son* recant and say, O Father, we have sinned against Heaven and Earth and before thee, we are unworthy: thy to be called thy Children. Let us say to God on this fort, that is heartily repent of us of our former evil life, and unthankfull Gospeling, and convert and turn to God with our whole hearts, hoping in his great mercy through Christ, and heartily calling upon his holy Name, and then undoubtedly we shall find and feel otherwise than yet we feel, both inwardly and outwardly. Inwardly we shall feel peace of Conscience between God and us, which peace passeth all understanding, and outwardly we shall feel much mitigation of these miseries, if not an utter taking of them away.

Therefore my dearly beloved in the Lord, your post-rell Brother now departing to the Lord, for my *Vale in eternum* for this present life, pray, your, before you, and even from the very bottom of my heart, for all the mercies of God in Christ shewed unto you, most earnestly beg and care of you out of Prison (as often out of your Pulpits I have done) that you will repent, you leave your wicked and evil life, be sorry for your offences, and turn to the Lord, whose arms are wide open to receive and embrace you, whose stretched out hand to strike thee to death, that he may have mercy upon you. For he is the Lord of mercy, and God of all comforts, he will not the death of a Sinner, but rather that ye should return, convert, and amend. He hath no pleasure in the destruction of Men; his long suffering draweth to repentance before the time of vengeance, and the day of wrath which is at hand, doth come.

Now is the Axe laid to the Root of the Tree utterly to destroy the impenitent. Now is the fire gone out, before the face of the Lord, and who is able to quench it? Oh therefore repent you, repent you. It is enough to have lived as we have done. It is enough to have played the wanton Gospellers, the proud professors, Hypocritical and idle Christians, as alas we have done. Now the Lord speaketh to us in mercy and grace: Oh turn, before he beareth in wrath. Yet is there mercy with the Lord, and plentiful redemption: yet he hath not forgotten to shew mercy to them that call upon him. For he is rich in mercy, and plentiful to all them that call upon him

So that he that calleth on the Name of the Lord, shall be saved. If your Sins be as red as scarlet, the Lord faith, he will make them as white as snow. He hath sworn, and never will repeat him thereof that he will never remember our iniquities, but as he is good, faithful, and true, so will he be our God, and we shall be his People. His Law will he write in our Hearts and engrave in our minds and never will he have in mind our unrighteousness.

Therefore, my dear hearts in the Lord, turn you, turn you to the Lord your Father, to the Lord your Saviour, to the Lord your Comforter. Oh why do you stop your eyes, and harden your hearts to day, when you hear his Voice by your poorest Brother? Oh forget not how that the Lord hath shewed himself true, and his which true Preacher, by bringing to pass these things which at my Mouth you oft heard before they came to pass, specially when I intreated of *Noahs* Flood, and when I preached of the twenty two Chapter of *S. Mattheu*, *Go ye*, on *S. Stevens* day the last time that I was with you. And now by the Lord sendeth you word (dear Countrymen) that if you will go on forward in your Impenitency, Carnality, Hypocritical, Idolatry, Covetousness, Swearing, Gluttony, Drunkenness, Whoredom, &c. (where with alas, alas, our Country howeth) if I say &c. (where with alas, alas, our Country howeth) if I say &c. you will not turn and leave off seeing me now burned, amongst you, assure you on all sides how God seeketh himself, and is sorry to do you hurt, to plague you, to destroy you, to take vengeance upon you. On your Blood will be upon your own heads: you have been warned, and warned again, by men Preaching, by me in Burning.

As I said therefore, I say again, my dear hearts and dearlings in the Lord, turn you, turn you, repent you, cease from doing evil, study to do well, away with Idolatry, fly the Romish God and Service, leave off from Swearing, cut off Carnality, abandon Avarice, drive away Drunkenness, fly from Fornication and Flattery, Murder and Malice, defray Deciditall, and call away all the works of Devils. Put on Piety and Godliness, serve God after his Word, and not after Custom, use your Tongues to glorify God by Prayer, Thanksgiving, and Confession of his Truth, &c. be spiritual, and by the Spirit move carnal affections, be Sober, Holy, True, Loving, Gentle, Merciful, and then shall the Lords wrath cease for this our doing sake, but for his mercies sake. Go to therefore (good Countrymen) take this Counsel of the Lord, by me now sent unto you as the Lords Counsel, and not as mine, that in the day of Judgment I may rejoice with you, and for you; the which thing I heartily desire, and not to be a witness against you. My Blood will cry for vengeance, as against the Papists Gods enemies (whom I beseech God it be his will, heartily to forgive them, for they know not what they do) so will my Blood cry for vengeance against you (my dearly beloved in the Lord) if ye repent not, amend not, and turn unto the Lord.

Turn unto the Lord yet once more, I heartily beseech thee thou *Mancheffer*, thou *Aston*, *Andrington*, thou *Bolton*, *Bury*, *Wigorn*, *Liopool*, *Maring*, *Steppor*, *Wingley*, *Eccles*, *Priestwich*, *Middleton*, *Radeford*, and thou City of *Weycheffer*, where I have truly taught and Preached the Word of God. Turn, I say unto you all, and to all the Inhabitants thereof, unto the Lord our God and he will turn unto you, he will be for you, as your Angel, it is enough, put up the Sword. The which thing that he will do, I humbly beseech his goodness, for the precious Bloods sake of his dear Son, our Saviour Jesus Christ. Ah Good Brethren, take in good part these my last words unto every one of you. Pardon me mine offences and negligences in behaviour amongst you. The Lord of Mercy pardon us all our offences, for our Saviour Jesus Christs sake, Amen. Out of Prison ready to come to you, the eleventh of February, Anno 1555.

To the Town of Walden. The Faithfull and such as profess the true Doctrine of our Saviour Jesus Christ, dwelling at Walden and thereabouts, *John B. Bradford* a most unworthy Servant of the Lord, now in bonds and condemned for the true Doctrine, without Grace, Mercy, and Peace, with the increase of all godliness in knowledge and living, from

God the Father of all comfort, through the deserts of our alone and full Redeemer Jesus Christ, by the mighty working of the most Holy Spirit, the Comforter for ever, Amen.

When I remember, how that by the providence and Grace of God I have been a Man by whom it hath pleased him to send my Ministry to call you to Repentance and Amendment of Life, something effectually as it seemed, and to flow amongst you the true Doctrine and Religion, that by my affliction, and thence now unto the Son of God, into whose company we are called, you might be faint-hearted; I could not but out of Priety, I say, I write unto you a signification of the desire I have, that you should not only be more confirmed in the Doctrine I have taught amongst you, which I take to my death, as I shall answer at the day of doom, I am persuaded to be Gods assured, infallible, and plain Truth; but also should after your inconviction above the flame by confession, profession, and lively faith, the same flame (my dearly beloved in the Lord) I have taught you, and I have taught you the verity, as now by my Blood, gladly (praised be God therefore) I do feel the same.

Indeed to confess the true God, and to all the Church of Christ, I do not think of my self, but that I have most justly deserved, not only this kind, but also all kinds of death, that eternally, for mine Hypocritical, Vain-glory, Uncleanliness, Self-love, Covetousness, Idleness, Unthankfulness, and Carnal profiting of Godly Gospel, living therein not so purely, lovingly, and painfully, as I should have done. The Lord of mercy for the Bloods sake of Christ pardon me, as I hope, yea, certainly Christ. But my dearly beloved, you and all the whole World may see, and all perceive, that the Prelate persecute in any other thing than mine iniquities, even Christ him self, Christ Verity and Truth, because I cannot, nor do not, will not confess Transubstantiation, and how that wicked Men, yea, Monks and Dogs eat the Sacrament, which they term, of the Altar, thereby overthrowing the Real Body born of the Virgin Mary.

To believe and confess as Gods Word teacheth, the Primitive Church believed, and all the Catholic and good that in the Supper of the Lord (which the Mass overthroweth, doth Christs Priesthood, Sacrifice, Death, and all Godliness) whole Christ, God and Man, is present, by the Faith of the receivers, but not of the flanders, by and lookers on, as Bread and Wine is to their senses, will not serve; and therefore I am condemned and shall be burned out of hand as an Heretic. Wherefore I heartily thank my Lord God that will and doth vouch me worthy to be an Instrument, in whom he himself doth suffer. For you see my affliction and death is not simply, because I have deferred no less, but much more at his hands and justice, but rather because I confess his Verity and Truth, and am not afraid through his gift that to do that you also might be confirmed in his Truth. Therefore my dearly beloved, heartily do pray you, and so many as unfainly love me in God, to give with me and for me most hearty thanks to our Heavenly Father, through our sweet Saviour Jesus Christ, for this his exceeding great mercy towards me and you also, that your Faith, never from the Doctrine I have taught and ye have received. For what can you desire more, to assure your Confidences of the Verity taught by your Preachers, than their own Lives?

Go to therefore, my dear hearts in the Lord, waver not in Christs Religion truly taught you, and set forth in King *Edward* days. Never shall the enemies be able to burn it, and Prison it, and keep it in. Us they may burn it, they may bind and burn as they will, but they shall so long as I shall please the Lord; but our Cause, Religion, and Doctrine which we confess, they shall never be able to vanquish and put away. Their Idolatry and Popish Religion shall never be built in the Confidences of Men that love Gods Truth: As for those that love not Gods truth, that have no pleasure to walk in the ways of the Lord, those

He exhorteth them to love each other and to love their brethren.

chose I say the Devil shall prevail: For God will give them strong illusion to believe lies. Therefore dear Brethren, and Sisters in the Lord, humbly beseech you and pray you in the Bowels and Blood of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, now going to the death, for the Testimony of Jesus, as oftentimes I have done, before this present use of your Pupils, that you would love the Lords truly; love (I say) to love it, and frame your lives thereafter. Alas, you know the cause of all these plagues fallen upon us, and of the success which Gods adversaries have daily, is for our not loving Gods Word.

God's Gospel is called.

God's Gospel is called.

He exhorteth them to love each other and to love their brethren.

You know how that we were but Gospellers in lips, and not in life. We were carnal, contentious, contentious, crafty, filthy, malicious, false, backbiters, &c. and even glutted with Gods Word, yea, we loathed it, as did the Israelites the Manna in the Wilderness; and therefore as to them the Lords wrath waxed hot, so doth it unto us. So that there is no remedy, but that (for it is better late than never) to turn to our Hearts, and with hearty repentance (which God work in us all for his mercies sake) we run unto the Lord our God, which is exorable, merciful, and forry for the evil poured out upon us, and cry out unto him with *Daniel*, saying, We have Sinned, we are Sinned grievously, O Lord God, against thy Mercy, yea, we have heaped Iniquity upon Iniquity, the measure of our Transgressions is full, even to that justly thy Vengeance and Wrath fallen upon us. For we are very miserable, we have contemned thy long suffering, we have not hearkened to thy Voice. When thou hast called us by Preachers, we hardened our Hearts, and therefore now deserve that thou feed thyself hereupon to harden our Hearts also that we should henceforth have eyes and fee not, ears and hear not, hearts and understand not, yet we should convert and be saved. Oh be merciful unto us, spare us good Lord, and all thy People, whom thou hast dearly bought. Let not thine enemies triumph altogether, and always against thee, for they will tell thee of the poor little forswearing of the simple come in thy light, and be not angry with us for ever. Turn us O Lord God of hosts unto thee, and turn thee unto us that thou might be justified in thy sweet Sentences, and overcome when thou art judged, as now thou art of our adversaries. For they say, Where is thy God? Can God deliver them now? Can their Gospel serve them? O Lord how long? for the glory of thy name, and for thy honours sake, in the Bowels and Blood of Jesus Christ, we humbly beseech thee, come and help us, for we are very miserable.

On this first I, dearly beloved, let us publicly and privately bewail our Sin, but forth hereto we joy in ceasing from willfulness and Sin of purpose, for else the Lord heareth not our Prayer, as *David* hath. And in *S. John* is written: The impatient Sinners God heareth not. Now, impatient are they which purpose not to amend their lives: As for example, not only, such which follow still their pleasures, uncleanliness, malice, but also which for fear or favour of Men, do against their Conscience consent to the Romish Rags, and report to the rotten Religion, communicating in Service and Ceremonies with the Papists, thereby declaring themselves to love more the World than God, to fear Man more than Christ, to dread more the loss of Temporal things than Spiritual: in whom it is evident that the love of God abides not. For they that love the World, hate not Gods Word abiding in him, faith *S. John*: remember my dear Hearts, and dear again in the Lord, remember what you have professed, Christs Religion and name, and the renouncing of the Devil, Sin and the World.

The A.M.C. of the Church of England.

Remember that before ye learn *S. B.* We must not forget that this life is a Wilderness, and not a Paradise: here is not our home, we are now in warfare: we

mult needs fight, or else be taken Prisoners. Of all things we have in this life, we shall carry nothing with us. If Christ be our Captain, we must follow him as Soldiers. If we keep company with him in affliction we shall be free of his glory. If we forsake him, he will never forsake us. If we confess him, he will confute us; but if we deny him, he will deny us. If we be ashamed of him, he will be ashamed of us. Wherefore, as he forsook his Father, and Heaven, and all things to come to us, so let us forsake all things and come to him, being free and lost certain: that we shall lose nothing. Your Children shall find, and feel it double, yea treble, whatsoever you love for the Lords sake; and you shall find and feel peace of Conscience and friendship with God which is more worth than all the Goods of the World.

My dearly beloved, therefore for the Lords sake, consider these things which I now write unto you of love, for my sake, and left farewell for ever in this present life. Turn to the Lord, repent you of your evil and unthankful life, declare repentance by the fruits, take time while ye have it come to the Lords whiles he calleth you, run into his lap, while his arms be open to embrace you, kick him while he may be found; call upon him while time is convenient: forsake and fly from all evil, both in Religion and in the rest of your life, and Conversion. Let your light, lo shine before Men, that they may see your good works and praise God in the day of his visitation. Oh come again, come again you strange Children, and I will receive you, faith the Lord. Convert and turn to me, and I will turn unto you. Why will ye needs perill as I live? (sweareth the Lord) I will not your death; turn therefore unto me. Can a Woman forget the Child of her womb? if the should, yet I will not forget you, faith the Lord your God. I am he, I am he which put away your Sins for mine own sake.

Oh then dear friends, turn I say unto your dearer Father. The Lord is our Father and loving Father to the ground, and as your Father, for the Lord watcheth on his word to perform it: which is in two parts; to them that lay it up in their hearts, and believe it, will he pay all, and eternal joy and comfort. But to them that call it at their ears, and will forget it, to them (I say) will he pour out Indignation and eternal flame. Wherefore I heartily yet once more beseech and pray you, add every of you, not to condemn this poor and simple exhortation, which now out of Prison I make unto you, or rather the Lord by me. Loath would I be a witness against you in the last day; as of truth I must be if ye repent not, if ye love not Gods Gospel, yea, if ye love it not.

Therefore (to conclude) repent, love Gods Gospel, in all your conversation, so shall Gods name be praised, his plagues mitigated, his People comforted, and his enemies amazed. Grant all this, thou gracious Lord God, to every one of us for thy dear Sons sake, our Saviour Jesus Christ. To whom with thee and the Holy Ghost be eternal glory for ever and ever, Amen. The 12. of February, Anno 1555

By the Bandman of our Lord, and your afflicted poor Brother, John Bradford.

To my loving Brethren, B.C. &c. their Wives and whole Families, I. Bradford.

I beseech the everliving God to grant you, all my good Brethren and Sisters, the comfort of the Holy Spirit, and the continual flow of his Mercy in Christ our Lord, now and for ever, Amen.

The World (my Brethren) seemeth to have the upper hand, Iniquity overthroweth the truth and verity, seeming to be oppressed, and they which take part therewith, are unjustly intruders: they which love the truth, lament to see and hear as they do. The cause of all this is Gods anger, and mercy: his anger, because we have grievously Sinned against him, his mercy, because he will be merciful to us, and as a Father towards his Children. We have been unthankful for his Word. We have contemned his kindness: We have been negligent in Prayer: We have been carnal, covetous, licentious, &c. We have not listened to Heaven.

Anno 1555.

The contempt of God and his Gospel.

They were lost that follow Christ.

He exhorteth them to love each other and to love their brethren.

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Anno 1555.

The contempt of God and his Gospel.

They were lost that follow Christ.

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Heaven-ward, but rather to Hell-ward. We were fallen almost into an open contempt of God, and all his good ordinances, for that of his justice he could no longer forbear, but make us feel his anger, as now he hath done, in taking his word and true service from us, and permitting us to live us with Antichristian Religion; and that in such sort, that if we will not yield to us, and seem to alow it indeed and outward fact, our Bodies are like to be laid in prison, and our goods given we cannot tell to whom.

This should we look upon as a sign of Gods anger, procured by our sin; which my good Brethren, every of us should now call to our Memories oftentimes, & particularly as we can, that we might heartily lament them, repent, hate them, ask earnestly mercy for them, and submit our selves to bear in this Life any kind of punishment, which God will lay upon us for this time. Now we do in consideration of Gods anger in this time. Now his mercy in this time of wrath is seen, and should be seen in us daily beloved, in this, that God doth vouchsafe to punish us in this present life. If he should not have punished us, do not you think that we would have continued in the evils we were in? Yes verily, we would have been wiser and have gone forward in our wickedness, and negligence of God and true godliness. And still if death had come, should not we have perished both Soul and Body in eternal fire in perdition? Alas, what misery should we have fallen into, if God should have suffered us to have gone on forward in our evil? No wonder then, that God hath so graciously forgiven us, as now the punishment (my dearly beloved) are cast into *Jehohel* Bed of fear, which of all plagues is the most grievous that can be. They are Balders and not Sins, they are not under Gods Rod of Correction.

A great mercy it is therefore, that God doth punish us. If he loved us not, he would not punish us. Now God doth chastise us, that we should not be damned with the world. Now doth he chastise us, because he favoureth us. Now may we know our selves Gods House and Children, because he beginneth his chastising at us: Now calleth he us to remember our sinfulness. Wherefore? That he might repent, and alack, and why? That he might forgive us, pardon us, justify us, and make us his children, and so begin to make us here like unto Christ: that we might be like unto him elsewhere, even in Heaven, where already we are fit by Faith with Christ; and at his coming in very deed we shall then most joyfully enjoy, when our sinful and vile Bodies shall be made like to Christs glorious Body, according to the power whereby he is able to make all things subject to himself.

Therefore my Brethren, let us in respect hereof not lament, but laud God, not be sorry, but be merry, not weep, but rejoice and be glad, that God doth vouchsafe to offer us his Cross, thereby to come to him to end all joys and comfort. For if we suffer, we shall reign: if we confess him before Men, he will confute us before his Father in Heaven; if we be not ashamed of his Gospel now, he will not be ashamed of us in the last day; but will be glorified in us, crowning us with Crowns of Glory and endless life. For, blessed are they that suffer Persecution for Righteousness sake, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven: he glad (Ald. Peter) For the spirit of God reth upon you. After that you are a little afflicted, God will comfort, strengthen and confirm you. And therefore, my good Brethren, be not discouraged for Sins, for Prison, or loss of Goods for confession of Christs Gospel and Truth which ye have believed, and lively was testified amongst you in these days of late good King, most Holy Prince, King Edward. This is most certain, is, you lose anything for Christs sake, and for continuing the Antichristian service, let up against amongst us: as you for your parts even in prison shall find Gods great and alack, surpassing all worldly wealth; so shall your Wives and Children in this present Life, find and feel Gods Providence more plentifully than Tongues can tell. For he will send merciful kindness on those that love him. The good Men feed shall not go a begging his Bread. You are good Men, so many as follow for Christs sake.

I trust you all, my dearly beloved, will consider this

gear with your lives, and in the Cross for Gods mercy, which is more sweet, and to be felt by, than Life itself, much more than any muck or pelf of this World. This mercy of God should make you merry and cheerful: for the afflictions of this Life, are not to be compared to the joys of the Life prepared for you. You know the way to Heaven is nothe wide way of the World, which windeth to the Devil, but it is a straight way which few walk in. For few live joyful in Christ Jesus, few regard the Life to come, few remember the day of Judgment, few remember how Christ will deny them before his Father, that he deny him here, few consider that Christ will be ashamed of him in the last day, which are ashamed of his Truth and true service, few cast their carcasses, what will be laid to their charge in the day of vengeance, few regard the Condemnation of their own Conscience, in doing that which inwardly they disallow, few love God better than their Goods.

But I trust you are of this few, my dearly beloved, that see how Christ will deny them before his Father, that he deny him here, few consider that Christ will be ashamed of him in the last day, which are ashamed of his Truth and true service, few cast their carcasses, what will be laid to their charge in the day of vengeance, few regard the Condemnation of their own Conscience, in doing that which inwardly they disallow, few love God better than their Goods.

And of this I would ye were all certain, that all the pains of your heads are numbered, so that not one of them shall perish, neither shall any Man or Devil be able to attempt any thing, much less to do any thing to you, or any of you, before your Heavenly Father, which loveth you most tenderly, shall give them leave, and when he hath given them leave, they shall go no further than he will, nor keep you in trouble any longer than he will. Therefore call on him all your care, for he is ready for you. Only study to please him, and to keep your Carriage clean, and your Bodies pure from the Idolatrous service, which now every where is used, and God will marvellously and mercifully defend and comfort you; which thing he do for his holy names sake in Christ our Lord, Amen.

To his dearly beloved in Christ, Erkinde Rawlins, and his Wife.

GOD our dear and most Merciful Father through Christ, be with you, my good Brother and Sister, as with his Children for ever, and in all things go guide you with his Holy Spirit, the leader of his People, as may be to his glory and your own everlasting joy and comfort in him, Amen. Because I have oftentimes received from either of you comfort corporal (for the which I beseech the Lords, as to make me thankful, to recompence you both now and eternally) I cannot but go about to help hereto for thy mercies sake (to write something for your comfort spiritually).

My dearly beloved, look not upon these days and afflictions of the time here with us, simply as they seem unto you, that is, as dismal days, and days of Gods vengeance, but rather as lucky days, and days of Gods Grace, whereby they are given to you, that you be, that is, towards such as repent their sins and evil Life past, and earnestly purpose to amend, walking not after the will of the World, and most part of Men, for the preservation of their self, which will they, will they, they shall leave sooner or later, and to whom or how it shall be used, they know not. Indeed to such as walk in their wickedness, and wind on with the World, this time is a time of wrath and vengeance, and their beginning of sorrow is now, because they contemn the physic of their Father, which by this purging time and cleansing days would work their weal, which they will not: and because they

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Gods mercy seen in the Cross.

Altogether trust you are of this few.

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manner of way he found. Begin at his birth, and till ye come at his burial, ye shall find that every foot and stride of his journey was no better, but more worst than yours is now.

Wherefore (my dearly beloved in the Lord) be not so faintly, as to look for that at Gods hands, your dear Father, which the Fathers, Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, Evangelists, Martyrs, Saints, and his own Son Jesus Christ did not find. Hitherto we have had fair way (I trust) and fair weather altho: now because we have laboured by the way, and not made the peace we should have done, our loving Lord and sweet Father hath overcast the weathers, and stirred up the storms and tempests, that we might with more halt run our race before night come, and the doors be barred. The Devil standeth now at every Inn door in his City and Country of this World, crying unto us to tarry and lodge in this or that place till the storm be overpast; but that he would not have us wet to the skin, but that the time might overpass us to our utter destruction. Therefore beware of his enticement. Cast not your eyes on things that be present, how thin doth, and how thin man doth, but pre-empt your eyes on the glory ye run at, or else ye will lose the game. Ye know that he which runneth at the gleeve, doth not look on others that stand by, and go this way or that way, but altogether he looketh on the gleeve, and on them that run with him, that those which be behind overtake him not, and that he may overtake them which be before: even so should we do, leave off looking on things which will not run the race to Heavens bill by the path of Perfection with us, and cast our eyes on the end of our race, and on them that go before us, that we may overtake them, and on them which come after us, that we may provoke them to come the faster after.

He that looketh will not cast his eyes in his footing on them that stand by, or ride by the ways (I trust), but rather at the mark he looketh at: for else he were like to win the wrong way: Even so, my dearly beloved, let your eyes be set on the mark ye shoot at, even Christ Jesus, who for the Joy left before him, did joyfully carry his Cross, containing the shame, therefore he now sitteth on the right hand of the Throne of God. Let us follow him: for this did he that we should not be faint-hearted. For we may be most assured, that if we suffer with him, we shall undoubtedly reign with him: but if we deny him, surely he will deny us; for he that is ashamed of me, faith Christ, and of my Gospel, in this faithless Generation, I will be ashamed of him before the Angels of God in Heaven. Oh how heavy a Sentence is this to all such as know the Mass to be an abominable Idol, full of Idolatry, Blasphemy and Sacrilege against God and his Christ, (as undoubtedly it is) and yet for fear of men, for loss of life or goods, yea, some for advantage and gain, will consent it with their presence, dissembling both with God and Man, as their own heart and Conscience doth accuse them. Better it were that such had never known the Truth, than thus wittingly, and for fear or favour of man, whose breath is in his nostrils, to dissemble it, or rather (as indeed it is) to deny it. The end of such is like to be worse than their beginning. Such had need to take heed of the two terrible places to the Hebrews in the 6th and 10th Chapters, lest by doing they fall therein. Let them beware they play no witty beguile with themselves, as some do I fear me, which go to Mass, and because they worship not kneel nor, nor knock not as others do, but fit fill in their Pews, therefore they think they rather do good to others than hurt.

But (alas) if these men would look into their own Conscience, should they see they are very Devils, and in seeking to deceive others (for by this means the Magistrates think of their fort) they deceive themselves. They think at the elevation time, all mens eyes are set upon them, to mark how they do. They think others, hearing of such men going to Mass, do fear, or enquire of their behaviour there. Oh if there were in those men that are so present at the Mass, either love to God, or to their Brethren, then would they for the one or both, openly take Gods part, and admonish the people of their Idolatry. They fear man more than him, which hath power to cast both Soul and Body into Hell

fire: they halt on both knees: they serve two Masters. God have mercy upon such, and open their eyes with his Epistle, that they may know that they which take no part with God are against God, and that they which gather not with Christ, do scatter abroad. On that they would read what St. John faith will be done to the fearful. The counsel given to the Church of Laodicea, is good counsel for such.

But to return to you again (dearly Beloved), be not ye ashamed of Gods Gospel: It is the power of God to them that have faith: for it is the power of God to them that have faith to all those that do believe it. Let therefore partakers of the afflictions, as God shall make you able, knowing for certain, that he will never tempt you to do that which he will make you able to bear: and think it no small grace of God to suffer persecution for Gods Truth: for the Spirit of God retheth upon you, and ye are happy as one day ye shall see. Read 2 Thess. 1. Heb. 12. As the fire hurteth not gold, but maketh it finer, so shall ye be more pure by suffering with Christ, and cleanse it from the dross. And ye (dearly Beloved), are Gods wheat: fear not therefore the fall: fear not the Ovens: for all these make you more meet for the Lords Oven. Totho, Sope, though it be black, filth not the cloth, but rather at the length maketh it more clean: so doth the black Cross help us to move whiter, if God will with his Baptism. Because ye are Gods Sheep, prepare your selves to the slaughter, always knowing that in the sight of the Lord our death shall be precious. The Souls manner upon the Altar look for us to fill up their number: happy are we if God have so appointed us. However it be (dearly Beloved) call your selves wholly upon the Lord, with whom all the loves of your heads are numbered, so that not one of them shall perish. Will we, will we not, we must drink Gods Cup, if he have appointed it for us. Drink it willingly then, and at the first when it is full, let peradventure if we linger, we shall drink at the length of the dregs with the wicked, if at the beginning we drink not with his Children: for with them in judgment be damned, and when he hath wrought his will on Mount Sion, then will he visit the Nations round about.

Submit your selves therefore under the mighty hand of the Lord. No man shall touch you without his knowledge. When they touch you therefore, know it is your will. God thereby will work to make you like unto Christ here, that ye may be also like unto him elsewhere. Acknowledge your unthankfulness and sinfulness before God that correcteth you in the world, because you shall not be damned with the world. Otherwise might he correct us than in making us to suffer for Righteousness sake: but this he hath because we are not of the world. Call upon his Name through Christ for his help, as he commandeth us. Believe that he is merciful to you, heareth you, and helpeth you: I am with him in trouble, and will deliver him, faith he. Know that God hath appointed bounds, over which the Devil and all the world shall not pass: if all things seem to be against us, yet say with Job, if he be will kill me, I will hope in him. Read the 9th Psalm, and pray for me your Brother and Fellow-sufferer for Gods Gospel sake, his Name therefore be praised; and of his mercy he make me and you worthy to suffer with good Confidence for his Names sake. Day once my faith, and when we know not: happy are they to whom God is given to pay Natures debt, I mean to dye for his faith.

Here is not our home: therefore let us accordingly consider things, always having before our eyes the heavenly Jerusalem, Heb. 12. Apoc. 21. the way thither to be by Persecutions; the dear Friends of God, who have gone it after the example of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whose fortities let us follow even to the gallows: God do will, not doubting but that as he within three days rose again immortal, even so we shall do in our time; as when the Trump shall blow, and the Angel shall shout, and the Son of man shall appear in the Clouds with innumerable Saints and Angels in majesty and glory: then shall the dead arise, and we shall be caught up into the clouds to meet the Lord, and so be always with him. Comfort your selves with these words, and pray for me for Gods sake. Ecce 19. Nov. 1533. J. Bradford.

Q. Mary. To Sir James Hales Kingdome, then prisoner in the Countrey in Breadstreet.

The GOD of Mercy, and Father of all Comfort, plentifully pour out upon you and in you his Mercies, and with his Consolations comfort and strengthen you to the end, for his and our Christs sake.

Although, right worshipful Sir, many causes might move me to be content with crying for you to your God and my God, that he would give you grace to preferre well, as hath right nobly begun, to the great glory of his Name, and Comfort of all such as fear him; as lack of learning, of familiarity, acquaintance (for I think I am unknown to you, both by face and Name) and other such like things; yet I cannot content my self, but preface something to scribble unto you, not that I think my scribbling can do you any good, but that I might declare my respect and compassion, love, and affection towards your posterity, which is contented, yet tedious with us poor souls, to consider Christs Gospel in these perilous times and days of trial. Oh Lord, what good art thou, which doest thus glean out grapes, I mean Children for thy self, and Brethren for Christs Look, good Master Hales, your vocation; not many Judges, not many Knights, not many landed men, not many rich men, and wealthy to live as you are, hath God chosen to suffer for his sake, as hath none done you. Certainly I dare say you think not of your self, as though Gods were bound to preferre you, or had need of you, but rather attribute this as all good things unto his free Mercy in Christ. Again, I dare say that you being a wife man, do judge of things wisely, that is, concerning this your Cross, you judge of it not after the World and People which is *magnum erroris magister*, nor after the judgment of reason and worldly wisdom, which is foolishness to Faith, nor after the present fence, to which *non videtur gaudere, sed maleficia*. i. e. It seemeth not to be joyous but grievous, and writeth, but after the word of Gods which teacheth, that to be in respect of your self between God and you, Gods clashing, and your Fathers correction, nurture, school, trials, path-way to Heaven, Glory and felicity, and the furnace to consume the dross, and mortifie the reliques of Old Adam which yet remain, yea even the Frame-Houle to fashion you like to the dearest Saints of God here, yea to Christ the Son of God, that cleave you might be like unto him.

Now concerning your Cross in respect of the World, between the World and you, Gods Word teacheth it to be a testimonial of Gods Truth, of his Providence, of his Power, of his Justice, of his Wisdom, of his anger against Sin, of his Goodness, of his Judgment, of your Faith and Religion, so that by it you are to the World a witness of Gods one of his *Testis*, that is true, he ruleth all things, he is just, wise, and at length will judge the World, and cast the wicked into perdition, but the godly he will take and receive into his eternal habitation. I know you judge of things after Faiths faith, and the effects or ends of things, and so you see *eternum pondus gloriae*, i. e. an everlasting weight of glory which this Cross shall bring unto you, *dum non scitis ea qua videntur, sed ea qua non videntur*, i. e. while ye look not on things which are seen, but on the things which are not seen. Let the worldlings weigh things and look upon the affairs of men with their worldly Kings and temporal eyes, as did many in subscription of the Kings will did, and therefore they did that, for which they befriended themselves; but let us look on things with other manner of eyes, as God be praised you did, in not doing that which you were desired, and driven at to have done. You then bebeldest things not as a man but as a man of God, and so you do now in judgement at the least hitherto you have done, and that you might do so still, I humbly beseech and pray you, by with *Dei*, *Deferentem* and *non in eloquium tuum: quando confabulaberis me?* i. e. When ye shall for thy word saying: when wilt thou comfort me? Though you be as at *in fum:* i. e. like a bottle in the smoke: (for I hear you want health) yet *non obliviscaris* i. e. forget not the Lord, but cry out, *Quia facti sum servi tui quando facies de persequentibus me iudicium?* i. e. How many are

the days of thy Servant? when wilt thou execute judgment on them that persecute me? And be certain, *Quid Dominus veniens veniet, et non tardabit. Si moriam feceris, expecta illum*. i. The Lord will surely come, and not delay; though he tarry, wait for him: for he is but at *momentum in ira sua, et vix in voluntate eius. Ad vultum domo amorem habet, et ad matrem levitatem*. He is but a while in his anger; but in his favour is *livescens* may abide at evenings, but joy cometh in the morning. Follow therefore *Esay* Counsel, *Absterge ad modum, ad modum, donec perierint indignatio eius*. i. Hide away indignation, wipe it out, until his indignation pass over, which is very little while, until his indignation pass over, which is not indignation indeed, but to our comfort therefore in the fix and twentieth Chapter of *Esay*, God faith of his Church and People, that as he keepeth night and day: *Non est indignatio inibi*. There is no anger in me (Gathie)

The Mother sometime beareth the Child; but her Gods love heart melteth upon it, even in the very bearing; and therefore the father the child into the fiery coal, the Child, giveth it an apple, and dandelion it most motherly. And so for the trials, the love of Mothers to their Children, is but a trace to train us to behold the love of God towards us and therefore faith he: Can a Mother forget the Child of her womb? As who should say, No: but if she should do so, yet will I not forget thee, faith the Lord of Hosts. Ah comfortable saying! I will not forget thee, faith the Lord. Indeed the Children of God think oftentimes that God hath forgotten them, and therefore they cry, *Abandon faciem tuam a me, &c.* i. Hide not thy face from me, &c. *Ne derelinquas me Domine, &c.* i. Leave me not, O Lord, &c. Whereas in verity it is not so, but to their present fence: and therefore David said, *Ego dixi in excessu meo: propitius sum a facie tua*. i. I laid in my pit. My way was clean cut away from thy face: But was it so? Nay verily. Read his Psalm, and you shall see. So writeth he also in other places very often, especially in the person of Christ: as when he faith, *Deus meus, Deus meus, quid derelinquisti me?* i. My God, My God, why hast thou forsaken me? He faith not, *Ne derelinquisti*. i. Why dost thou forsake me? But, *Ubi derelinquisti?* Why hast thou forsaken me? Where hast thou left him? Not left him, but that it was so to his fence, and that this Psalm telleth us full well: which Psalm I pray you now and then read; it is the twenty and twentieth, and therojoyn the thirtieth, and the hundred and sixteenth, with divers other. The same we read in the Prophet *Esay*, the fortieth Chapter, where he reproverth *Israel* for saying, GOD hath forgotten them, *Namque dereliquisti*. i. He knoweth thou not *An non audieris &c.* Hailst thou not heard? &c. *Qui sperant in Domino mutabunt fortitudinem*. i. They that trust in the Lord, shall renew their strength. And in his four and fiftieth Chapter, *Noli timere, &c.* *Ad pondum enim, in modis derelinquit, in misericordia magna congregabo te*. In moments indignations *abandon faciem tuam* passum a te, as in *misericordia* (supernatural) misericordia sum tuus, *tu dicitis Redemptor tuus Dominus*. Nam *ipsum eris mihi faciem tuam*. *Ne enim judicium me porro augeo*. *Ne pertransieris terram, si judicatus es non, neque eris mihi non misericordia*. *Mentes enim commovebuntur & collis contententur, misericordia autem mea non recedet a te, & fœdus pacis mecum non movebitur, dicit miserator tuus Dominus*. i. Fear not, &c. For a little while I have forsaken thee, but with great compassion will I gather thee. For a moment in mine anger I hid my face from thee, for a little season: but in everlasting Mercy have I had compassion on thee, faith the Lord. Therefore in this is unto me, as the waters of Noe. For as I have sworn that the waters of Noe should no more go over the earth, so have I sworn that I would not be angry with thee nor rebuke thee. For the mountains shall remove, and hills shall fall down, but my Mercy shall not depart from thee, neither shall the covenant of my peace fall away, faith the Lord, that hath compassion on thee.

But the Scriptures are full of such sweet places to them that will *portare iram Domini & expectare saltem & exultationem eius*. i. Bear the wrath of the Lord, and wait for his health and help. As of all temptations, this is the greatest that God hath forgotten, or will not help us through

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Item, 12.
Meth. 11.

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Psal. 145.

A letter to
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Godly Letters of Mr. John Bradford, Holy Martyr.

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not nor cannot think any thing too good for you, my heartily Beloved.

If he had not chosen you, (as most certainly he hath) he would not have called you, he would never have justified you; he would never have glorified you with his gracious gifts, which I know, praised be his Name therefore; he would never have so exercised your Faith with Temptations as he hath done and doth; if I say he had not chosen you, I had chosen you as doublets, dear Heart, he hath done in Christ, for in you I have seen his earnest, and before me and to me you could not deny it, I know both where and when? If I say he have chosen you, neither can you nor ever shall you perish. For if you fail, he putteth under his hands you that shall not be ill; for as I am a Christ your keeper over you, Never was Mother so mindful over her Child as he is over you. And hath not he always been so?

Speak Woman, when did he finally forget you? And will he, how true you, in my most need do otherwise, you calling upon him, and desiring to please him? Ah, (my Joy) think you God to be mistaken? Is he a change-ling? Doth not he love to the end whom he loveth?

Are not his gifts and calling such, that he cannot repent him of them? For else were he no God. If you should perish, he wanted he power; for I am certain his will towards you is not to be doubted of. Hath not the Spirit which is the Spirit of Truth, told you so? And will you now hearken with Fear to the living Spirit which would have you not to depart (no, he could give us earnestly to work, howbeit to that end, if you thought give ear to him, in which God forbid) but to doubt and stand in a manner, and so should you never truly love God, but serve him of a servile fear, lest he should cast you off for ever, unworthiness and unthankfulness, though your thankfulness, news or worthiness were any cause with God, why he hath chosen you, or will finally keep you.

Alas mine own dear Heart, Christ only, Christ only, and his Mercy and Truth. In him is the cause of your Election. This Christ, this Mercy, this Truth of God remaineth for ever, to certain for ever, I say, for ever. If you would have Heaven should tell you contrary, accused be he. Your thankfulness and worthiness are fruits and effects of your Election, they are no causes. These fruits and effects, shall be so much more fruitful and effectual, by how much you draw near.

Therefore (my dearly Beloved) arise, and remember from whence you are slain. You have a Shepherd which never flumbers nor sleeps; No Man nor Devil can pull you out of his hands. Night and day he commandeth his Angels to keep you. Have you forgotten what I read to you out of the Psalm, *The Lord is my Shepherd, I shall want nothing*? Do you not know that God spared Noah in the Ark on the outside, so that he could not get out? So hath he done to you (my good Sister, he hath done so to you).

Ten thousand fall on your right hand, and twenty thousand on your left hand, yet no evil shall touch you. Say boldly therefore, *Many a time from my youth up have they sought against my life, but have not prevailed*; no, nor never shall prevail, for the Lord is round about his People, and who are the People of God, but such as hope in him? Happy are they that hope in the Lord, and you are one of those; my dear Heart, I am assured you have hoped in the Lord; I have your words to these most manifestly, and I know they were written unfeignedly. Indeed need not to say, that ever before God you have simply confessed to him, and that oftentimes no less. And if once you had this hope, as you doubtless had it, though now you feel it not, yet shall you feel it again: for the anger of the Lord lasteth but a moment, but his mercy lasteth for ever. Tell me (my dear Heart) who hath to weaken you? Surely not a persecution which came from him that called you. For why should you waver? Why should you waver, and be so heavy hearted? Whom look you on? On your self? or on your worthiness? On your thankfulness? On that which God requirith of you, as hath, hope, love, fear, joy, &c. Then can you not but waver indeed: for what have you as God requirith? Believe you, that you hope you love you, &c. as much as you should do? No, nor ever can in this life. Ah, my dearly Beloved, have you so soon forgotten that which ever should be had in memory? Namely, that when you would and should be

certain and quiet in Confidence, then should your Faith burst throughout all things not only that you have in you, or else are in Heaven, Earth or Hell, until it come to Christ crucified, and the eternal flesh and goodnews of God in Christ? Here, here is the refuge place, here is your Spouse bed; creep into and in your arms of Faith embrace him, sexual your weakness, your worthiness, your diffidence, and you shall see he will turn to you. What said I, you shall see? Nay, I should have said, you shall feel he will turn to you. You know that *Moses*, when he went to the Mount to talk with God, he entered into a dark Cloud, and *Hagar* had his face covered when God spoke by him. Both these dear Friends of God heard of God, but they few him not, but you would be prepared before them. See now (my dear Heart) how covetous you are. Ah, be thankful, be thankful. But God be praised your covetousness is *Moses* covetousness. Well, wish him you shall be satisfied. But when? Forsooth when he shall appear. Here is not the time of feeling, but as it were in a glass. *Isaac* was deceived, because he was not content with hearing only.

Therefore to make an end of these many words, where with I fear me I do but trouble you from better exercise; inasmuch as you are indeed the Child of God elect in Christ before the beginning of all times, inasmuch as you are given to the custody of Christ, as one of God's most precious jewels, inasmuch as Christ is faithful and faithful to hath all power, so that you shall never perish, no one hair of your head shall not be lost: I beseech you, I pray you, I desire you, I crave at your hands with all my very heart, I ask of you with hand, pen, tongue and mind, in Christ, through Christ, for Christ, for his Name, Blood, &c. Remember, that you admit no doubting of God's final mercies towards you, howsoever you feel your self; but to come plain to God and crave of him of your tender and dear Father, all things, and in that time which shall be most opportune, you shall find and feel far above that your heart or the heart of any Creature can conceive, to your eternal Joy. *Amen, Amen, Amen.*

The good Spirit of God always keep as his dear Children; he comfort you, as I desire to be comforted, my dear Beloved, for evermore. *Amen.*

I break up thus abruptly, because our Common Prayer time calleth me. The Peace of Christ dwell in both our hearts for ever, *Amen.*

As for the Report of *Ps. 66* if it be as you hear, you must prepare bare it. It is written on Heaven's door, *Do well, and hear evil.* Be content therefore to hear what's written, and the Enemy shall imagine to blot your witness. Holy Spirit always comfort and keep you, *Amen, Amen.*

This *8th* of *August*, by him that in the Lord desireth to you as well and as much felicity as to his own heart.

John Bradford.

Here followeth another Letter of his written to the good Lady *Vane*, wherein he relieveth certain questions which he demanded. This Lady *Vane* was a special Nurse, and with a great, forgotten to her power of the goodly Saints, which were imprisoned in *Q. Mary's* time. Unto whom divers Letters I have both of *Mr. Philipps*, *Carletts*, *Taverner*, *Thomas* & of others more, wherein they render unto her most grateful thanks for her exceeding goodness extended towards them, with their singular commendation and testimony all of her Christian zeal toward God's afflicted Prisoners, and to the verity of his Gospel. She departed of late at *Hildborne*, Anno 1568. whose end was more like a sleep, than any death; so quietly and meekly she the deceased parted hence in the Lord.

Amongst other which wrote unto her, *Mr. Bradford* also sent these Letters to the said Lady; the tenor whereof is here followeth.

To my good Lady *Vane*.

The true sense and sweet feeling of God's eternal mercies in Christ Jesus be ever more and more lively wrought in your heart by the Holy Ghost, *Amen.*

I most heartily thank you (good Madam) for your comfortable Letter; and whereas you would be advertised what were best to be done on your behalf, concerning your three questions; the truth is that the questions are

are never well seen, nor answered, until the thing whereof they arise be well considered. I mean until it be seen how great an evil the thing is. If it be once indeed in your heart perceived, upon probable and pious places gathered out of God's Book, that there was never thing upon the Earth so great, and so much an Adversary to God's true service, to Christ's Death, Passion, Priesthood, Sacrifice and Kingdom, to the ministry of God's Word and Sacraments, to the Church of God's Repentance, Faith, and all true godliness of Life, that is whereunto all these questions arise (as most assuredly it is indeed) then cannot a Christian heart but to much more the more abhor it, and all things that in any point might seem to allow it, or any thing pertaining to the same, by how much it hath the name of God's service.

Again, your Ladyship doth know, that as all is to be discommended and avoided, which is followed or fled from in respect of our selves, in respect of avoiding Christ's Cross: to the end of all our doings should be to Godwards, to his glory, to our Neighbours, to edification and good Example, whereof none can be given in allowing any of the three questions by you propounded. But because this which I write now is brief, and needeth more confirmation or explanation, I add the one of the one in you, from me by God's grace you shall receive the other shortly. For I have already written a little Book of it, which I will send unto you, in the which you shall have your questions fully answered and satisfied, and therefore I omit to write any more hereabout presently; beseeching God, our good Father, to guide you as his dear Child with his Spirit of wisdom, power, and comfort, unto eternal life, that you may be strong, and rejoice in him and with his Church, to carry Christ's Cross, if he shall find it need, 1 Pet. 1. Which is a thing to be desired, wished, and embraced, if we looked on things after the judgment of God's Word, and tried them by that Touchstone.

If you are accustomed to think on the brevity, vanity, and misery of this life, and on the eternity, truth, and felicity of everlasting life; if you look on things after their ends, not after their present appearance only; if you use your self to let God's presence, power and mercy always before your eyes, let them, as God by every Creature would you should; I doubt not but you shall find rich strength and comfort in the Lord, as you shall not be shaken with all the power of Satan. God's mercy in Christ be with you, and his good Spirit guide you for ever, *Amen.*

Another Letter to the Lady *Vane*.
As to mine own Soul, I wish to your Ladyship grace and mercy from God our dear Father in Christ our Lord and Saviour.

I thank God that something he hath eased you, and mitigated his Fatherly correction in us both; I would to God he had done so much in the behalf of the grief of the Body to you, as he hath done to me. For as for the Soul, I trust you feel that which I pray God increase in you, I mean his Fatherly love, and grant that I may with you feel the same in love and grace as may please him; I will not say as you feel, I left I should seem to ask too much at one time. God doth often much more plentifully visit with the sense of his mercy them that humble themselves under his mighty hand, and are sore exercised as you long have been) than others, which to the face of the World have a more show and appearance.

Therefore I wish as I do, and that not only for mine own commodity, but also that I might occasion you to the consideration of the goodness of God, which I by your Letters do wisely perceive in mine own high way, whereby as God increase his gifts, so heareth he more lively his salvation, *Ps. 50. 1-7*. I have received God's Blessing from you, which I have partly distributed unto three Fellow-Prisoners, *Mr. Farrar*, *Mr. Taylor*, *Mr. Philipps*, and the residue I will bestow upon four Persons which are imprisoned in the common Gaol for Religion also. As for mine own part, I had need I would to have served my turn also. But because I had not, nor (I thank God) have not, I have been and will be your Alms in such sort as I have already advertised you. God reward you, and give you to find it spiritually and corporally. Because otherwise I cannot talk with you, therefore on this sort, as occasion and opportunity will serve, I am ready

to shew my good will and desire of your help and furtherance in the Lord to everlasting life, whereunto God bring us thrice for his mercies sake, *Amen.*

Good Madam be thankful to God, as I hope you be; be earnest in prayer, continue in reading and hearing God's Word, and if God further Cross come, as therein God doth serve his Providence (for else it shall not come unto you) to be certain the same shall turn to your eternal joy and comfort, *Amen.*

John Bradford.
To my dear Friends and Brethren, R. and E. wish their lives and families.

The comfort of Christ fell commonly of his Children in their Cross for his sake, the everlasting God work in both your hearts, my good Brethren, and in the hearts of both your Joy-fellows, especially of good *Mary*, my good Sister in the Lord, *Amen.*

If I had not something heard of the hazard which you are in for the Gospels sake, if you continue the profession and confession thereof, as I trust you do and will do, and that unto the end, God enabling you, as he will doublets for his mercies sake, if you hope in him (for this bindeth him as *David* in Christ's promise himself, *Our Fathers hoped in thee, and thou deliveredst them, Ps. 124*.) yet by conjectures I could not but suppose (though not so certainly) the power of your suffering and probation to be at hand. For now is the power of darkness fully come upon this Realm most justly for our sins, and abiding the Light lent us of the Lord, to the setting forth of our selves more than Gods glory, that as well we might be brought into the better company of our evils, and be heartily repented (which God grant us to do) as also we might have more feeling and fruit of our sweet Saviour Jesus Christ, by the humbling and dejecting us, thereby to make us as more desirous of him, so more sweet and pleasant unto us; the which thing the good Spirit of God work faithfully in all our hearts for Gods holy Names sake.

For this cause I thought it my duty, being now where I have some liberty to write (the Lord be praised) and leaving of us as I hear; to do that which I should have done, if I had had nothing at all; that is, to desire you to be of good cheer and comfort in the Lord (although in the world you see cause rather to the contrary), and to go on forwards in the way of God whereto you are entred, considering that the same cannot but so much more and more wax frail to the outward man, by how much you draw nearer to the end of it: even as in the travel of a Woman, the nearer she draweth to her delivery, the more her pains increase; so to go with us in the Lords way, the nearer we draw to our deliverance by death to our eternal felicity.

Example whereof we have, I will not say, in the holy Prophets and Apostles of God, which when they were young girded themselves, and went in manner whether they would, but when they waxed old they were girded of others, whither they would not, concerning the outward man, but rather and most lively in our Saviour Jesus Christ, whose life and way was much more painful to him towards the end, than it was at the beginning. And no marvel, for Satan can sometimes abide a man to begin well and far forwards, but rather that he should go on to the end, he will vomit his gorge, and cast out floods to overflow him, before he will suffer that to come to pass.

Therefore as we should not be dismayed now at this world as though some strange thing were happened unto us, in that it is but as it was wont to be to the godly, in that the Devil declareth himself after his old wont, in that as we have passed his nets, but to forsake the World and the Devils Gods very Enemies, in that we learned no less at the first, when we came to Gods School, than to deny our selves, and take up our Cross and follow our Master, which leadeth us none other way than he himself hath gone before us; as (I say) we should not be dismayed, for we should with patience and joy go forwards, if we sit before I had need I would to come, like as the wife in her travel doth the deliverance of her Child, and as the Saints of God did, but especially our Saviour and pattern Jesus Christ; for the Apostle faith, *He is before him the joy and glory to come, and therefore he endured the shame and scorn of the Cross, for us, that we should find at the length as they found.* For

Godly counsel
Bringing us to
the col-
temp of
eternity
life.

For whom would it grieve which hath a long journey to go through a piece of foul way if he knew that after that the way should be most pleasant, yea the journey should be ended, and heat his resting place most happy? Who will be afraid, or loath to leave a little peck for a little time, if he knew he should shortly after receive most plentiful riches? Who will be unwilling for a little while to forsake his Wife, Children, or Friends, &c. when he knoweth he shall shortly after be afflicted unto them so far as he can, even after his own hearts desire? Who will be sorry to forsake his life, which cannot but be most certain of Eternal life? Who loveth the shadow better than the Body? Who can love this life, but that they regard not the life to come? Who can desire the drops of this World, but such as be ignorant of the treasures of the everlasting joy in Heaven? I mean, who is afraid to dye, but such as hope not to live eternally? Christ hath promised pleasures, riches, joy, felicity, and all good things to them that for his sake lose any thing, and suffer any sorrow. And is he not true? How can he but be true? For guile was never found in his mouth.

Math. 19.

1 Pet. 3.

The enter-
prising prom-
ises of this
world, &c.
favouredly
permitted.

Act. 14.
2 Tim. 3.

To bear the
Cross with
courage.

Alas then, why are we so slow, yea hard of heart to believe him, promising us thus plentifully eternal blissfulness, and are to refuse to believe the World promising us many things, and paying us nothing? If we will curry favour now, and halt on both parts, then it promiseth us peace, quietness, and many others things else. But how doth it pay this gear? or if it pay it, with what quietness of conscience? Or if so, how long I pray you? Do not we see before our eyes, men to dye shamefully, I mean as rebels and other malefactors, which refuse to dye for Gods cause? What way is there a way to heaven, as to suffer in Christs cause? If there be any way on horse-back to Heaven, surely this is the way; by many troubles (saith the Apostle) we must enter into Heaven. *Let that will live only in Christs Jesus, must suffer persecution.* For the World cannot love them that are of God; the Devil cannot love his enemies; the World will love none but his own: you are Christs, therefore look for no love here. Should we look for fire to quench our thirst? And as soon shall Gods true Servants find peace and favour in *Antichrist* regime.

Therefore (my dearly beloved) be stout in the Lord, and in the power of his might. Put on you his armour; stand in the liberty of Christ which you have learned; rejoice that you may be counted worthy to suffer any thing for Gods cause: to all men this is not given. Your reward is great in Heaven, though in Earth ye find nothing. The journey is almost past, you are almost in the Haven. Hale on apace I beseech you, and merrily hoist up your sails. Cast your selves on Christ, who careth for you. Keep company with him now still to the end; he is faithful, and will never leave you nor tempt you further than that he will make you able to bear; yea in the midst of the temptation he will make an out-cast. Now pray unto him heartily, be thankful of his indignation, rejoice in hope of the health you shall receive, & be mindful of us which are in the vanguard, and by Gods grace trust in Christ to be made able to break the Ice before you, that you following may find the way more easie. God grant it may so be, Amen. Amen.

Out of prison by your Brother in Christ.
John Bradford.

To Mrs. Wilkin.

A Letter of
Mr. Bradford
to Mrs. Wil-
kin.

Almighty God our most loving Father, increase in your heart (my good Mother and dear Mistris in the Lord) his true knowledge and love in Christ, to the encouraging and comforting of your faith in these stormy days; as necessary unto us, so profitable if we persevere unto the end, which thing God grant to us, Amen.

My right dearly beloved, I know not what other thing I write unto you, than to desire you to be thankful to the Lord, in that amongst the not many of your calling and state, it pleaseth him to give you his rare blessing; I mean to keep you from all the filth wherewith our country is horribly defiled. This blessing assuredly is rare as you fee. But now if he shall bless you with another blessing, which is more rare, namely to call you forth

as a Martyr, and a witness against this filth, I hope you will become double than before. For a greater token commonly we have not to judge of our election and salvation, next to Christ and faith in him, than the Cross, especially when it is so glorious, as on this sort to suffer any thing, but chiefly loss of this life, which indeed is never found till it be lost; except the grain of wheat fall and be dead, it remaineth fruitless.

You know that he which was near into third Heaven, and did know what he wrote, doth say, *That we do not live, except it be dead and cast into the Earth, for our bodies.* And therefore the Cross should be little feared, that even Death it self should altogether be defined of us, as the Taylor which putteth off our rags and maynt as with the royal robes of immortality, incorruption and glory. Great shame it should be for us, that all the whole creatures of this world, desire, yea groan in their kind for our liberty, and we our selves to loath it, as doubtless we do, if for the Cross, yea for Death it self, we with joy froward not up all sorrow that might let us from following the Lords callings, and obeying the Lords providence; whereby doubtless all Crosse, and Death it self doth come, and not by hap or chance. In consideration whereof, right dear Mother, that this providence stretcheth it self unto us, and for us, that even the hairs of our heads are numbered with God, not one of them to fall to our hurt; surely we declare our selves very faint in faith, if we receive not such comfort, that we can willingly offer our selves to the Lord, and cast our whole care upon his back, honouring him with this honour, that he is and ever will be caring for us, and all we have, as for his dear Children. Be therefore of good cheer even in the midst of these miseries, be thankful to the Lord, and prepare your self for a further trial, which if God find you, as I hope, so do you believe, that God therein will help and comfort you, and make you able to bear whatsoever shall happen. And thus much, having this opportunity, I thought good to write, praying God our Father to recompense unto your bosome all the good that yet you have done, to me especially, and to many others, both in this time of trouble, and always hereafter.

Your own in the Lord,
John Bradford.

Another Letter written to certain good persons, incouraging them to prepare themselves with patience unto the Cross.

Gracious God and most merciful Father, for Jesus Christ sake, thy dearly beloved Son, grant us thy mercy, grace, wisdom, and Holy Spirit to counsel, comfort, and guide us, in all our cogitations, words and works, to thy glory, and our everlasting joy and peace for ever, Amen.

In my last Letter you might perceive my concluding ring to be no left towards you, than now have learned. But (my dearly beloved) I have learned none other thing, than before have told you would come to pass, if ye call not away that which ye have learned. I do appeal to both your Consciences, whether herein I speak truths, as well of my telling (though not so often as I might and should, God forgive me) as also of your learning. Now God which ye love, ye, to make others to learn by you, that which ye have learned by others, and by them which have suffered by this day ye might learn (if already ye had not learned) that life and honour is not to be lost by more than Gods commandment. They in no pain, but in that over that ghostly Fathers could do, having *Doctor Death* to take their part, would consent, or term to consent to the Popish Mass and Papistical god, otherwise than in the days of our late King they had received. And this their faith they have couched with their deaths, to their great glory, and all our comforts, if we follow them; but to our confusion, if we turn back from all time. Wherefore I beseech you to consider, as well to praise God for them, as to go the same way with them, if God so will.

Consider not the things of this life, which is very precious to all Gods Children; but the things of everlasting life, which is our very home. But to the beholding of this gear, ye must open the eyes of your mind, of faith

Q. Mary.
Anno
1556.
Example of
John Bradford
in his last
words, when
he was
executed.
In King Ed-
wards time
the high
way could
not be known.

In King Ed-
wards time
the high
way could
not be known.

The three-
score and
three years
of this
world, which
the multi-
tude of peo-
ple have
one here
and one
there.

To be in
God, he
must be
in his
heart.

I should have said, as *Moses* did, which set more by trouble than by riches of *Egypt*, and *Pharaohs* Court. Your house, home, and goods, yea life, and all that ever ye have, God hath given you as love-tokens to admonish you of his love to win your love to him again. Now will he try your love, when ye see more by him than by his tokens, or no. If ye for his tokens sake, that is for your home, house, goods, yea life, will go with the world, left ye should lose them, then be assured, your loves he cannot but eke it to be a Summers love, to will he call it away with the world. Remember that he which will save his life shall lose it, if Christ be true; but he which adventured, yea loseth his life, for the Gospels sake, the same shall be sure to find it eternally. Do not ye know that the way to salvation, is not the broad way which many run in, but the straight way which few now walk in?

Before Perfection came men might partly have found in a doubt by the outward state of the world with us (although for Gods Word it was plain) whether was the high way (for there were as many that pretended the Gospel, as Popery;) but now the Sun is risen, and the wind bloweth, so that the corn which hath not taken firm root, cannot nor will abide; and therefore easily may be the straight way by the small number that walk therein. I will now adventure their goods and life for Christ fakes, which yet gave his life for our fakes? We are now become *Ceregrines*, that would rather lose Christ than our *Parkeys*. A faithful wife is never tried for to be, but when the *rejekit* and withstanding woosers. A faithful Christian is then found to be, when his Faith is assailed.

If we be not able, I mean, if we will not forsake this world for Gods glory and Gospels sake, trow ye that God will make us able, or give us a will to forsake it for natures sake? Dye ye must once, and leaveall ye have (God knoweth how soon and when) will ye, or will ye not, and seeing perforce ye must do this, will ye not willingly now dye for Gods sake?

If ye go to Mass, and do as the most part do, then may ye live at rest and quietly; but if ye deny to go to it, then shall ye go to prison, lose your goods, leave your Children comfortless, yea lose your life also. But (my dearly beloved) open the eyes of your faith, and see how short a thing this life is, even a very shadow and smoke. Again, for how intolerable the punishment of hell fire is, and that endless. Last of all, look on the joys incomprehensible, which God hath prepared for all them world without end, which life either lands or goods for his Names sake, and then do ye reason thus, If we go to Mass, the greatest enemy that Christ hath, though for a little time we shall live in quiet, and leave to our Children that they may live by heretics, yet shall we displease God, fall into his hands (which is horrible to hypocrites) and be in wonderful hazard of falling from eternal joy unto eternal misery, first of foul, and then of body, with the Devil and all idolaters.

Again, we shall want peace of Conscience, which finmoutheth all the riches of the world; and for our Children, who knoweth whether God will visit our Idolatry on them in this life? ye are our house and goods are in danger of losing, as our lives be through many casualties: as he will, one man or another to take all from us for our sins, and to call us into care for our own fakes, which will not come into some little trouble for his sake.

On this sort reason with your selves, and then doubtless God will work otherwise with you, and in you, than ye are aware of. Where now ye think your selves unable to abide persecution, be sure that ye are able to forsake God, that God will make you so able to bear his Cross, that therein you shall rejoice. Faithful is God (saith Paul) which will not tempt you further than he will make you able to bear, yea he will give you an out-cast in the Cross, which shall be to your comfort. This how great a benefit it is, if God will vouch you this honour, to suffer loss of any thing for his sake. Yet might justly call most grievous plagues upon you, and he now he will correct you with that Rod whereby you shall be made like to his Christ, that for ever ye may reign with him. Suffer your selves therefore now to be made

like to Christ, for else ye shall never be made like unto him. The Devil would gladly have you now to overthrow that which godly ye have of long time professed. Oh how would he triumph, if he could win his purpose? Oh how would the Papists triumph against Gods Gospel in you? Oh how would they confirm them in their wicked Popery? Oh how would the poor Children of God be discomfited, if now you should go to Mass and other idolatrous services, and do as the world doth?

Hath God delivered you from the sweet to serve him? Hath God miraculously restored you to health from your grievous Agues for such a purpose? Hath God given you such blessings in this world, and good things all the days of your life hitherto, and now of equity will ye not receive at his hands, and for his sake, some evil? God forbid: I hope better of you. Vile prayer, and call your care upon God; commit your Children into his hands; give to God your goods, bodies, and lives, as he hath given them, or rather lent them unto you. Say with Job, *God hath given, and God hath taken away, his name be praised for ever.* Cast your care upon him, pray, for he is careful for you; and take it amongst the greatest blessings of God, to suffer for his sake. I trust he hath kept you hitherto to that end.

And I beseech thee, O merciful Father, for Jesus Christs sake, that thou wouldst be merciful unto us, comfort us with thy grace, and strengthen us in thy truth, that in heart we may believe, and in tongue boldly confess thy Gospel, to thy glory, and our eternal salvation. Amen. Pray for me, and I by Gods grace will do the same for you.

John Bradford.

An admonition to certain Professors of the Gospel, to beware they fall not from it, in conforming to the Romish Religion, by the example of other bailing and damned false Gosselers.

The peace of Christ, which is the true effect of Gods Gospel, beloved (my dearly Beloved) be more and more plentifully perceived of you, through the grace of our dear Father, by the mighty working of the holy Spirit our comforter, Amen.

Though I have many Letters presently to lender me from writing unto you, yet being desired, I could not but something signify my ready good will in this behalf so much as I may, when I cannot so much as I would. You hear and see how Satan besetteth him, raging as a roaring Lion, to devour us. You see and feel partly what torments he hath raised up to drown the poor boat of Christ, I mean his Church. You see how terribly he traineth his foulders, to give a fierce on-fall on the vanguard of Gods battle. You see how he hath received power of God, to molest Gods Children, and to begin at his House. By reason whereof consider two things; one, the cause on our behalf; the other, what will be the sequel on strangers.

For the first, if we be not blind, we cannot but well fee that our sins are the cause of all this misery; our sins, I say, which I would that every one of us would apply to our selves after the example of *Jenna* and *David*, turning over the wallet, that other mens offences might ly before us, and our own before. Not that I would excuse other men, which exteriorly have walked much more grossly than many of you have done; but that I would provoke you to all my self, to more hearty repentance and prayer. Let us more and more increase to know and lament our doubting of God, of his precious promise, anger, mercy, &c.

Let us better feel and late our filthiness, fearfulness, ignorance, unthankfulness, unbelief, impatience, &c. and then doubtless the Cross shall be less fearful, yea it shall be comfortable, and Christ most dear and pleasant; death then shall be desired, as the dispatcher of us out of misery, and entrance into eternal felicity and joy unfeakable, the which is so much the more longed for, by how much we feel indeed the torments here, wherewith he wondeth our heels, that is, our outward *Adam* and *Serf*. If we had, I say, a lively and true feeling of his joy, we could not but as rejoice over our Captain that hath broken his head, but be desirous to follow his example,

A great blessing of God to offer our fakes.

Another Letter of Mr. Bradford to certain good persons, incouraging them to prepare themselves with patience unto the Cross.

Two things that we should be careful to consider, are the performance of Gods Word, and the example of his Saints.

Another reason why we should be careful to follow the example of our Captain, is because he hath broken his head, but be desirous to follow his example,

that is, to give our lives with him and for him, and to fill up his passions, that he might conquer and overcome in us and by us his glory and comfort of his Children.

Nowhere (I mean the Angels, or that which will follow on the fringes) my dear Beloved, let us well look upon. For if to be that God justly do thugive to Satan and his fed to vex and molest Christ and his penitent people! Oh what and how justly may he and will be give to Satan to intrate the wretched and impenitent sinners? If judgments begin thus at Gods house, what will follow on them that be without, if they repent not. Certainly forthem is reserved the dregs of Gods Cup, that is Bimstone, fire, and tempest intolerable. Now are they unwilling to drink of Gods Cup of additions, which he offereth common with his Son Christ our Lord, left they should lose their Pigs with the *Gorgelips*. They are unwilling to come into the way that bringeth to Heaven, even afflictions; they in their hearts cry, *Let us cast his*

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even afflictions; they in their hearts cry, *Let us cast his*

Wherefore by them, my dear Beloved, be admonished to remember your profession, how that in Baptism you made a solemn vow to forsake the Devil, the world, &c. You promised to fight under Christs standard. You learned Christs Cross above you begun with A. B. C. Go to them, pray your vows to the Lord, fight like men, and valiantly stand under Christs standard, take up your Cross and follow your Master, as your Brethren, M. Hooper, R. Rogers, Taylor, and Sanders have done, and as now your Brethren, M. Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Farne, Bradford, Hawks, &c. are ready to do. The Ice is broken before you, therefore be not weary, but be content to abide for the Lord. You have no cause to waver or doubt of the Doctrine thus declared by the blood of the Puritans. Remember that Christ faith; *He that will save his life, shall lose it*. And what should it profit you to win the whole world, much less a little quietness, your goods, &c. and to lose your own souls? Render to the Lord that he hath lent you, by such means as he would have you render it, and not as you would. Forget not, Christs Disciples must deny themselves, as well concerning their life as concerning their wisdom. Have in mind, that as it is no small mercy to believe in the Lord, so it is no small kindness of God towards you, to suffer any thing, much more dear, for the Lord. If he be pleased that dye in the Lord, how shall they be that dye for the Lord? Oh what a blessing is it to be dead, due for our sins, diverted into a demerit and justification of the Lords trust? Oh that we had a little of *Moses* faith to look upon the end of the Cross, to look upon the reward, to see continually with Christ and his people greater riches than the riches of Egypt. Oh let us pray that God would

open our eyes to see his hid Manna, heavenly Jerusalem Anno 1555.
the Congregation of his first born, the melody of the Saints, the Tabernacle of God dwelling with men: then should we run and become violent men, and so to the Kingdom of Heaven as it were by force. God our Father give us for his Christs sake to be a little, what and how great joy he hath prepared for us, he hath called us unto, and most assuredly giveth us for his own goodnes and truths faith, Amen.

My dear beloved, repent, be sober, and watch in prayer, be obedient, and after your vocations, flee your obedience to the Higher Powers in all things that are not against Gods word, therein acknowledge the sovereign power of the Lord: howbeit, so that ye be no rebels, or rebels for no cause; but because with good conscience you cannot obey, be patient, suffer, and the glory and good spirit of God shall dwell upon us. I pray you remember your afflicted brethren, being in the Lords bonds for the testimony of Christ, and adding the glorious hour of our dear and most merciful Father. The Lord for Christs sake, give us merry hearts to drink lustily of his sweet cup, which daily we groan and sigh for, lamenting that the time is thus prolonged. The Lord Jesus give us grace to be thankful, and to abide patiently the provident hour of his most gracious will, Amen, Amen. From the Counter in the Prison.

Tours in Christ, John Bradford.

To my good Brother John Careles, Prisoner in the Kings Bench.

The Father of mercy and God of all comfort, visit us a Lord with his eternal consolation, according to his great promise in Jesus Christ our Saviour, Amen.

My very dear Brother, if I shall report the truth unto you, I cannot but signify, that since I came into prison, I never received so much consolation as I did by your Letter, the Name of God be most heartily praised therefore. But if I shall report the truth unto you, and as I have begun, speak full the verity, I must confess, that for many months since to you, and as I have begun, I have more need of Gods merciful tidings, than I had ever before. Ab that Satan ever work in us so greatly, Ab that our Lord would tread his head under our feet, Ab that I might for ever bathe my self in tears, and be a godly example to you and others to beware of unthankfulness. God Brother Careles, we had more need to take heed, after a lightning of a fall than before. God therefore is to be praised, whom he had, and that not of long but cheerful countenance from us, as we have seen. I write unto you, as to one whom in the Lord I embrace, and I thank God that you do me in like manner. God our Father more and more give us both his good Spirit, that as by Faith we may feel our selves united unto him in Christ, so by love we may feel our selves linked in the same Christ unto another, I to you, and you to me, we are all the Children of God, and all the Children of Gods love, Amen, Amen.

Commend me to your good Brother Skelthorp, for whom the Lord heartily prayeth, God which hath given him to see his truth at the length, and to give place to it, I doubt but that he will be so speedy in all his conversation, that his old acquaintance may ever thereby think them selves as if they were never parted. I pray you, as if you were my example, should make me to stumble at the truth. Forget not exhortations in Christ, as you shall think good to Trevis, and his fellows. The Lord hath his time (I hope) for them who are also, although we perchance think otherwise. A drop which maketh the stone hollow, we will use, but with diligent often dropping: for with heavy prayer for them, and with a good example, you shall and drop upon them as you can, upon you shall see Gods work at the length. I beseech God to make perfect all the good he hath begun in us, Amen. I desire you all to pray for me the most unworthy prisoner of the Lord.

Your Brother, John Bradford.

To

To Mr. John Hall and his Wife, Prisoners in Newgate for the testimony of the Gospel.

Almighty God our heavenly Father through Jesus Christ, be with you both, my dear Beloved, as with his Children for ever, so be blest you with his Holy Spirit, whom you may in this your Crois. For his cause double) joy and gladly take it up to bear it so long as he shall think good. I have heard, my good Brother and Sister, how that God hath brought you into this School-house, whereas both purposed by his leave to have played the Trawlers; that thereby you might fee his excellencies and love towards you. For if he is a Father of a loving and careful Father for his Children, to prevent the purpose, and disappoint the intent of his Children, purposing to depart a while from the School for fear of beating (which thing they would not do, if they did as much consider the commodity of Learning which they might get) how should you take this work of the Lord preventing your purpose, but as an evident sign of love and fatherly care, which he beareth towards you? if he should have winked at your wills, then would you have escaped beatings, I mean the Cross; but then should you have lost the commodity of learning that which your Father will now have you to learn and feel, and therefore hath brought you to this Crois. He that hath brought you where you be, and though your reason and wit will tell you, it is by chance or fortune, or otherwise, yet (my dear Beloved) know for certain that, whatever was the means, God your Father was the worker thereof, and that for your weal, although otherwise your old Adam doth tell you, and you feel; yet I say of truth that your duty is to think of this, that it is of Gods sending and cometh from him, for although your defects be otherwise, it is of love and fatherly affection for your weal and commodities sake.

What commodity is hereby? you will perchance object. You are now left to God alone, you will say, your Family and Children be without good Overseers; your substance diminisheth by theft means; your poverty will approach, and perchance more perils, aye and loss of life too. These are no commodities, but difficulties, and that no small ones, so that justly you would be glad to know what commodity can come to you by this Crois, whereby cometh so great difficulties.

To these things I answer, that indeed it is true you say of your Bodies, Families, Children, substance, poverty, life &c. Which things, if you would consider a while with inward eyes, as you behold them with outward; then perhaps you should find more ease. Do not you now by the inward sense perceive that you must part from all these and all other commodities in the world? Tell me then, have not you this commodity by your Crois, to learn to leave and leave the world, and to long for and desire another world, where is perpetuity? You ought of your own head and free will to have (according to your profession in Baptism) forsaken the world and all earthly things, using the world as though you used it not. Your heart felt only upon your heard in heaven, if you could never be Christs true disciples, that is to be saved, and where he is. And truly you (my good hearts in the Lord) truly you, I say, that this is no commodity, by this Crois to be compelled hereto, that you might assuredly enjoy with the Lord endless glory? How now God, as it were, Fatherly pull you by the ears, to remember your former offences concerning these things and all other things, that repentance and remission might ensue? How doth God now compel you to call upon him, and to be earnest in Prayer: Are there no commodities? Doth not the Scripture say, that God doth correct us in this world, because we shall not be content with this world? That God chasteneth every one whom he loveth? That the end of this correction shall be joy and holiness? Doth not the Scripture say, That they are happy that suffer for righteousness sake, as you now do? That the glory made like unto Christs in suffering, shall you be made like him in reigning? Doth not the Scripture say, That you are now going the high and right way to Heaven? That your suffering is Christs suffering? My dear Be-

loved, what greater commodities than those can a godly heart desire?

Therefore ye are commanded to rejoice and be glad when ye suffer as now ye do for the obtaining of the goods of God great shall be your reward: Where? Forthout on earth first your Children; for now they are in Godsmeer and immediate protection. Never was Father so careful for his Children, as God is for yours presently. Gods blessing, which is more worth than all the worlds, you have indeed to your Children. Though all your Providence for them should be pulled away; yet God is not poor, he hath promised to provide for them most Fatherly. *Capt. vol. 11. Thy burden upon me, faith he, and I will bear it. Do you therefore call them, and commend them unto God your Father, and doubt not that he will dye in your debt. He never was found unfaithful, and he will not now a begging with you. The good mans feed shall not now a begging with his Bread; for he will their mercy upon thousands of the posterity of them that fear him. Therefore (as I said) Gods reward first upon earth shall be felt by your Children even corporally, and so also upon you, if God see it more for your commodity, at the least inwardly you shall feel it by quietness and comfort of Conscience: and secondly, after this life you shall find it to plentifully, as the eye hath not seen, the ear hath not heard, the heart cannot conceive how great and glorious Gods reward will be upon your bodies, much more upon your souls. God open our eyes to see and feel this indeed. Thus shall we think the Cross which is a mean hereto to be comendous. Then shall we thank God that he would chastise us. Then shall we say with David; *Happy am I that thou hast punished me: for before I went astray, but now I keep thy Law.**

That that we may do indeed (my dear Beloved) let us first know that our Crois cometh from God. Secondly, that it cometh from God as a Father, that is, to our weal and good. Therefore let us thirly call to mind our sins, and ask pardon. Whereto let us fourthly look for help, chiefly in Gods hand in his good time help I say, which shall make most to Gods glory, and to the comfort and commodity of our souls and bodies eternally. Thus if we certainly conceive, then will there issue out of us hearty thanksgiving, which God requirith as a most precious sacrifice. That we may all through Christ offer this, let us use earnest prayer to our God and dear Father, who blest us, keep us, and comfort us under his sweet Crois for ever, Amen, Amen.

My dear hearts, if I could any way comfort you, now should be first thereof, though my life lay thereon, but now I must do as may, because I cannot as I would. Oh that it would please our dear Father thirly to bring us where we should never depart, but enjoy continually the blessed fruition of his heavenly presence. Pray, pray as it may speedily come to pass, pray. To morrow I will tend to you to know your estate, pretend me word that are the chiefest things they charge you with all. From the Counter.

By your Brother in the Lord, John Bradford.

To Mrs. Hall, Prisoner in Newgate, and ready to make answer before Adversaries.

Our most merciful God and Father through Christ Jesus our Lord and Saviour, be merciful unto us, and let our most perfect the good he hath begun in us unto the end, Amen.

My dear Sister, rejoice in the Lord, rejoice; be glad, I say, be merry and thankful, not only because Christs joy commandeth us, but also because our state wherein we are presently, requireth no less, for we are the Lords witnesses. God the Father hath commanded to chase us amongst many to witness and testify that Christs blood hath cleansed us from all unrighteousness, and that his Word is true. Christs our Saviour, for his loves sake towards us, will have us to bear record that he is no usurper nor deceiver of the people, but Gods Embassador, Prophet, and Messiah; so that of all dignities upon earth this is the highest. Greater honour had not his Prophets, nor apostles, nor dear friends, than to bear witness with Christs, as we now do. The world, following the counsel of their sire Satan, would gladly condemn Christs and his servants, but to the Lord hath chosen us to be his Champions in

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to be this. As from Soldiers therefore let us stand to our
Majors, who a with us and flourish on our right hand,
that we shall not be much moved, if we hope and hang on
his mercy; he is so faithful and true, that he will never
tempt us farther than he will make us able to bear.

Therefore be not careful (for I hear by this day you
shall be called forth) what you shall undergo. The Lord
will be true and cannot lie, both promise, and will never
fail nor forget it, that you shall have both what and
how to answer, so as shall make his thunders Adversar-
ies ashamed. Hang therefore on this promise of God who
is an helper at a pinch, and a most perfect remedy to
them that hope in him. Never was I ever wronged, or
shall begin any hoping in the Lord was put to fail.

Therefore as I said, I say again, dear Sister, be not
only not careful for your answering, but also be joyful for
your cause. Confess Christ, and be not ashamed, and he will
confess you, and never be ashamed of you. Though loss of
goods and life be like never to ensue, yet if Christ be true
(as he is most true) it is otherwise indeed, for he that
loves his life, shall be given it, but he that forgoeth it,
shall it. Our sins have deserved many deaths. Now if God
do deal with us, that he will make our deserved death a
denunciation of his Grace, a testimonial of his Verity, a
confirmation of his People, and overthrow of his Adversar-
ies. What great cause have we to be thankful? Be
thankful therefore God Sufferer thankful, Rejoice and
be merry in the Lord; he first in his cause and quarrel,
be not heart-beated, but run out your race, and let your
Captain Christ before your eyes. Behold how great your
reward is. See the great glory and the eternity of felicity
prepared for you. Strive and fight lawfully, that you may
get the Crown. Run to get the game, you are almost at
your journey's end; I doubt not but our Father will with
us (and to you also, as he did to Helias a fiery Chariot, to
convey us into his Kingdom. Let us therefore not be dis-
mayed, to leave our Cloak behind us, that is, our Bodies to
others. God will one day restore them to us like to the Body
of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, whose coming is
now at hand. Let us look for it and lift up our heads
for our redemption draweth nigh, Amen, Amen. The Lord
of mercy grant us his mercy, Amen. I pray you, pray for
me, and do desire my Brethren which be with you. God's
peace be with us all, Amen. Blessed be the dead that dye
in the Lord; then how much more they that dye in the
Lord?

Your Brother in bonds, J. Bradford.

To a Woman that desired to know his mind, whether she
refraining from the Mass might be present at the Popish
Matins or no.

I beseech Almighty God our heavenly Father to be
merciful unto us, and to increase in you my good Si-
ster, the knowledge and love of his Truth, and at this
present give me grace to write to you something of
the same, may make to his glory and our own comfort
and confirmation in him through Christ our Lord, Amen.
Whether you may come with this Confession to the
Church now, that is, to the Service used commonly, in
parish at Matins; or at Evening or no, is your desire to
have me to write something for your further help. My
dearest Beloved, although your benefits towards me might
perchance make you to think, that in respect thereof I
would bear with that which else were not to be born
withal; yet by Gods grace I am purposed, simply and
without all such respect in this matter, to speak to you
the truth according to my Conscience, as I may be able to
stand unto, when I shall come before the Lord.

First therefore, go about to learn perfectly the first
Lesson to be learned of all that profess Christ, that is, to
deny your self and in nothing to seek your self.
Secondly, learn the first to begin at the next Lesson
to which I say seek God in all things you do, and leave
undone.

Thirdly, know that when thou seek God, when in his
service you follow his Word and not mans fantasies, cus-
tom, multitude, &c. and when with your Brother you fol-
low the rule of Charity, that is, Trade as you would be
done by. In this is a firm of all the counsel I can give
you, if that hereto I amonish you of the Service now

used, which is not according to Gods Word, but rather
against Gods Word directly, and in manner wholly. So
that your going to the Service, is a declaration that you
have not learned the first Lesson, nor never can learn it,
so long as you go thither; therefore the second Lesson
you must utterly leave, if you desire the feeling of
your faith, that is, for company, customs, father or friends
lie or goods, you seem to allow that which God dis-
alloweth. And that that you the better may perceive, I
purpose by Gods grace briefly to show.

First, the Matins and Evensong is in a Tongue for-
bidden publicly to be used in the Congregation that per-
ceiveth not the Tongue. Read now the first Lesson, to
pray in an unknown Tongue, to be against Gods Com-
mandment. This one (I trow) were enough, if nothing
else were. For how can Gods glory be fought, where his
Word and Commandment is wilfully broken? How can
charity to Man stand when charity to God, which is obedi-
ence to his Word, is overthrown?

Again, both in Matins and in Evensong is Idolatry main-
tained for Gods service; there is Invocation and Prayer
made to Saints departed this life, which robbeth God of
that glory which he will give to none other.

Moreover, this Service, and the fetters forth of it, com-
mendeth the English Service a Heretic, thereby falling
into Gods Curse, which is threatened to all such as call
good evil, and evil good; whereof they shall be persua-
ders that do communicate with them.

Besides this Latin Service is a plain mark of An-
tichrists Catholic Synagogue; for that the Communi-
cants and Approvers of it; thereby declare themselves to be
Members of the same Synagogue, and so cut off from
Christ and his Church, whose exterior mark is the true
administration of Gods Word and Sacraments.

Furthermore, the example of your going thither to
allow the Religion of Antichrist (as doubtless you do in-
deed, howsoever in heart you think) occasionally the
flame to be utterly intractable, the weak Papists to be
more obstinate, the strong Gossellers to be more weak-
ened, and the weak Gossellers to be utterly overthrown:
which things though great offences they be, no Pen is able
to utter by Letters. All these evils you shall be guilty of,
that Company with these in Religion exteriorly, from
whom you are admonished to fly. If Christ be Christ,
follow him: gather with him, left you scatter abroad.
Serve God only in Spirit, but also in Body. Make not
your Body now a member of Christ, a member of An-
tichrist. Come out from amongst them, faith the Lord, and
touch no unclean thing. Confess Christ and his Truth,
not only in heart, but also in tongue, yes in very deed,
which few Gossellers do. Indeed they deny him, and
therefore had need to tremble, lest that Christ will deny
them in the last day; the which day, if they were fet
before our eyes often, then would the pleasures and treasures
of this World be but trifles.

Therefore good Sister, often have it before your eyes,
daily let your self and your doings as before the Judge-
ment Seat of Christ now, that hereafter you will be cal-
led into Judgment. Think that it will little profit you to
win the whole World and to lose your own Soul. Mark
Christ's Lessons well. He that will save his life, shall lose it.
The Father of Heaven commandeth you to leave Christ,
and he faith, Follow me: this can you do, although follow
Idolatry or Idolaters. Fly from such faith the Scriptures.

This God require of you, to me, and to all Gods Chil-
dren, Amen. Thus in haste I have accomplished your re-
quest. God grant that as you have done me much good
bodily, so that this may be a little mean to do you some
good spiritually, Amen. If time would serve, I would have
written more at large. The second of March,
Amm 1555.

To the Worships, and in God my most dear Friend, the
Lady Jane.

The good Spirit of God our Father be more and more
plentifully perceived of your good Ladyship, through
the meditation and merits of our dear Saviour Jesus
Christ, Amen.

Although your benefits towards me have departed at the
my hands the service I can do for you, yet (Right Wor-
ship)

With faithful and dearly beloved in the Lord) the true
fear of God, and the love of his truth, which perceive to be
in you; specially, and above all other things do bind me
hereto. This bearer hath told me that your desire
is to have something sent to you concerning the un-
derp Authority of the Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome
(which is undoubtedly that great Antichrist) of whom
the Apostles do so much admonish you that you may have
as well something the more to stay on, as also wherewith
to answer the Adversaries, because you may perchance
therein be something apposed. To satisfy this your desire,
I will briefly go forth, and forthat I will by Gods grace
probably conjectures there, to enure you to withstand the
Assaults of the Papists herein, if you mark well and read
over again that which I now Write.

The Papists do place in preeminence over the whole
Church, the Pope, thereby unplacing Christ, which is
the head of the Church, that giveth life to the whole
Body, and by his Spirit doth make lively every member
of the same. This they do without all Scriptures. For
where they bring in this spoken to Peter, Feed my Sheep;
I would gladly know whether this was not commanded
unto others also. As for that (which perchance they will
urge) that he spake to Peter by name, if they had any
reason, they would easily perceive how that it was not
for any such cause as they pretend, but rather by a three-
fold commandment to restore him to the honour of an
Apostle, which he had lost by his threefold denial. And how
dare they interpret this word, My Sheep, my Lambs, to be
the universal Church of Christ? I trow a man might easily
by the like of reason prove that Peter himself had no
power, which Christ had given to him, in exhorting
his fellow Pastors to feed the flock of Christ. Is not this
pretty fool? Because Christ faith to Peter, Feed my Sheep,
therefore he could tutor the universal and whole Church
of Christ? I trow to truly Write unto others that they
should do the like, that is, Feed Christs flock, either he
might have said, Feed my Sheep, or committed to him upon
them, or else he doth participate or communicate with them,
that so faithfully they go about to establish that which hath
no ground. Peter indeed was a shepherd of the Sheep,
but such a one as bestowed his labour on them far to
be, as he could stretch himself by his Ministry. But the Papists
purposely paiteth out the whole Administration of the
Church, they may fee Paul to improve them, after he had done
unjustly in denying him the superior place. Howbeit, who
ever said that Peter did take any thing upon him
over Churches committed to other men? Was not he sent
of the Church, & first of one not having rule over the rest?

I grant that he was an excellent instrument of God; and
for the excellency of his gifts, whosoever they met toge-
ther, there place he was commonly given unto him. But
what is this to the purpose, to make him ruler and head
over all the whole Church, because he was so over a
small Congregation?

But be it to that Peter had as much given to him as
they do affirm: Who yet will grant that Peter had the
pastorship given for his heirs? He hath left (by the
Papists) to his successors the self same right which he re-
ceived of Lord God, then must his successor be a Satan:
for he received that title of Christ himself. I would glad-
ly have the Papists to shew me one place of succession
mentioned in the Scriptures. I am sure that when Paul
purposely paiteth out the whole Administration of the
Church, he neither maketh one head, nor any Inheritable
Primacy, and yet he is altogether in commendation of
unity. After he hath made mention of one God the Fa-
ther, of one Christ, of one Spirit, of one Body of the
Church, of one Faith, and of one Baptism, then he de-
clareth that the men and many now unity to us keep;
namely, because unto every Pastor is grace given for the
measure wherewith Christ hath endued them. Where I say
is now any want of Plenitude in pastors; of ful-
ness of power? When he calleth home every one unto a
small measure, why did he not forthwith say one Pope?
Which he could not have forgotten, if the thing had been
as the Papists make it.

But let us grant that perpetuity of the primacy in the
Church was established in Peter; I would gladly learn
why the seat of the Primacy should be rather at Rome
than elsewhere. Mary say they, because Peters chair

was at Rome: This is even like to this, that because
Moses the greatest Prophet, and deliverer of his People
exercised their offices unto their Death in the desert, and
therefore the principall place of the Jewish Church
should be in the Wilderness. But grant them their rea-
son that it is Gods? What should Antichrist claim? For
Peters Chair was there also, wherein Paul gave him a
Check, which was unfeignedly and unquarrelously given
Paul, that would not give place to his Predecessor and
Successor.

No, say the Papists, Rome must have this Authority be-
cause Peter died there. But what if a man should by
probable conjectures there, that it is but a fable; which is
feigned of Peter Bishopric, as Rome? Read how Paul
doth salute very many private persons where he writeth
to the Romans. Three years after his Epistle made, he
was brought to Rome prisoner. Luke telleth, that he
was received of the Brethren, and yet in all these, is no
mention at all of Peter, which then by their stories was
at Rome. Belike he was proud, as the Pope and Pretends
be, or else he would have visited Paul. Paul being in
prison in Rome did write divers Epistles, in which he
expresseth the names of many which were in company
of Peter, but rarely performs, but of Peter he speaketh
never a word. Surely if Peter had been there, this silence
of him had been suspicious. In the Epistle to Timothy,
Paul complaineth that no man was with him in his
Defence, but all had left him. If Peter had been then at
Rome, as they write, then either Paul had belied him,
or Peter had played his Peter part, Luke 22. In another
place, how doth he blame all that were with him, only
Timothy excepted? Therefore we may well doubt whe-
ther Peter was at Rome Bishop as they say: for all this
time and long before, they say that Peter was Bishop there.

But I will not stir up coals in this matter. If Rome be
the chief seat because Peter died there, why should not
Antichrist be the second? Why should not James and John
primates? Why should not James and John primates? Why
should not James and John primates? Why should not James
and John primates? Why should not James and John primates?
Is not this great preposterous, that Alexandria where Mark
(which was but one of the Disciples) was Bishop,
should be preferred before Ephesus where John the E-
vangelist was and was Bishop, and before Jerusalem,
where not only James taught and died Bishop, but also
Christ Jesus our Lord and High Priest for ever, by
whom being Master, hope, honour should be given to his
clergy men then to the chair of his Chairmen?

I need to speak nothing how that Paul telleth Peters
Apollonship to concern rather Circumcision or the Jews,
and therefore properly pertained not to us. Neither do I
need to bring in Gregorius the first Bishop of Rome, which
was about the year of our Lord 600. who plainly in his
works doth write that this title of Primacy, and to be
head over all Churches under Christ, is a title meet and
agreeing only to Antichrist, and therefore he calleth it
a prophane, a mischievous, and an horrible title. Whom
Antichrist, should we believe now? If we will neither believe Apol-
lon nor Pope?

If I should go about to tell how this name was first
given by Phocas, I should be too long. I purpose God wil-
ling to let it forth at large in a work which I have begun
of Antichrist, if God for his mercies sake give me life
and health. For this present therefore, if I shall desire your
Ladyship to take this in good part, if they will not have
the Bishop of Rome to be acknowledged for the head of
the Church, then will I urge them that they shall give us
a Bishop. But they obtrude unto us a butcher rather, or a
bishop, then a Bishop. They brag of Peter's succession,
of Christs Vicar, this is always in their mouth. But also
how can we call him Christs Vicar that resisteth Christ, and
opugneth his verities, persecuteth his People, and like a
Prelate preterfeth himself above God and man? How, or
wherein doth the Pope and Christ agree? How supply-
eth he Peters Ministry, that boasteth of his succession?
Therefore to begin withal, which I will use presently for
a conclusion, if the Papists will have the Bishop of Rome
supreme head of the Church of Christ in Earth, they
must affirm they attain this give us a Bishop in deed, & not
in name. For whosoever he that will make this his
bond of unity, whatsoever the Bishop of Rome be, surely

any place this is no bread. But of this gear God shall I speak you, if you hang on his promise, and pray for the power and wisdom of his Spirit, which undoubtedly at you are bound to look for, praying for it, so he hath bound himself by his promise to give it to the whole thing he grant unto us both, and to all his People, for his names sake, through Christ our Lord, Amen.

John Bradford.

To certain golly men, whom he exhorteth to be patient under the Cross, and constant in the true doctrine which they had professed.

MT' dearly beloved in the Lord, as in him I wish you well to fare, so I pray God I and you may continue in his true service, that perpetually we may enjoy the same welfare, as he here in hope, so in Heaven indeed, and to be perfect eternally.

You know that this World is not your Home, but a Pilgrimage and place wherein God trieth his Children: and therefore as it knoweth you not, nor can know you, so I trust you know not it, that is, you allow it not in any point will fear so to do, although by many you be occasioned thereto. For this last Sun, which new flutters, burneth so fore that the corn which is sown upon (and which your ground beginneth to wither, that is, many which before time were taken for hearty Gospelers, begin now for the fear of afflictions to relent, yea to turn to their coming again, thereby declaring that though they go from among us, yet were they never of us, or else they would have still tarried with us, and neither for gain nor left have left us, either in word or in deed.

As for their hearts, which undoubtedly is double, and therefore in danger of Gods curse, if we have as much with us, as the Devils have with them, and more too by their own judgment. For they playing wily beguile themselves, think it enough inwardly to favour the truth, though outwardly they carry favour. What though with my Body they say, I do this or that? God knoweth my heart is whole with him.

Ab Brother, if thy heart be whole with God, why dost thou then confest and declare thyself according by word and fact? Either that, which thou sayest thou believest in thy heart, good or no. If it be good, why art thou ashamed of it? If it be evil, why dost thou keep it in thy heart? I trust God able to defend thee, cleaving thyself for his cause? Or will he not defend his worshippers? Dost not the Scripture say that the eye of the Lord are on them that fear him, and trust in his mercy? And upon them that deliver their Souls from Death, and to feed them in the time of hunger.

If this be true, as it is most true, why are we afraid of Death, as though God could not comfort or deliver us, or would not, contrary to his promise? Why are we afraid of the loss of our goods, although God would leave them that fear him destitute of all good things, and so do against his most ample promise? Ab Faith, Faith, how few feel they now as they felt once, and Christ, that he should surely find Faith when he come on Earth. For if men believed this promise, they would never do any thing outwardly which inwardly they disallow. No example of men, how many follow they hear how learned, soever they be, can prevail in this behalf: for the pattern which we must follow is Christ himself, and not the more company or custom. His Word is the lantern to lighten our path, and not learned men. Cometh in party and custom are to be considered according to the thing they allow. Learned men are to be listened to and followed according to Gods lore and laws, for else the more part goeth to the Devil. As custom causeth error, blindness, so learning if it be not according to the light of Gods Word, perverts, and turneth men most pernicious. The Devils calleth Demons for his cunning, and the Children of the World are much wiser than the Children of light in their generation: and I know the Devil and his darlings have always for the most part more help in this life than Christs Church and her Children. They (the Devil and his Synagogue I mean) have custom, multitude, antiquity, cunning, learning, riches, power, riches, honour, dignity, and promotion plenty, as do we; yet they have had and shall have commonly & for the most part until Christs coming, much more than for the true Church hath presently, before he hath had, or here after shall have. For his glory, riches, and honour is not less than Truth, Cross, and warfare is here.

And therefore, my dear hearts in the Lord, consider these things accordingly. Consider what you best will, and what God's Children consider where you be at Home, but in a strange Country, consider among whom you are conversant, even in the midst of your enemies, of a wicked generation, and then I trust you will not much misbe at affliction. Which you cannot be without, being as you be God's Children, in a strange Country, and in the midst of your enemies, except you would leave your Captain Christ, and fellow Satan for the meek of this world, and so quiet, which he may promise you, and you indeed think you shall receive it, if you do as he would have you to do. My sweet hearts, he is not able to pay that he promiseth. Peace and warre come from Gods riches and poverty, wealth and woe. The Devil hath no power but by Gods permission. If then God permit him a little on your goods, body or life, pray you tell me what can much hurt you? Yes, faith, you being followers of God himself? Think you that God will not remember you in his time as most shall be to your comfort? Can a woman fear that the Child of her womb? And if the should say, will not I forget thee (saith the Lord) Look upon Abraham in his exile and misery, look upon Jacob, Joseph, Moses, David, the Prophets, Apostles, and all the golly from the beginning and end of the world. Brethren, thus God's love is a changing? You have heard of the patience of Job (saith Saint James) and you have seen the end, how that God is merciful, patient and long suffering: even so I say unto you that you shall find accordingly, so to be patient, that is, so to be your fear him, set his Word before you, serve him thereafter, and if he lay his Cross on you, you bear it with patience: the which you shall do when you consider it not according to the present (sins), but according to the end, Heb. 12. 1 Cor. 4.

Therefore I heartily beseech you, and out of the bonds which I suffer for your sake, pray you mine own sweet hearts in the Lord, that you would cleave in heart and humble obedience to the doctrine taught you by me, and many other my Brethren, for you have taught you no false nor tales of men, or our own fantasies, but the very Word of God, which we are ready with our lives: God so enabling us, we trust he will to confirm, and by the shedding of our Blood, in all patience and humble obedience to the superior power, to persevere and fail upon what you might be certain of the doctrine, and thus you might be ready to confest the same before this wicked World, knowing that if we confest Christ and his truth before men, he will confest us before his Father in Heaven: if so be we be alighted thereof for loss of life, friends or goods, he will be alighted of us before his Father, and his Holy Angels in Heaven.

Therefore take heed for the Lords sake, take heed, take heed, and do not your Bodies or Souls with this Romish treason and Antichristian Religion (set up against us again: but come away, come away, as the Angel crieth, from amongst them in their idolatrous service, lest you be partakers of their iniquity. Hearken to your Preachers as the apostles: The Galatians did to Paul; that is, confer their sayings with the Scriptures, and if they found not thereafter, the morning light shall not shine upon them.

We much and hearty prayer for the Spirit of Wisdom, knowledge, humbleness, meekness, forbearance and repentance, which we have great need of, because our sins have thus provoked the Lords anger against us: but let us bear his anger, and acknowledge our faults with bitter tears, and sorrowful sighs, and (saith the Lord) he will be merciful to us after his wondrous mercy. The which thing he wouldest to do for his Holy Names sake in Christ Jesus our Lord, whom with the Father, and the Holy Ghost, he will honour glory, praise, and everlasting thanks, from this time forth for evermore. Amen.

Out of Prison by yours in the Lord to command,

John Bradford.

A Letter to Mr. George Eaton.

Almighty God our Heavenly Father, recompence abundantly into your Bosom, my dearly beloved, and eternally, the good which from him by you I have continually received: thence my coming into prison. Otherwise can I never be able to requite you.

Yours,

Annoying kindness here, then by praying for you, and after this life, by witnessing your Faith declared to me by your fruits, when we shall come and appear together before the Throne of our Saviour Jesus Christ, whether I thank God I am even now going, ever looking when Officers will come, and fustle the Presence of the Prelates, whereof though I cannot complain, because I have justly deserved an hundred thousand deaths at Gods hands by reason of my sins, yet I may and must rejoice, because the Prelates do not persecute in mine iniquities, but Christ Jesus and his Verity do that they persecute not me, but Christ is not me, but they persecute Christ, they hate Christ.

And because they can do him no hurt (for he sitteth in Heaven, and laugheth them and their devices to scorn, as one day they shall feel) therefore they turn their rage upon his poor thees, as Herod their Father did upon the infants *Matth. 2*. Great cause therefore have I to rejoice, that my dear Saviour Christ will vouchsafe, amongst many, to choose me to be a vessel of grace to suffer in me (which have deserved so often and justly to suffer for my lord) that might be most assured I shall be a vessel of honour, in whom he will be glorified.

Therefore, my right dear Brother in the Lord, rejoice with me, give thanks for me, and cease not to pray, that God for his mercies sake would make perfect the good he God hath begun in me. And as for the Doctrine which I have professed and preached, I do confest unto you in writings, as to the whole World I shortly shall by Gods grace in suffering, that it is the very true Doctrine of Jesus Christ, of his Church, of his Prophets, Apostles, and all good men: so that if an Angel should come from Heaven and preach otherwise, the same were accursed.

Therefore waver not, dear heart in the Lord, but be confirmed in it, and as your vocation requireth, when God so will, confest it, though it be perilous to do so. The end hath evidently shown another manner of prayer, for doing then tongue cease to dilige in prayer, and watch therein. Use everred telling of Gods Word. Set the shewness of this time before your eyes, and let not the Eternity that is to come, depart out of your memory. Practise in doing, that you learn by reading and hearing. Decline from evil, and pursue good. Remember that that be in bonds, especially for the Lords cause, as members of your body, and fellow heirs of grace. Forget not the afflictions of *Sion*, and the oppression of *Jerusalem*, and God our Father shall give us his continual blessing through Christ our Lord, who guide us as his dear Children for ever. Amen.

And thus I take my Farewell and farewell with you dear Brother, for ever in this present life, till we shall meet in eternall bliss: whether our good God and Father bring us shortly. Amen. God bless all your Babes for ever, Amen. Out of Prison this 8th of February.

Your afflicted Brother for the Cause, John Bradford.

Another Letter to Mrs. Anne Warcup.

Almighty God our heavenly Father for his Christ sake, increase in us faith, by which we may more and more feel glory and honour is bestowed and fairly kept in Heaven, for all them that believe with the heart, and confest Christ and his truth with the mouth. Amen. My dearly beloved, I remember that once heretofore I wrote unto you a *Psalm*, or a farewell upon conjecture: but now I write my farewell to you in this life in deed, upon certain knowledge. My heart standeth at the door, continually look for the Sheriff to come for me, and I thank God I am ready for him. Now go I to preface that which I have preached. Now am I climbing the hill, it will cause me to puff and to blow before I come to the cliff: The hill is steep and high, my breath is short, and my strength is feeble: pray therefore to the Lord for me, that as I have now through his goodness, even almost come to the top, where I may by his grace be strengthened, not to rest till I come such a Place with him, as the Devil might not, nor may be able, and therefore I thrust up Father and Mother, Sister and Brother, rather than it should continue. But Gods loving mercy: he knoweth my short breath and

great weakness. As he sent for *Helias* in a fiery Chariot, so sendeth he for me: for by fire my doings must be purified, that I may be fine gold in his sight. O unthankful wretch that I am! Lord do thou forgive me mine unthankfulness. Indeed I confest (right dear to me in the Lord) that my sins have deserved Hell fire, much more than this fire. But so, following is my Lord, that he converteth the remedy for my sins, the punishment for my transgressions, into a testimonial of his Truth, and a confirmation of his Verity, which the Prelates do persecute in me, and not my sins: Therefore they persecute not me, but Christ in me, which I doubt not, will take my part unto the very end. Amen.

O that I had so open an heart, as could so receive as I should do this great benefit and unfeigned dignity, which God my Father offereth to me! Now pray for me, my dearly beloved: pray for me that I never shrink. I shall never think I Lord. I trust in the Lord I have not feared for he that always hath taken my part, I am assured will not leave me when I have mortified, to make you as able to bear the brunt. Use hearty prayer, reverently read and hear Gods Word, put it in practice: look to the Cross lift up your hands, for your redemption draweth nigh; know that the death of Gods Saints is precious in his sight. Be merry in the Lord, pray for mitigation of Gods heavy displeasure upon our Country. God keep us for ever, God bless us with his spiritual blessings in Christ. And thus I bid you farewell for ever in this present life. Pray for me, pray for me, for Gods sake pray for me. God make perfect his good work begun in me. Amen. Out of Prison the 7th of February.

Tears in the Lord, J. Bradford.

In the story of Mr. Bradford it was above rehearsed, how certain Gentlemen, being in trouble by her Father and Mother for not coming to Mass, sent her Servant to visit Mr. Bradford in Prison. Who tending the woful case of the Gentlemen, to the intent partly to comfort her with counsel, partly to relieve her oppressed mind with some comfort, directed this Letter unto her; the contents whereof are these.

To a certain golly Gentlewoman, troubled and afflicted by her Friends, for not coming to the Mass.

I With unto you, right Worshipful and my dearly beloved Sister in the Lord, as to my self, the continual grace and comfort of Christ, and of his holy Word, through the operation of the Holy Spirit, who strengtheneth your inward man with the strength of God, that you may continue to the end in the faithful obedience of Gods Gospel, whereto you are called. Amen.

I preceded by your self the last day when you were with me, how that you are in the School-house and trial Parlor of the Lord; which to me is (at the least it should be) a great comfort to feel the number of Gods elect by you increased, which is in that state whereof God hath not called many, as *Paul* faith. And as it is comfort to me, so should it be a confirmation unto me, that the Lord is so true in his faithfulness, that he will make perfect and finish the good he hath begun in you to the end.

If then your Cross be to me a comfort or token of Gods election, and a confirmation of Gods continual favour (my dearly Beloved) how much more ought it to be so unto you? He whom he hath not only given to me, but also to come into the race of suffering for his sake, and that not commonly of common Enemies, but even of your own Father, Mother, and all your Friends. I mean Kinsfolks, as you told me. By which I fee Christians to be true, how that he came to give his Children such a Peace with him, as the Devil might not, nor may be able, and therefore I thrust up Father and Mother, Sister and Brother, rather than it should continue. But (my dear Sister) if you cry with *David* to the Lord, and

[illegible]

Harp. Will thou declare no more than this?

Bland. No.

Harp. Well, I will tell thee wherein I ground my faith: I do believe and ground my faith on the Catholic faith: I do believe and ground my faith upon all the Articles of the Creed, and upon all the holy Scriptures, Sacraments, and holy Doctors of the Church, and upon all the general Councils that ever were since the Apostles time. Lo, hereupon ground I my faith; with many words more, which I will remember not. And when he could get no other answer of me, than I had said before, he called for a Scribe to make an act against me. And after much communication, I said, By what Law and Authority will ye proceed against me. Mr. Collins said, By the Canon Law.

Bland. I doubt whether it be in strength or no. Yet I pray you let me have a Councillor in the Law, and I will make answer according to the Law.

Harp. Why thou Heretic, thou wilt not confess thy faith to me, that have Authority to demand it of thee, and yet I have confessed my faith to thee before all this Audience. As concerning the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, thou hast taught, that after the Consecration it is Bread and Wine, and not the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. How faith thou, halt thou not thus taught?

Bland. Sir, as concerning this matter of the Sacrament, when I was with you and Mr. Collins, ye said then it was for other matters that I should come hither: and further, that ye would be content at my desire, to confer Scriptures with me, to see if ye could win me; and ye said, ye would borrow my Lord of Dover's Library, that I should have what Book I would; and now ye require me thus to answer, contrary to your promise, yet my Conference be had, and seek rather to bring me into trouble, than to win me.

Harp. I will, as God shall help me, do the best to thee that I can, if thou wilt be any thing conformable; and I do trust to dissolve all thy doubts, if thou be willing to hear. And I also will defend thee two worshipful men, my Lord of Dover, and Mr. Collins, to hear us.

Bland. No, ye shall pardon me of that: there shall be no such winds. But when we agree, let to our hands. Hereat made the people a noise against me, for refusing the witness: and here had many more words, then I can rehearse. But at the last I said, Sir, will ye give me leave to ask you one question? And he said, yes, with all my heart. For in that thou askest any thing, there is some hope that thou shalt be won.

Bland. Sir, when I pleaded Almighty God to fend his Angel unto the Virgin Mary to salute her, and said, Hail full of Grace, &c. came any substance from God our Father into the Virgin womb to become man? whereas as well Mr. Archdeacon, as my Lord of Dover, and Mr. Collins said, But my Lord spake the first, and said, The Holy Ghost came to her; and ere he had brought out his sentence, Mr. Syrac Peters said, *Veritas alijum obumbravit*. Truth, said Mr. Archdeacon, it had forgotten, that *genuit factu ex substantia patris*; Or else they perceived whereunto this question tended: and so both I and they left it; by what words I cannot tell. But I said, Sir, shall I ask one other? And he said, Yes. Is there in the Sacrament, after the Consecration, Christ's natural Body, with all the qualities of a natural Body, or no?

Harp. Hark, said Mr. Archdeacon; hear ye this Heretic? He thinks it an absurdity to grant all the quantities of Christ's natural Body to be in the Sacrament. But it is no absurdity: For even that natural Body that was born of the Virgin Mary is glorified, and that same Body is in the Sacrament after the Consecration. But ye conceive ye not the absurdity of this Heretic, that he putteth me to answer him, and he will not answer me? he thought to put me to a pinch with his question; for I tell you it is a learned question.

Bland. So if ye be so much discontented with me, I will say no more; yet I would all men heard, that ye say the glorified Body of Christ is in the Sacrament, after the Consecration.

Harp. I may call thee gross ignorant. Thou gross ignorant, is not the same body glorified, that was born

of the Virgin Mary? is it then any absurdity to grant that to be in the Sacrament? And whilst he spake many other words, I said to Mr. Peirs, That the Sacrament was not crucified, delivered, and received of his Apostles, before Christ's Body was crucified; and it was crucified before it was glorified; which saying Mr. Peirs partly recited to Mr. Archdeacon.

Harp. Thou art without all learning. Was not Christ's Body given to his Apostles, as in a glorified act? and yet no inconveniences, although his natural Body was not crucified; for when he was born of the Virgin Mary without pain, was not that the act of a glorified Body? And when he walked on the water, and when he came into the hulk to his Apostles, the doors being that came, were not those acts of a glorified Body?

Dover. Then my Lord of Dover helped him to a better place, and said, When Christ was in Mount *Thabor*, he there glorified in his Apostles light.

Harp. Ye say truth, my Lord, he was glorified in the sight of three of his Apostles.

Bland. This me think is new Doctrine.

Harp. Well, being he will by no other way be reformed, let the people come in and prove their matters against him. And therewith the Archdeacon brought forth a Copy of the Bill of Complaint that was put against me at *Christmas*, and about that we talked a little. And then said Mr. Archdeacon rose up, and said, See ye good people that know this matter, that ye come in, and prove it against him. Whereunto answered *Thomas Ayles*, I pray you, said he, let us be no more troubled with him. And then spake *John Ayles*, and *Heath* with one eye, and began to accuse me; but to answer they could have of me, but do to me what ye can by Law, and I will answer it. Then said *Thomas Ayles*, Bland, ye are now abused.

Bland. Ye say not truly, Goodman *Ayles*, I was never abused. Either, said he, ye were abused, or else ye were abuser. Neither of both, ye speak this of malice, with many other brutish words more. Then Mr. Archdeacon departed, and left Mr. Collins to command me to appear the next day. Howbeit, for certain other urgent business that I had, I did not appear, but wrote a Letter to Mr. Commissary, desiring him to repute the matter till my coming home again; and if he would not, I would be content to submit my self to the Law when I came home.

Now about the 28 day of June I came to Mr. Commissary to shew him of my return, and offered my self to falsify the Law, if it were proceeded against me, before Mr. Cocks of *Surrey*, and *Marks* the Appaitor; but Mr. Commissary said, gently, he had done nothing against me. And so appointed me to appear before him the Friday seven-night after. Now in the mean time was the Sessions holden at *Crambroke*, where I was bound to shew in; and carrying *Syrac* with me to be bound a *Comaine* gain, for I looked for none other, did appear the third day of July.

And Sir *John Baker* said, Bland, ye are, as ye hear Sir *J. Baker* say, a Scot; where were ye born and brought up? And I said I was born in *England*. And he said, where? And I said, I was in *Sedber*, and brought up by one Mr. *Lupton*, Professor of *Eaton College*. Well, said he, I know him well, and he will certify you of your birth.

Then said Sir *Thomas Moyle*, Al Bland, thou art a stiff-necked Fellow. Thou wilt not obey the Law, nor wilt thou answer when thou art called. Nor will, quoth Sir *John Baker*?

Mr. Sheriff, take him to your Ward: and the Bailiff met me in the Stocks, with others, and would not hear me speak one word; and so we remained in the Goal of *Midstone*, till a fortnight before *Michaelmas*, or thereabouts, about which time we were carried to *Redbrey*, to the Assize helden there, where were among the Prisoners good two days; and when we were called, and the Judges of the Assize asked our causes, when my cause was rehearsed, Mr. *Barrow*, Clerk of the Peace, said, That I was an uncomunicable person.

Then Mr. *Keper* of *Lincoln* talked with the Judges, and said, that I am not able to say. But the Judges of Assize said, Take them to the *Midstone* again, and bring them to the Sessions that shall be holden next at the Town of *Malden*: Howbeit, the Sheriff did not find for us, so that we waited at *Midstone* till the Sessions holden at *Green*.

Greenwich the 18 and 19 of February. I and other being within the Bar amongst the Felons, and Irons upon our Arms, were called out the later day by the Jaylor and Bailiffs, and called of our Irons, and carried by them into the Prison to Sir *John Baker*, Mr. *Peirs*, Mr. *Webb*, and two other whom I know not.

Another Examination of Mr. Bland before Sir John Baker.

Baker. Bland, wherefore were ye call into Prison?

Bland. I cannot well tell. Your Mattership call me in.

Baker. Ye a, but wherefore were you in before that time?

Bland. For an unjust Complaint put upon me.

Baker. What was the Complaint?

Bland. I told him as truly and briefly as I could?

Baker. Let me fee thy Book; and I took him a Latin Testament.

Baker. Will ye go to the Churchyard obey and follow the Queens proceedings, and do as an honest man should do.

Bland. I trust in God to do no otherwile but as an honest man should do.

Baker. Will ye do as I said?

Bland. Will it please your Mattership to give me leave to ask you a question?

Baker. Ye a.

Bland. Sir, may a man do any thing that his Conscience is not falsified in to be good?

Baker. Away, away, and threw down the Book, and said, It is no Testament. And I said, Yes. And Mr. Baker took it up, and said unto me marvellous gently, Mr. Bland, I knew you when ye were out of this Opinion.

I would to God ye would reform your self; with better words then I will write. And I said, If ye have known me of another Opinion then I am of now, it was for lack of knowledge.

Baker. Ye, saidst thou so? by St. Mary, and thou hold thee there. I will give six Pagos to burn thee withal; ere thou shouldst be unburned: hence *Knaves*; hence, and so were we reprieved into our place again within the Bar. And at night, when Judgment of *Knaves* and all was done, we were called, and the Judge said to the Jaylor, Take them with you, and deliver them to the Ordinary, and if they will not be reformed, let them be delivered to us again, and they shall have Judgment and Execution. And one of our Company said, My Lord, if we be killed at your hands for Christs sake, we shall live with him for ever.

Another Appearance of Mr. Bland in the Spiritual Court.

Then came we to the Castle of *Canterbury*, and there we remained till the second day of *March*, which day we were brought into the Chapter-House of *Canterbury*, where were set the Suffragan of *Canterbury*, Mr. *Colins*, Mr. *Mills*, with other; and then went to meet Mr. *Oxenden*, Mr. *Peirs*, Mr. *Webb* and Mr. *Harold*, the Justices. And when I was called, Mr. *Webb* said, Here we present this man unto you, as one vehemently suspected of Heretic.

Bland. And I said; Mr. *Webb*, ye have no cause to suspect me of Heretic. I have been a Prisoner this whole year, and no matter proved against me. I pray you, wherefore have I been so long kept in Prison?

Webb. Leave your arrogant asking of questions, and answer to that is laid to your charge.

Bland. I do so; for I say you have no cause to suspect me of Heretic.

Webb. Yes; ye denied to Sir *John Baker*, to be conformable to the Queens proceedings.

Bland. It is a just cause to suspect me of Heretic, for ask a question with leave? So we had more words there than I will remember.

Then stood up Matter *Peirs*, and said, Ye were cast into Prison, because ye fled away from your Ordina-

Bland. Then have I had wrong. For I never fled nor disobeyed mine Ordinary, nor did any thing contrary to the Law. Let then now say if it did; but they said nothing. And when I saw they held their peace, I said, Mr. Commissary, have you been the cause of this mine imprisonment? No, quoth he; ye know that when ye went from me, ye were appointed to appear the Friday after the Sessions. Here I was suffered to speak no more; but that up in a corner till my Companions were likewise presented; and then we went into *Weggate* into Prison, and were put in several close Holts, that never one of us could speak to another, nor any man was permitted to come to us. We were four times at this appearance; but one they dispatched, by what means I cannot tell: whose name was *Comwall*, a Tanner.

And thus hitherto passed the talk between Bland and the Justices, and certain Gentlemen of the Shire. Now followeth the order of the reasoning between him and the Clergy-men, before whom he was examined. But forasmuch as the chiefest deed and Judge against him was the Bishop of *Dover* or Suffragan of *Canterbury*, called Doctor *Richard Thornton*, to the intent it may appear what little truth or confanacy is in these Catholic Persecutors, I thought here to exhibit by way a certain Popish Letter, written of a Popist unto him. Wherein it is declared what a Gospeller the said *Richard Thornton* was in King *Edward's* time, which now turning with the world, he wech himself such a bitter Persecutor against Gods Servants in *Queen Maries* time. The Copy of this Letter here followeth.

A Copy of a Popish Letter written to the Bishop of Dover, by one Thomas Goldwell a Priest, declaring what a Professor he was in King *Edward's* time.

Ight Reverend, and my good Lord, after my hearty thanks for your good cheer at my last being with your Lordship, this shall be to certifye you, that as soon as I arrived with my Lords Grace, I gave him your Letters, but I had much work to obtain any thing of him for you. For there hath been given very evil informations of you, and it hath been said, that ye have concurred with all manner of evil proceedings, the which hath these years past been in *England*, and against the holy Sacrament of the Altar, and against the Supreme authority of Christs Vicar in Earth, as with the use of the abominable late Communion, and with the Marriage of the Priests, as well Religious as Secular; and that you have given Orders to (I cannot tell how many) but unlearned, and evil disposed people, to reason of the new mutation, and to do much hurt in *Kent*. So that men think that if ye any new mutacion, on the which God forbid, should chance, you would be as ready to change as any other. And indeed it maketh me to fear the fate, by reason that notwithstanding it hath pleased Almighty God to provide, that your Absolution was sent unto you (not looking, I dare say, for any such thing) of all manner of matters palls, yet your Lordship (more regarding the vanity of the World, then the offence of God, the which I only knoweth how much it grieves me, for the due love I bear unto you) presumed to ling Mats in *Pontificalibus*, the holy days immediately following, and also to minister to Children the Sacrament of Confirmation, because that one (being a Member of the Devil) did somewhat comfort you so to do.

Oh my Lord, what honour should it be to both to God and your self, and also edification to all good people, (though all worldly men and Heretics would therefore have laugh'd you to scorn) if you considering your offences toward God, and his goodnests again toward you, would like as you have offended in the face of the world, to the damnation of many, likewise have showed your self penitent in the face of the world, to the edification of many, and not only to have celebrate for vanity *Pontificaliter*; but also for a time to have obtained forgiveness *tristiter* from the Altar, according to the old custom of the Church. The which I have also seen offered of some honest men, but being thereto joynd of any man. But that which is past cannot be called again. And I thought it not my part to leave your Lordship mine old Friend and Maister in the mire. Wherefore I ceased not

Power to give Admonition to the Bishop of the Cathedral.

to solicit your cause with my Lords Grace, till at the last I obtained of his Grace for your Lordship all the faculties of the which I find you a Copy here inclosed, partly for your own consolation, and partly for other, deferring your Lordship to use them to the honour of God, that there come to me thereof no rebuke: not publishing them to any person, but to such that you know will gladly receive them. For hitherto there is never a Bishop in England, who hath granted him so great authority concerning those which be under his Cure. Only Mr. Archdeacon hath the like-kind in one thing more great than be these your Lordships. Wherefore your Lordship shall do well to remit unto him all such Priests as have Care of Souls, whether they be Beneficed, or Parish Priests. For he hath not only authority to absolve them, as you have, but also to give them authority to absolve such as he underneath their Cures. And thus I commit your Lordship to the protection of Almighty God. Written at *Brussels* the 16. of June, 1554.

Your Lordships, Beadman,

Thomas Goldwell.

And thus much concerning the Bishop of *Dever*, by way of digression. Now to return again to the examination of Mr. *Bland*, let us hear his own Report of his Answers, as follows.

Here followeth mine Answer, as nigh as I can call to remembrance, every word, and sentence; yet if any that was present can help to perfect it, I would be glad. But you take care for that there is never an sentence, but it was openly spoken the ninth of March in the Chapter-house of Creechurch, in the presence of as many as will had chosen, the Master of the City being called to be assistant, and all other present.

The Answer of Mr. Bland in his Appearance before the Commissary, and after in the Spiritual Court.

After *Collins* said; Mr. *Bland*, ye know that ye are presented unto us as one suspected of Heresy. How say ye, ye are contented to reform your self to the Laws of this Realm, and of the holy Church?

Bland. I deny that I am suspected of Heresy, and that ye heard when I was presented, that I denied the Suspension to be just, but to defend the unjust punishment that I have suffered: neither can ye prove that any occasion hath been given by me, whereby any man should suspect me therein. But if you have any Law or Authority to proceed against me for any thing done for a whole year ago and more, I will answer to it.

Collins. Ye were converted before Mr. Archdeacon and me, and matter of Heresy laid to your charge.

Bland. That matter was done and said a whole year ago, and for that I have been in Prison this year and more. If ye have any thing against me by any Law, I desire you to let me know the Law and the Matter, and I will answer according to the Law.

Then said my Lord Suffragan; but that I am one of the Judges, I would rise, and stand by thee, and accuse thee to be a Sacramentary, and bring witnesses to prove it, yes, and further, that thou hast called the Mass an abominable thing.

Bland. You, my Lord, never heard me say so. But I heard you once say, That in your Conscience ye had abhorred the Mass three years. Thou sayest, quoth he, I never said so.

Bland. My Lord, if they might be heard, I can bring witnesses to prove with the day, time, and place; and I once did hear Mr. *Collins* at a Visitation in *Wingham* say, That Christ was a full Satisfaction for all sin present, past, and to come, contrary to that he said now.

And here we had more words of this matter, which I let pass for lack of good remembrance.

Mr. *Collins* said, this is a new day, and time; and ye were better answer now; for else you shall to Prison again, and be called on *Monday*, and have Articles laid; and ye if ye then answer not directly, ye shall be condemned *pro confesso*, and that will be worse for you.

Bland. Sir, I do not now, nor will not then deny to answer to any thing that ye can lay to my charge by the Law; wherefore I trust ye will let me have the benefit of the Law.

Collins. This is the Law, that if ye be required of the Ordinary, *Reddere rationem fidei*, then may ye not deny it. And that we do now.

Bland. To that then will I answer. For I believe in God the Father Almighty, Maker of Heaven and Earth, and in Jesus Christ his only Son our Lord, with all the other Articles of the same Creed: And I believe all the Articles contained both in the Creed called the Mass Creed, and in the Creed of *Athanasius*: And I do believe, that all the holy Scriptures, and all things therein contained, are most true.

Collins. This will not serve you: ye must answer to all five Articles in all this: as shall be laid to you, or said of you.

Bland. Let me know the Law that it is in that force (without any just cause of suspicion proved against me) and I will answer.

Collins. How say ye, will ye answer?

Bland. Sir, I have answered you. Have him away. I find my Lord of *Dever*; he had better have answered.

Bland. My Lord, I am ready to answer, if ye have any thing against me by the Law.

B. Dever. Ye have preached many Heresies in *Adeham*, where I am Parson now; and therefore ye must make answer to them.

Bland. Lay them to my charge by the Law, and I will answer them, if ye can approve that I am bound to answer to that was done a year or more ago; for if ye may do that, ye may also lay to my charge, and compel me to answer to all things done in all my life, I trow.

Collins. It is not a year ago since you were before Mr. Archdeacon and me.

Bland. It is a truth, it is a year and two weeks since I was before you; and I have been a Prisoner ever since, and have been at five Sessions, and never could have my cause tried. Me think your Charities should think it punishment enough, if I had been guilty.

Collins. All this will not serve you; you must needs answer, and it will be better for you to answer now, than another time. Will ye reform your self, and go to the Church, and worship Christ in the blessed Sacrament of the Altar; and be obedient unto all the Queens Laws?

Bland. I pray you wherefore am I brought hither?

Collins. To answer to such things as are demanded of you.

Bland. Sir, I thought ye had some matters against me by the Law.

Collins. Well, on *Monday* at 9. of the Clock ye shall see the Law, and have Articles laid unto you.

Then they had filed Mr. *Cox* the Lawyer, and called him in, and said; Here is a Lawyer can tell you are bound by the Law to answer; and he said, as they had said.

Collins. Do ye not believe, that after the Consecration of the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, there remaineth no substance of Bread, but the substance of Jesus Christ, both God and Man?

Bland. Master Commissary, I know not by any Law why ye should ask me that question more than any other man here. And after a little talk, my Lord of *Dever* asked me this question; Doest not thou believe, after the Consecration, that it is the Body of Christ? And I said, No. I do not believe for the Scriptures do not teach me that there should remain the Flesh of Christ, to eat as a man should eat mans Flesh.

Then Mr. *Glaser* said, That was the Opinion of the Capernaites: there is no man here of that Opinion, and shall I make pale of cutting of Christs Body, as men cut Fleish in the Shambles.

Then Mr. *Doctor Faustus* said; Matter *Bland*, for me as you and I were brought up both in one House, and born both in one Parish, I would be as glad as any man alive to do you good: but ye may not thus stand against the Church. For Christ faith; Ye must humble your self and take up your Cross, and follow him. And to humble your self in this place, is to be content, and not stick to your

your own judgment, but to humble your self to the Holy Church, which hath determined, that after the Consecration there remaineth no Bread, but the Natural Body and Blood of Christ.

Bland. Master Doctor, if ye take humbling of our lives in this place, to admit the Determination of the Church, then must we know by the Scriptures, that the Church hath determined nothing but according to the Scriptures, as this is not: and therefore I do not believe any such Transubstantiation; nor never will, God willing. Then (quoth he) I have done with you: I will no more pray for you then for a dog.

Then said Master *Glaser*; How think ye? Did *Paul* when he said; *Is not the Bread that we break a partaking of the Body of Christ?* Did he mean Bakers Bread?

Bland. Though he did not mean Bakers Bread, that doth not prove that he brake Natural and Real Fleish.

Glaser. No, by Saint Mary, we say not so, but we say it is the Natural Body glorified, under the forms of Bread and Wine.

Bland. Then the Apostles had it not as we have; or was not the glorified Body was Crucified for us.

Glaser. Tush, ye do not understand the Scriptures. For Christs Body was ever glorified, in that it was so marvelously united to the Godhead, ye, and he flew out of his Body divers times glorified, as in the Mount *Thabor*: for when he walked on the Water, we see he was in light, and had no weight in him. Was not that then a glorified Body?

Bland. Then belike *Peters* Body was glorified; if walking on the Water was the deed of a glorified Body: and the Iron that *Ellice* made to swim upon the Water.

Dever. Tush, quoth my Lord of *Dever*, that was done by Prayer. But they made such a noise with laughing, that I heard no more what my Lord said.

Bland. Matters, I know that it was nothing to reason with you, no more then it booted you in the case of the Gospel. For then neither the reason of *Ecclusiasticus*, nor yet of detection of the Devils Sophistry of my Lord Chancellors doing, could take any place. And it is known to some that be here, that something I can say in them.

Dever. No, you know *Oecampadum*, *Zwinglium*, and such other.

Bland. Indeed, my Lord, I have seen part of their doings.

Dever. That is seen by thee to day.

Glaser. I was glad, when I heard you say ye believed the Catholic Church, and now go you from it?

Bland. No that I do not.

Glaser. Ye know that Christ faith; *If thy Brother have offended thee, go and reconcile him between thee and him. If he hear thee not, take two or three witnesses with thee, that in the Mouth of two or three witnesses all things may be established. If he hear thee not, let it be as thou wilt. If he hear not the Church, take him as an heathen. I pray you where could ye have found this Church of your fifty years ago?*

Bland. Ye know that the true Church did not at all times flourish, but was wonderfully persecuted.

Dever. Then my Lord cried; No more, I command you to hold your peace. Have him away and bring in another.

Collins. Ye shall come again on *Monday*, at nine of the Clock, and in the mean time ye shall have whom ye will to confer withal: your friend *D. Faustus*, or Mr. *Glaser*, if ye desire them.

I will refer to talk with no Man: as for any conference of your parts, it is but weak Laws, established as they are. But when there was no Law, I did define conference. And so for that time I departed.

The *Monday* after we were brought forth to the same place again; and then Master *Collins* began to speak to me, but after what manner, it is clear out of my mind: but the end was, that I would reform my self. But as I did before, I demanded what they had to lay to my charge, and to see the Law, which they said before I should see.

Dever. What needs that? we have enough against you.

* *Fide* denied to me Transubstantiation in the Sacrament.

Bland. I did refuse to answer, till ye promised that I should see the Law, whereby ye may compel me to answer.

Dever. My Lord took the Scribes Book; and read the answer that I made to Doctor *Faustus* reason, which I knew not that they had written.

Bland. My Lord, I made you no such answer as ye asked me. I take Mr. *Collins* and Mr. *Glaser* to witness. Then they brought forth a Decretal, a Book of the Bishop of *Rome*; Law, to bind me to answer, which my Heart abhorred to look upon. The effect was, that the Ordinary had authority to examine; and that they should examine me justly sufficient. But I said, that it seemed of such as were justly sufficient, as I was not. And here we had much Communication. For I charged them with unjust Imprisonment, which they could not avoid.

But Mr. *Oswald* would have helped them; and said, the Justices put me in Prison for a Sermon seditionally spoken, and for troubling a Priest at Mass.

Bland. That is not true. For after I had been twelve weeks in prison, I was bailed; till I was cast in again, and (as the Justice said) for the disobeying mine Ordinary, which I never did.

Collins. Will ye be content to confer with some? It will be better for you; now we offer it you, because ye would not defer it.

Bland. As I did refuse before, no more will I now. But I did not perceive before, but that one thing might have come, without any leaving-asking, to confer the Scriptures; and therefore I looked that Doctor *Faustus* would have come to me without deferring, if any commodity to me had been in conference; for though I was never able to do him good; yet once I was his Tutor.

Collins. Are ye content to come to his Chamber at afternoon?

Bland. Sir, I am a Prisoner, and therefore I meet that I obey, and come whither you will, and do as ye bid me.

At this time we were three. But they took another to appear before them the *Tuesday* (evening) next. And when he came, I knew not what was done, but that I heard they excommunicated him, and let him go. His name was *Miller* a Clothier.

Here followeth a certain confusion of Master Bland against false and manifest absurdities, granted by Mr. *Milles*, Priest of Christ Church in Canterbury.

Milles. We say, that Christ is in or under the Sacrament really and corporally, which are the forms of Bread and Wine, and that there is his Body contained invisibly, and the qualities which we do see, as whiteness and roundness, be there without substance by Gods power, as a quantity and weight be there also by invisible measure.

Bland. This is your own Divinity, to make accidents the Sacrament, and Christs real Body invisibly contained in them, and to destroy the Sacrament. And yet the Doctors say; ** Materiam Sacramenti est panis & vinum*. And God by his power worketh no miracles with *Heu & corpus meum*, to change the substance of Bread and Wine into his Body and Blood, in that the makers accidents to be without their substance by invisible measure. I am ashamed to see ye do destroy Christs Sacrament, contrary to your own Doctors, and strife with Gods Word.

Miller. To Christ is given all power in Heaven and in Earth, so that by the omnipotent power of his God-head he may be, as is where he listeth, and is in the Sacrament really and corporally without occupying of place; for a glorified Body occupieth no place.

Bland. Mark your own Reason. All power is given to Christ both in Heaven and Earth; by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be where he listeth. The Sacrament, with Ergo, he is in the Sacrament really and corporally, without occupying of place.

I deny your Argument; for it followeth neither of yours. Major nor Minor. And first I would learn of you, how you know that Christ listeth: to be present at every conference of his.

* Ye but say, that did you list, he should be there.

The Pages Key.

* *Quodam* hequish the Galilaeus.

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* *Quodam* hequish the Galilaeus.

Priest lift. For if the Priest lift not to say your Mass, then Christ lieth not to be there.

Again, ye say, all power is given unto Christ both in Heaven and in Earth; that that is the cause by your reason, that by the omnipotent power of his Godhead he may be where he lift; and by that reason he had no power of his Godhead, till he had his humane Body; and then he was not equal with the Father in Divinity; for all power was not given to Christ, before the humanity and the Godhead were knit together, neither was he *Jesus*. Here is more danger than ye are ware of; if ye would stand to it with just Judges.

Mills. We eat Christ's Flesh and Blood spiritually when we receive it with Faith and Charity. As ye also do eat it corporally in the Sacrament; and the Flesh that we do receive hath Life. For the Godhead is annexed thereto; which although it be received with the Body of Christ, yet it is not visible after a gross sort, and the Flesh of Christ that we receive is lively; for he hath the Spirit of God joynted to it. And if a Man be drunken, it is not by receiving of the Blood of Christ, for it is contrary to the nature of Christ's Blood. If he be drunken, it is by the qualities and *(a)* quantities, without abstinence of Blood.

Bland. I am glad that you are so much against all Men, to say that Christ's Body is alive in the Sacrament; it may be fortune to bring you to the truth in time to come. I think it is evil to keep Christ's Body alive in the Sacrament, or else must ye grant, that he is alive in receiving, and dead in the Pike. And ye say truth, that it is *(b)* not the natural receiving of Christ's Blood that maketh a Man drunk; for it is the nature of Wine that doth that; *(c)* the nature of Wine which ye deny not.

And more true ye confess than ye did think, when ye say a Man be drunken, it is by the qualities and quantities, without the substance of Blood; by which means the Blood hath no such qualities with it; by indistinct that there is no Natural Blood.

If a Man be drunken with Wine Consecrated, it must be a miracle, as I think you will have it, that the said Consecrated Wine should work all the operations of both Substance and Accidents; as it is followeth that a Man may be drunken by miracle, and so. The Body that ye receive, ye say, is alive, because it is annexed to the Godhead, and the Flesh that ye receive can be lively, because it hath the Spirit of God joynted to it.

This division is of your New Inventions, to divide the Body and the Flesh, the oneative by the Godhead, the other lively by Gods Spirit, and both one Sacrament; ye make of it a thing so fantastical, that ye imagine a Body without Flesh, and Flesh without a Body, as ye do qualities and quantities without substance, and a living Body without qualities and quantities.

Mills. If safe to require, and there be a godly intention in the Minister to Consecrate, after the Consecration thereof, there is present the Body and Blood of Christ, and no other substance, but accidents without substance to a true believer.

Bland. Ye grant three absurdities, *(a)* that in a Cup of Wine Consecrated is nothing, but accidents; and to increase it, ye have brought in two Inconveniences; First, that it is not the Word of God that doth consecrate, but the intent of the Priest must help it; and if that lack, ye seem to grant no Consecration, though the Priest speak the Word; and yet your Doctors say, that the wickedness of the Priest minisheth not the Sacrament.

And to an unbeliever ye seem to say, that it is not the faith, that it is to the true believer; and then must the believers have something to do in the Consecration, *inquit inquit non vult esse charibim.*

Mills. The substance of Christ's Body doth not fill the Mouths Belly. For although he doth receive the outward forms of Bread and Wine, yet he doth not receive the substance inwardly, but without violation. And a Mouth doth not eat the Body of Christ's Body properly; for it doth not feed him spiritually or corporally, as doth

Man, because he doth not receive it to any inducement Anno
of immortality to the Flesh. 1557.

Bland. Ye make not your Doctrine plain to be understood: we must know how a Mouth can receive the substance inwardly and outwardly. Ye say,

that he doth not receive the substance inwardly, but without violation. *Ergo*, without violation he receiveth the substance inwardly. Ye say that the Mouth cannot violate Christ's Body; but he violateth the substance that he eateth. And this your proper speech doth import as much as, that the Mouth should eat the Sacrament to great effect, and the same things, as doth the unworthy receiver. For if that be the cause that the properly eateth not the Body of Christ, because he doth not feed upon it spiritually nor corporally, nor receive it to any inducement of immortality, as ye say; then it followeth, that the unbeliever and the a Mouth receive both one thing. And yet it cannot be denied, but the Mouth will live with consecrated Bread, and then ye must grant this absurdity, that a substance is nourished and led only with accidents.

Mills. Mens Bodies be fed with Christ's Bodies with immortal meat, by reason of the Godhead annexed; eternal life; but mens Bodies be corporally nourished with qualities and forms of Bread and Wine; and we deny that by the Sacramental eating any gross humour turned into Blood, is made miraculously in the Body.

Bland. Wherein cannot be denied that a Man may live, and naturally be nourished in his Natural Body with the Sacramental Bread and Wine consecrated; ye cannot avoid that: but then ye turn to the spiritual nourishing of Mens Body, by Christ's Body and Godhead annexed, which is nothing to put away the absurdity, that either a Man Natural Body should be fed naturally with accidents, or else to have them changed into gross humours. But ye say, Mens Bodies be corporally nourished with qualities and forms of Bread and Wine; and then must ye needs grant, that qualities and quantities must be substance. Man. For *ex apostolo* *spiritu et sanguine* *unum mista*, or else is all that the nutriment in Man be accidents and no substance.

Mills. If the forms of Bread and Wine be burned, or Worms ingendered, it is no derogation to the Body of Christ, because the presence of his Body causeth to be there, and no substance cometh again.

Bland. Ye grant here, that a substance may be made, of accidents, as after worms: but I think you will have it by your miracles, and this I count a more absurdity, day then the other, that Christ's Body should cease to be there, and no substance to come again; for no words in all the whole Bible seems to serve you for the ceasing of his presence, though we granted you, which we do not, that it were there. God Almighty open your Heart, and if he is his Will and Pleasure, to see the truth. And if I thought not my death to be at hand, I would answer you all the rest, in these and all other my doings.

I submit my self to our Saviour Jesus Christ, and his holy Word, desiring you in the Bowels of Christ to do the same.

Your Orator in the Lord,
John Bland.

The last appearance and examination of Master Bland.

Hitherto you have heard the troublesome handling of this Faithful and Blessed Servant of God, John Bland, tolt to and fro, from Prison to Prison, and from Session to Session. At last he was brought before the Bishop of Dover, the Commissary, and the Archdeacon, at Canterbury the 13 day of June. The name of this Bishop was *Nicholas Sherden*. The Commissary was *Robert Collins*, whom the Cardinal by his Letters Patents had suborned to his factor, before his coming over to England. The Archdeacon was *Nicholas Heyfield*. Mr. Bland's great sort of innocent Lambs of Christ were cruelly interested and slain at Canterbury, amongst whom this foolish

After Bland was one of the first; who, as it is said, being brought to the said Bishop and Collegues which were *John Frankish, Nicholas Sherden, Thomas Thacker, Humfrey Middleton, William Coker*, was examined of Articles. To whom it was objected by the Commissary, whether he believed that Christ is really in the Sacrament, or no. To this he answered, and said, that he believed that Christ is in the Sacrament, as he is in all other good Bodies; so that he judged not Christ to be really in the Sacrament.

Whereupon the day being on Monday, he was bid to appear again upon Wednesday next, and from thence he was deferred again to Monday following, being the twentieth of June, in the same Chapter-house, then to hear further what should be done, in case he would not relent to their mind. The which day and place he, appearing as before, was required to say his mind plainly and fully to the foreaid Articles, being again repeated to him. Which Articles, commonly and in courtly they use to object to their Examinates which he brought before them, as here now followeth, and need not much hereafter, specially for that Country of Kent, to be repeated.

Articles misliked by Richard Bishop of Dover, to Mr. Bland, and likewise to the rest following after him.

1. Item, that thou art a Christian Man, and dost profess the Laws of God, and Faith of Christ's Catholic Church, and the determination of the same.

2. Item, That all Persons which teach, preach, believe, affirm, hold, maintain, or say within the Diocese of Canterbury, otherwise than our Holy Mother the Church doth, are Excommunicate Persons, and Heretics, and as Excommunicate and Heretics ought to be named, rejected, and taken.

3. Item, that thou, contrary to the Catholic Faith, and determination of our Mother Holy Church, within the Diocese of Canterbury, hast openly spoken, maintained, holden, affirmed, and believed, and yet doth hold, maintain, affirm, and believe, that in the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, under the forms of Bread and Wine, there is not the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ in substance, but only a token, sign, and remembrance thereof, and that the very Body and Blood of Christ is only in Heaven, and no where else.

4. Item, that thou, contrary to the Catholic Faith, and determination of our Mother Holy Church, hast within this Diocese of Canterbury openly spoken, said, maintained, holden, affirmed, and believed, and yet doth hold, maintain, affirm and believe, that it is against Gods Word, that the Sacrament of Christ's Church should be Miniftr'd in an unknown Tongue; and that no Man filly and with a false Confidence, or without peril of sin, receiveth any Sacrament Miniftr'd in any Tongue that he understandeth not.

5. Item, that thou, contrary to the Catholic Faith of our Mother Holy Church, hast, and yet doth hold opinion, and say, that it is against Gods Word, that the Sacrament of the Altar should be Miniftr'd in one kind; and that no Man may with a false Confidence to receive it.

6. Item, that the premises be true, and that there is a common name upon them within the Diocese of Canterbury.

The Answers of Master Bland to the foreaid Articles

1. To these Articles Mr. Bland, answering again in order as they were objected to him, faith, that he is first, granting the same, that he was a Priest, and of the Diocese of Canterbury.

2. To the second also he answereth affirmatively, true, meaning the Catholic Church to be Christ's Church.

3. Item, to the third he answereth, that the Article is true, meaning the Catholic Church to be Christ's Church.

4. Item, in the fourth Article, as touching the first part of the Article, he doth confess, that he hath preached and taught it as it is contained in the Article. And as touching

the second part of the Article, he doth confess, that he doth now also hold and say, as he preached and taught before.

5. Item, to the fifth Article he granteth:

6. To the sixth he preached, held, and doth also, as it is contained in the Article.

7. Item, to the last Article he granteth the same, &c. This done, and his Answers and Confession taken, repite was given him yet a few days to deliberate with himself. So the 25 day of the month of June he making his appearance again in the said Chapter-house, there openly and boldly withstood the authority of the Pope, whereupon his Sentence was read, and he was condemned and committed to the secular power. Touching the form and order of the sentence, because all their sentences of course agree in one way before in the History of M. Rogers.

The Prayer of Mr. Bland before his death.

O Lord Jesus, for whose love I do willingly leave this Life, and desire rather the bitter death of his Cross, with the loss of all Earthly things, than to abide the Blasphemy of thy holy Name, or else to obey Lord in breaking of the Commandments; thou teachest O Lord, that whereas I might live in Worldly wealth to worship false Gods, and honour thy enemy, I choose rather the torments of this Body, and loss of this my Life, and have counted all things but vile dust and dung, that I might win thee: Which death is more dear unto me, than thousands of Gold and Silver. Such love, O Lord, hast thou laid up in my breast, that I hunger for thee, as the Deaf that is wounded desireth the fall. Send thy holy comfort, O Lord, to aid, comfort, and strengthen this weak piece of Earth, which is void of all strength of itself. Thou rememberest O Lord, that I am but dust, and not able to do any thing that is good. Therefore, O Lord, as thou thy accustomed goodness hast hidden me to this banquet, and counted me worthy to drink of thine own Cup amongst them that drink; give me strength against this Element, that it is to my light most terrible and terrible, so to my mind it may be at thy commandment, as an obedient servant, sweet and pleasant; and through the strength of thy Holy Spirit, I may pass through the strength of this fire into thy Bosom, according to thy promise, and for this mortality to receive immortality, and for this corruptible to put on incorruptible. Accept it, I beseech thee, O Lord, not for the Sacrifice it is, but for thy dear Son's sake my Saviour, for whose testimony I offer this freewill offering with all my heart and with all my Soul. O Heavenly Father, forgive me my Sins; I forgive the whole World. O sweet Saviour, spread thy wings over me. O God, grant me thy Holy Ghost, through whose merciful inspiration I am come hither. Conduct me unto everlasting Life. Lord, into thy hands I commend my Spirit; I Lord Jesus receive my Soul. So be it.

The History of John Frankish, Humfrey Middleton, Nicholas Sherden.

Having now passed over the Examinations of Mr. Bland, let us further proceed to thereof of his fellow prisoners, as being joined the same time with him in the like cause and like affliction. The names of whom were *John Frankish, Nicholas Sherden, Humfrey Middleton, Thomas Thacker, and William Coker*, of whom Thacker only gave back. The rest constantly standing to the truth were altogether condemned by the Suffragan of Canterbury, the 25 day of June, the year above expressed. Touching whose Examinations I shall not need long to stand, forasmuch as the Articles misliked against them were all one; join their answers their like or nothing alleged, as hereafter (by the Lords help) you shall find. In the mean time, because *Nicholas Sherden* in his Examinations had a little more large talk with the Archdeacon and the Commissary, I will first begin with the same.

The first Examination or reasoning of Nicholas Sheterden with M. Harsfield Archdeacon, and M. Collier the Commiffary for the which they sent him to Prison.

The title of this book is written by the Archdeacon and Commiffary about the Sacrament.

The Romish Catholics conceive the Cup, he meant not the Cup, but the Wine in a figurative Cup.

Shet. If Christ spake one thing, and meant another, then the bare words did not change the substance; but there must be a meaning taught as well of the Bread as of the Cup.

Arch. There must be a meaning taught of the Cup otherwise then the words fald. But of the Bread it might be understood only as it standeth without any other meaning.

Shet. Then do ye make one half of Christs institution a figure, or borrowed speech, and the other half a plain speech, and so ye divide Christs Supper.

Arch. Christ meant the Wine, and not the Cup, though he said, *This Cup is my Blood*.

Shet. Then they me whether the words, which the Priest do speak over the Cup, do change the substance, or whether the mind of the Priest doth it?

Arch. The mind of the Priest doth it, and not the words.

Shet. If the mind of the Priest doth it, and not the words, if the Priest then in his heart, or by any other vain thing, that thing to his mind was there made good to the People to worship the Priests law in stead of Christs

Blood; and again, none of the People can tell when it is Christs Blood, or when it is not, being the matter fald in the mind of the Priest. For no Man can tell what the Priest meaneth, but himself, and so are they ever in danger of committing Idolatry.

Then was the Archdeacon somewhat moved, and fide him down, and said to the Commiffary: I pray you fite them in manner of commending Idolatry.

Commiffary fpeak you to him another while; for they are unreasonable and perverse answers, as ever I heard of the.

Then flood up the Commiffary, and said: Com. Your Argument is much against your self; for ye grant that the Bread is a figure of Christs Body; but the Cup can be no figure of his Blood yet his very Blood; and therefore Christ did not mean the Cup but the Wine in the Cup.

Shet. My Argument is not against me at all; for I do not fpeak it to prove that the Cup is his Blood, nor the figure of his Blood, but to prove that the bare words being spoken of the Priest do not change the substance no more of the Bread, then they do change the Cup into Blood.

Commiffary it could not be spoken of the Cup, when he said, *This Cup is my Blood*; but he meant the Wine in the Cup.

Shet. Then it remaineth for you to answer my question to the Archdeacon, that is, whether the mind of the Priest when he fpeaketh over the Cup, doth change it into Blood, or the bare words?

Commiffary. Both together doth it, the words and the mind of the Priest together; yea the intent and the words together do it.

Shet. If the words and intents together do change the substance, yet must the Cup be his Blood, and not the Wine, forasmuch as the words are, *This Cup is my Blood*, and the intent ye say, was the Wine or else the words take none effect, but the intent only.

After, the Commiffary in his Chamber, said, it was the intent of the Priest before he went to Mass, without the words; for the Priest did intend to do as holy Church had ordained, then the intent made the Sacrament to take effect.

Shet. If the Sacrament take effect of the intent of the Priest, and not of Gods Word, then many Parishes having a Priest that intendeth not well, are utterly deceived,

both in Baptizing, and also worshipping that thing to Anno be God, which is but Bread, because for lack of that, the Priests intent, the words do take none effect in his faith, by this it is ever doubtful, whether they worship Christ, or Bread, because it is doubtful what the Priests do intend.

Commiffary. Then the Commiffary would prove to me, that Christs Church was in two places at one time, by the words of Christ in John the third Chapter, where he said; *No Man ascended up to Heaven, but he that came down from Heaven*, that is to say the Son of Man which is in Heaven. By this he would prove, that Christ was then in Heaven, and in Earth also, naturally and bodily.

Shet. This place and other must needs be understood for the unity of the person, in that Christ was God and Man, and yet the matter must be referred to the God-head, or else ye must fall into great error.

Commiffary. That is not so, for it was spoken of the manhood of Christ, forasmuch as he said, the Son of Man which is in Heaven.

Shet. If ye will needs understand it to be to spoken of the Christs manhood, then must ye fall into the error of saying that the Anabaptists, which deny that Christ took flesh of the Virgin Mary; for if there be no Body ascended up, but that which came down, where is then his incarnation?

For then he brought his Body down with him. Commiffary. Lo how you seek an error in me, and yet see not how ye err your self. For it cannot be spoken of the Godhead, except ye grant that God is passible, for God cannot come down, because he is not passible.

Shet. If that were a good Argument, that God could not come down, because he is not passible, then might be said by the like Argument, that God could not sit, and then Heaven is not his seat, and then say as some do, that God hath no right hand for Christ to sit at.

Com. Then the Commiffary answered plainly, that it was true, God hath no right hand indeed.

Shet. Oh what a spoil of Christs Religion will this be, that because we cannot tell how God came down, we therefore we shall say, that became not down at all; and because we cannot tell what manner of hand he hath, to reach to us, we shall say that he hath no hand at all; and then he cannot reach the utmost part of the Sea. O misery! at length it will be said, that God cannot sit, and then how can he sit at the right hand of the Father?

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Anno 1555. The suffragan said, his Commiffion was; must answer directly, yea or no.

Shet. This Commiffion, said I, was not general to examine whom he will, but on just fufpicion.

Shet. He said, I was fufpected, and presented to him.

Shet. Then I required, that the accusation might be shewed.

Shet. He said, he was not bound to shew it, but he commanded me in the King and Queens Name to answer directly.

Shet. And I as a Subject do require of you justice: for that I have done I ask no favour.

Shet. He said I was fufpected.

Shet. I bade him prove that fufpicion, or what cause he had to fufpect.

Shet. Thou wast callt into Prison for that cause.

Shet. That was a pretty fufpicion, because I had fufured Imprisonment contrary to Gods Law and the Realm, therefore I must now for amends be examined of fufpicion without cause, to hide all the wrong done to me before.

For when I was callt into Prison, there was no Law but I might speak as I did: therefore in that point I could be no more fufpected, than you which Preached the same your self not long before.

Shet. That was no matter to thee what I Preached.

Shet. Well, yet in the King and Queens Name I must answer directly: and therefore I require as a Subject, that ye do not extend beyond your Commiffion, but prove me fufpected, more than you your self.

Mills. Then said M. Mills, I had written to my Mother, and he did fee the Letter, wherein I perfwaded my Mother to my opinions.

Shet. In that I did but my duty to certify her, I was not in Prison for any evil. And that was before the Law also, and therefore no more fufpicion was in me than was in them which taught the like.

Mills. Well, ye are required hereto answer directly, or no.

Shet. First then I require of you to prove this fufpicion; and thus we toiled it to and fro. At last the Bilhop said he himself did fufpect me. I asked whereby?

Shet. Well, said he, I may self did fufpect thee, and it is no matter whereby.

Shet. But your Commiffion doth not serve you to do without cause of fufpicion.

Shet. Well, yet did I fufpect you.

Shet. It is not meet for you to be my accuser, and my judge also; for that is too much for one Man. And thus many words were multiplied, and they were much grieved.

Mills. If you were a Christian Man you would not be ashamed of your faith being required.

Shet. I am not ashamed indeed, I thank God, and if any Man did come to me to reach or learn, would declare it; but forasmuch as I perceive you come neither to teach nor to learn, I hold it best not to answer you.

Mills. If you will not, then will we certify the Kings Council.

Shet. I am therewith content that you should certify me. I had fufpected three quarters Prison wrongfully, and therefore I do not see how I should be justified, first for that I fufpected fufpicion; and then I will not refuse to answer your Articles, though they were built upon a lie.

But to say that I would answer, whereby you should heal all your wrong done to me against the Law of God and the Realm, I will not.

Here much ado there was to prove that he had no wrong, and again, that it was not they that did it. But he said he, the Commiffary was one of them. He answered, No, it was the Archdeacon. He said, you fate with him, and he asked your Counsel in it, and yet if it were he, it was your Church, except the Archdeacon, and you be deny that ye fald then and promise here to submit your self henceforth, and ye shall be delivered in half a year.

Shet. I am not of much bound to you to grant any such promise; and again you shall well know that I would not promise to go again the Street for you: but if I did at any time offend your Law, let me have the punishment.

ment: I ask no favour.

Then said they, that it was obftinacy in him; that he would not answer, and a token that his faith was nought, feeling he was ashamed to utter it.

Shet. Nay fald he, you shall well know I am not ashamed of my Faith: but because you do so greedily seek Blood, I will answer only to that you have against me.

Shet. Nay, you shall answer to the Articles, or else be Condemned upon fufpicion.

Shet. I am content with that, yet all Men shall know that as ye fufpect a matter, and can prove no cause, fo shall ye condemn me without a matter, and then shall all Men know ye seek my Blood, and no justice.

Shet. No, we seek not thy blood, but thy conversion.

Shet. That we shall fee. For then shall you prove my perverfion first, before you condemn me on your fufpicion without proof of the fame: and by that I shall know whether you seek Blood or no. Many other words were between them.

At last fellt up one Levels a Lawyer, which would prove Imprisonment not to be wrong, but right, by old Statutes of Edward the fourth, and Henry, &c. but at last he was compelled to forsake those Statutes from *Machinas* to *Christmas*, and then he said it was no wrong.

To this Nicholas said, if he could prove that Men might wrongfully imprison before a Law, and in the mean while make Laws, and then under that hide the first wrong, then he said true, or else not.

Thus he kept the Bandogs at flaves end, so as thinking to escape them, but that I would fee, fald he, the Foxes leap above the ground for my Blood if they can reach it, (so be the will of God) yet we shall fee them gape, & leap for it. For *Wolgate* in haste.

By yours, Nicholas Sheterden.

Notes of Nicholas Sheterden, against the false worshiping and oblation of the Sacrament.

The Holy sign in stead of the thing signified is servile servitude; as Saint Augustine termeth it, when the Bread in the Sacrament is by common and solemn error worshipped in stead of the flesh assumed of the Word of God.

There was no mention of worshipping the Creatures at the feast or first supper that Christ did celebrate; therefore the laying of Christ concerning divorces, may well be applied to them; it was not so from the beginning nor shall be to the end.

The once made oblation of Christ is hereby derogated, when this Sacramental oblation and offering of thanksgiving is believed to be propitiatory, and that it purgeth the Soul as well of the living as of the dead, against this saying to the Hebrews, *With one only oblation he hath made perfect for ever those that are sanctified*. Again, *Where transgression, there is no more oblation for sins, making us clean by him*.

This word (*by himself*) hath a vehemency and pith, that driveth all Priests from authority to enterpriſe: such oblation, whereas what he himself doth by himself, he leaveth not for other to do. So seemeth our purgatory already paid & done, not to come & remaining to be done.

His Examination before the Bishop of Winchester, then Lord Chancellor.

I was called into a Chamber before the Lord Chancellor, the Suffragan, and other, Priests I think for the most part. He bade me to the table, called me to him, and because I saw the Cardinal was not there, I bowed my self and stood near.

Then said he, I have sent for you, because I hear you are indired of heretic; and being called before the Commissioners, ye will not answer nor submit your self.

I fald, If ye like you, I did not refuse to answer; but I did plainly answer, that I had been in Prison long time, and reason it was that I should be charged or discharged forthat, and not to be examined of Articles to hide my wrong Imprisonment; neither did I know any Indictment against

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against me. If there were any, it could not be just, for I was not abroad since the Law was made.

Winch. Well, yet if such suspicion be of you, if you be a Christian, ye will declare that it is not true, and so purge your self.

Sher. I thought it sufficient to answer to mine offences, &c. trusting that they would lay no such burden upon me, whereby the wrong done to me might be covered, but I would be proved to have wrong or right.

Winch. He said, if thou wilt declare thy self to the Church to be a Christian, thou shalt go, and then have a writ of wrong Imprisonment, &c.

Sher. I said I was not minded to file now, but require to have right justice; but to make a promise I will not, but if I offend the Law, then punish me accordingly. For it might be that my Conscience was not perverted, I nor would be, in Prison, feeling these things which I have learned, whereby Gods Law openly taught and received by authority of the Realm. And he said it was never received, that I might speak against the Sacrament, I said against some opinion of the Sacrament it was openly taught.

Winch. By no Law, and that was not able to confute, that all that while God preferred that, so that no Law could pass against it.

Sher. I said their Law did not only perfwade me, but this moff; when they preached unto us, they took pain to let out the Word of God in our Tongue, so that we may read and judge whether they say true or no, but now they take the light from us, and would have us believe it, because they say so, which is to me a great perfwade.

Winch. It was not a few that could be your guide in understanding, but the Doctors and all the whole Church, now whom wouldst thou believe? either the few or the many?

Sher. I did not believe for the few, nor for the many, but only for that he bringeth the word, and sheweth it to me to be according to the process thereof.

Winch. Well said he, then if an Arrian come to thee with Scripture, thou wilt believe him, if he shew this Text, *My Father is greater than I.*

Sher. I answered no, my Lord, he must bring me also the contrary place, and prove them both true, where he said, *My Father and I am one.*

Winch. Yes, said he, that is by charity, as we be one with him.

Sher. I said that gloss would not stand with the left of the Scripture, where he said; *I am the very Lamb, that I say to you.* He said the Truth, and the Truth was God, &c. with much such like. And here he made many words (but very gently) of the Sacrament. Like-wile Christ said quoth he it was his Body; yea, that is to say, a figure of his Body, and how Men did not consider the Word was God, and God the Word, and so provoked me with such temptation; but I let him alone, and said nothing.

So after many words he came to the Churches faith and comely orders of Ceremonies and Images. And then I joyed in him again with the Commandments.

Winch. He said, that was done that no false thing should be made, as the Heathen would worship a Cat, because the killed Mice.

Sher. I said that it was plain that the Law forbade not only flesh, but even to make an Image of God to any manner of likeness.

Winch. What findst thou yet?

Sher. Forsooth in the Law where God gave them the Commandments: for he said, *Ye saw no shape, but heard a voice only:* and added a reason why? *lest they should after make Images, and marry themselves:* So that God would not hear his shape, because they should have no Image of him which was the true God, &c.

Winch. He said, most readily interpretation.

Sher. I said no, it was the Text.

Then was the Bible called for, and when it came, He bade me find it, and I should find it confounded with mine own words, for that if there were any grace with me, I would trust mine own wit no more; and when I looked, it was Latin.

Winch. Why, said he, can ye read no Latin?

Sher. No. Then was the English Bible brought. He Anna bade me find it, and I said it aloud, and then he said; to here thou mayst see; this is no more to forbid the Image of God, than of any other Beasts; Fowl or Fish (the place was *Deut. 4.*) I said it did plainly forbid to make any of these an Image of God, because no Man might know what shape he was of: Therefore might no Man say of any Image, this is an Image of God.

Winch. Well, yet by your leave, so much as was seen we may, that is, of Christ, of the Holy Ghost; and the Father appeared to Daniel, like an old Man &c.

Sher. That is no proof that we may use Images men said; contrary to the Commandment: for though the Holy Ghost appeared like a Dove, yet he was not like in shape, but in certain qualities, and therefore when I saw the Dove which is Gods Creature, indeed I might remember the Spirit to be simple and loving, &c. and with that he was some-what moved, and said, I had learned my Lesson, and asked who taught me, with many words; and he said he would prove how good and profitable Images were to teach the unlearned, &c.

Sher. At the last I said, my Lord, although I were able to make never so good a gloss upon the Commandments, yet obedience is better than all our good intents, and much also we had at last he said, what I was, and how he had sent for me for charity sake to talk with me, but now he would not meddle, and said my wrong imprisonment could not excuse me, but I must clear my self.

Sher. I said that was cause for me to do, for I had not offended.

Winch. He said I could not escape fo, there I was deceived.

Sher. Well, then I am under the Law, &c.

Arch. The Archdeacon was then called in for, and he said to me, that with such arrogancy and stoutness, as never was heard, I behaved my self before him, whereas he was minded with such mercy towards me, & said many lies he said to me, that I was sent home till another time; and I would not be contented, and went out of the Church with such an outcry as was notable.

Sher. I declare, that he falsely herein reported me, and brought in the Laws then in the Realm, and the Queens Proclamation that none of her subjects should be compelled till the Law were to compel, and that I received the same in the Court for me, and I did use him then (said I) as I use your grace now, and no otherwise.

Winch. He said that I did not use my self very well now.

Sher. I said, I had offered my self to be bailed, and to confer with them, when and where they would.

Winch. He said, I should not confer, but be obedient. I said, let me go, and I will not desire to confer neither: and when I offended, let them punish me, and so departed.

By your Brother, Nicholas Sheterden, prisoner for the truth in Walsgate.

The last Examination with the Condemnation of Master Bland, John Frankel, Nicholas Sheterden, and Humphrey Middleton.

And thus much touching the particular, and several examinations of Nicholas Sheterden, and of Mr. Bland. Now to touch something of the life of Mr. Frankel, which the same time were examined, and suffered with them together, to wit, Humphrey Middleton of Alford and John Frankel, Vicar of Rolynden, in the Diocese of Kent above mentioned, here first would be declared the Articles which publicly in their last examinations were joyntly and severally ministered unto them by the fore said Thornton Bishop of Dover. But forasmuch as these Articles, being old and of course, are already expressed in the Story of M. Bland, as may appear before; I shall not therefore be needful to make any new rehearsal thereof.

To these seven Articles then being propounded to the five persons above named, to wit, John Frankel, John Bland, Nicholas Sheterden, Humphrey Middleton, and one Thacker, first answered John Frankel, howbeit doubtfully, declaring further respite to be given him of fourteen

days

days to deliberate with himself. Which was granted; Mr. Bland answered flatly and roundly, as before ye heard. Nicholas Sheterden, and Humphrey Middleton answered to the first and second Articles affirmatively. To the third concerning the Catholic Church after a fort they granted. To the fourth and fifth, and sixth, touching the Real presence, and the Sacrament to be ministered in the Latin Tongue, and in one kind, they refused utterly to answer. Sheterden said, he would not answer thereto be-

fore the cause were determined why he was imprisoned, and so still remained Prisoner, before the Laws of Parliament received, &c. Middleton added moreover and confessed, that he believed in his own God, saying, My life was content to take Penance. Thus the afore said Thacker upon their Answers were condemned by the Bishop of Dover, the 25 day of June, An. 1555.

The burning of four Martyrs.



The Martyrdom of Mr. Bland, John Frankel, Nicholas Sheterden, and Humphrey Middleton, burned at two several Stakes in Canterbury, Anno 1555. July 12.

And so being given to the Secular Power, they were burned at Canterbury the 12 of July, at two several Stakes, buried in one Fire together, where they in the sight of God and of his Angels, and before Men like true Soldiers of Jesus Christ, gave a constant testimony to the truth of his holy Gospel.

The Prayer of Nicholas Sheterden before his death.

O Lord my God and Saviour, which art Lord in Heaven and Earth, maker of all things visible and invisible, I am the Creature and work of thy hands; at Lord God look upon me, and other thy People, which at this time are oppressed of the worldly minded for thy Laws sake: yea Lord, thy Law it self is now trodden under foot, and men make inventions exalted above it, and for that cause do Land many thy Creatures griefs the glory, praise and commodity of this life, and do chafe to suffer adversity, and to be banished; yea to be burnt with the Books of thy Word, for the hopes sake that is laid up in store. For Lord thou knowest, if we would but seem to please men in things contrary to thy Word, we might by their permission enjoy their commodities that others do, as Wife, Children, Goods and Friends, which all I knowledge to be thy gifts, given to the end I should serve thee. And now Lord, that the World will not suffer me to enjoy them, except I offend thy Laws, be- hold I give unto thee my whole Spirit, Soul and Body, and let I leave here all the pleasures of this life, and now leave the use of them for the hopes sake of eternal life purchased in Christs Blood, and promised to all them that fight on his side, and are content to suffer with him for his Truth, whosoever the World and the Devil shall persecute the same.

O Father, I do not presume unto thee, in mine own righteousness, no, but only in the merits of thy dear Son my Saviour. For the which excellent gift of Salvation cannot worthily praise thee, neither is my sacrifice wor-

thy, or to be accepted with thee, in comparison of our sinners Bodies mortified, and obedient unto thy will: and now the Lord, whatsoever rebellion hath been, or is found in my Members, against thy will, yet do I here give unto thee my Body to the death, rather than I will use any strange worshipping, which I beseech thee accept at my hand for a pure sacrifice: let this torment be to me the last enemy destroyed, even Death, the end of misery, and the beginning of all joy, peace and solace; and when the time of Resurrection cometh, then let me enjoy again these members then glorified, which now be spoiled and consumed by the fire. O Lord Jesus receive my Spirit into thy hands. Amen.

Letters of Nicholas Sheterden; and first a Letter to his Mother.

After my humble and bounden duty remembered, well, a Letter of beloved Mother, this shall be to wish you increase of grace and good will, that ye may see and perceive this Mothers, State, which I have divers times declared unto you, doth not so hardly his himself in his own likeness, but under colour of devotion deceiveth them that keep not a diligent eye upon him, but having confidence in mens traditions and customs of the World, leaving the Commandments of God, and Testaments of his Son Christ Jesus our Lord, do grow more into superstition and hypocrisy, than into wisdom and true holiness. For this is most true, that Satan, the enemy of Souls, doth by his Ministers make many lies, that these things, which they compel us unto for their Bishops sake, have many goodly significations, although they be most contrary to Gods will, as I doubtless they be, even as did the Serpent in Paradise to our first Mother Eve. What (said he) hath God commanded, if ye shall not eat of all the Trees in the Garden? The Woman said, of the Fruit of the Tree in the Garden we may eat, but of the Tree in the middle of the Garden, we said Gods, for ye eat not lest ye die. Even so our Ministers

D

1555

* Corrupt
nam et con-
spicentur

The Body
of man is
redeemed
as well as
the Soul.

The Chan-
nel, though
they be but
fragments
and not to
be pam-
pered, yet
are they not
to be cast
out.

as no doubt (overcome he will) yet then he may boldly car-
ry him with *diffidence*, and sometimes if he do not his
Tale, he may make him to be *Supperless*; but yet
beat him with *dearable strokes*, neither with-held
his meat in due time, and pinch him not by the *Belly* con-
tinually, but let him have something to *joy in*: only
scold him, and keep him from doing of *burnt*. Though
he be but a *stranger* in the life, that is in God; yet he
good to *strangers* for we are all *strangers* in darkness,
and *Captives* in sin, as well *fool* and *spirit*, being in *Egyp-
t*, as now the *flask* is yet unprepared with the terrible
Red Sea of death, and remember that one law abideth
for the *stranger*, I mean one reward abideth both for
Body and *soul* in the land of everlasting rest.
(1.) therefore treat him gently, and deal with him
justly now: for the time will come that the yoke of Bon-
dage shall be taken from his neck, and he shall be a fel-
low bear with your younger Brother.

Graciously him therefore, but do not mislead him, nor
keep him from his own, but deal mercifully with the
stranger, that he may say, Oh of what understanding
heart is this people? Who hath God? Or where is God
so high as this? God make you wife and politic in
heart, victorious in the field of this world, to rule the
Nations with a rod: but kill not the *Gentle*, which
with peace is taken; but let them draw *Water*, and
have *wool*, but give them their meat and drink day for
Labourers, and be glad because your *disple* is *remedied*:
for it is better and easier for a *thief* labouring man to
drink, then for a *drunken* man to tell a *fool* tale. Yea,
it is a token that they have earnestly followed your labour,
and not kept company with *drunkards* and *belly-gods*:
and therefore be glad I say you, and glad again: for
great is your reward in heaven; yet blessed shall they be,
that in this year shall meet you, and withdraw your
hand from revenging your self upon that *disple* Nabal:
which thing I hope to do now with *she* *Sweet Ration*,
and *frails* of *Egypt*, being of one house with your *servant*
Nabal, I dare say you that *charitableness* is his name:
but revenge not, for the Lord shall do it in his due time.
Foreward mine own Heart.

Yours in bonds at *Wesgate*,

Nicholas Sherden.

The next day after the condemnation of their forefathers,
which was the 26. day of July, were also condemned
for the same Articles, W. Coker, W. Hopper of *Cambridge*,
Henry Laurence, Richard Wright of *Alford*, W. Stere
of *Alford*. But because the execution of these Martyrs
pertained not to this month, more shall be said, the Lord
willing, of them, when we come to the month follow-
ing of *August*.

Nicholas Hall and Christopher Waid, Martyrs.

July 19.
Nich. Hall
and Christo-
pher Waid,
Martyrs.

The same month of July next after the suffering of
the *Kentishmen* above named followed the death
and Martyrdom of Nicholas Hall *Brookley*, and Chris-
topher Waid of *Darford*, which both were condemned
by Maurice, Bishop of *Rechester*, about the last day
of the month of June. The six Articles ministered to them
were of the same ordinary course and effect with the Ar-
ticles of the other Martyrs before specified, the brief sum
whereof were these.

A brief sum of their Articles.

Articles ob-
jected against
Nich. Hall
and Christo-
pher Waid.

1. First, that they were Christian men and professed
the Catholic determinations of our Mother holy
Church.
2. That they maintain or hold otherwise than
our holy Mother the Catholic Church doth, are Here-
tics.
3. That they hold and maintain, that in the Sacrament
of the Altar, under the forms of Bread and Wine, is not
the very Body and Blood of Christ. And that the said
very Body of Christ is verily in heaven only, and not
in the Sacrament.
4. Item, that they have and do hold and maintain, that

the Mass, as it is now used in the Catholic Church, is
naught and abominable.
5. Item, that they have been and be amongst the peo-
ple of that Jurisdiction vehemently suspected upon the
premisses, and there upon Indicted, &c.

Their Answers.

To these Articles they answered, as commonly others
used to do, which stand with Christ and his truth.
against the pretended Catholics, and their sinister Doc-
trine. First granting themselves Christian men, and ac-
knowledging the determinations of the holy Church;
that is, of the Congregation or Body of Christ; that
Hall denied to call the Catholic and Apostolical
Church his Mother, because he read not this word, *Mat-
ther*, in the Scripture.

To the second they granted. To the third Article as
touching the very Body and Blood of Christ to be under
the forms of Bread and Wine in substance they would not
grant, only affirming the very Body of him to be in
Heaven, and the Sacrament to be a token or remem-
brance of Christ's death; Nicholas Hall adding more-
over, and saying, That whereas before he held the Sacra-
ment to be but only a token or remembrance of Christ's
death, now he said, that there is neither token nor re-
membrance, because it is now misused and clean turned
from Christ's institution, &c. And concerning the Mass
in the fourth Article, to be abominable, Christopher
Waid with the other answered, as they had confided
before, he would they now not go from that they had
said. To the fifth Article, for the peoples suspicion they
made no great account nor sticking to grant to the same.

And thus much concerning the Articles and Answers of
these good men. Which being received, immediately sen-
tence of Condemnation was pronounced by the said Mau-
rice Bishop against them; the copy of which sentence par-
tially is thus: *Item, much what after the common course in con-
demning all other like Servants of Christ, to the same
being exemplified before in the story of Master Rogers,
shall not greatly need here again to be repeated, but
rather may be referred unto the place above noted. Ni-
cholas Hall was burned at *Rechester* about the 19. day
of July.*

Furthermore, with the forefathers Hall and Waid, in the
same month of July, three other more were condemned
by Maurice, Bishop aforesaid, whose names were Jo-
an Black Widows, John Harpel of *Rechester*, and Mar-
gery Polley. Of which Margery Polley, touching her ex-
amination and condemnation here followeth in story.

The Condemnation and Martyrdom of Margery Polley.

Margery Polley widow, Wife some time of Ri-
chard Polley of *Peppering*, was accused and brought
before the beginning of the month of June. Which
Bishop according to the Pontifical solemnity of that
Church, rising up out of the Chair of his Majesty, in
the high swelling stile after his ordinary fashion to call
the fully poor Woman, beginning in these words.

We Maurice, by the assistance of God, Bishop of
Rechester, proceeding of our own office in a *caus* of He-
resie, against the Margery Polley, of the parish of *Pe-
ppering*, of our Diocese and Jurisdiction of *Rechester*,
do lay and object against thee all and singular these Ar-
ticles ensuing. To the which, and to every parcel of them,
we require of thee, *Widow*, that thou plain answerest
of thine own truth therupon to be known, &c.

Thus the Oath first being inquired, and the Articles
commenced against her, which Articles were the same
that were ministered to Nicholas Hall and Waid before
the first of June. The six Articles against her were the
third and fourth Article, that the minister allowed the
Deity of their Sacrament; and the absurdity of their Mass
For the which, Sentence was read against her about the
begin-

Ann
1554
Nicholas
Hall
and Christo-
pher Waid,
Martyrs.

beginning of June, and he condemned for the same. But
because her death followed not upon the same, we will
therefore defer the tractation thereof to the due place
and time, first setting down in order of history the ex-
ecution of Christopher Waid above mentioned.

The Execution and Martyrdom of Christopher Waid.

Christopher Waid of *Darford*, in the County of *Kent*,
Lincoln-Weaver, was condemned by Maurice, Bi-
shop of *Rechester*, and appointed to be burned at *Darford*
aforesaid. At the day appointed for his execution, which
was in the month of July, there was betimes in the morn-
ing carried out of the Town, in a Cart, a Stake, and
therewith many bundles of reeds to place a quarter of
a mile out of the Town, called the *Brimble*, into a gravel pit
thereby, the common place of the execution of Felons.
Thither also was brought a load of Broom-faggots, with
other Faggots and Tall-wood. Unto which place referred
the people of the County in great number, and there
arrived his coming. Inasmuch as thither came divers Fri-
ars with horde-lords of Cherries, and fold them. A-
bout ten of the Clock coming riding the Sheriff, with a
great many of other Gentlemen, and Retinue, appointed
to assist him therein; with them Waid, riding pinned
by him one Margery Polley of *Tunbridge*, both fingering
a Palm, which Margery, as soon as she espied afar off the
multitude gathered about the place where he should
suffer, waiting his coming, she said unto him very loud
and cheerfully; You may rejoice Waid to see such a com-
pany gathered to celebrate your marriage this day.

And to passing by the place, which joined hard to the
highway, they were carried straight down to the town,
where the fire was kept until the Sheriff returned from *Waid*
execution. And Waid being made ready, and stripped out
of his clothes in an Inn, had brought unto him a fair
long white flint from his wife, which being put on, and
he pined, was led up on foot again to the forefield place,
and coming straight to the flint, he took it in his arms,
embracing it, and kissed it, setting his back unto it, and
standing in a Pitch-barrel, which was taken from the Becons,
being hard by; then a Smith brought a hoop of Iron,
and with two hammers, made him fast to the flint under
his arms.

As soon as he was thus fettered, he spake, with his hands
and eyes lifted up to Heaven, with a cheerful and loud
voice, the last verse of the *xxvi. Psalm*: *Shew* some
good taken upon me, O Lord, that they which hate me,
may see it, and be ashamed, because thou Lord hast bel-
oved me, and comforted me. Near unto the flint was a lit-
tle hill, upon the top whereof were pitched up four like
flaves, quadrangle wise, with a covering round about like
a Pulpit: into the which place, as Waid was thus praying
at the flint, entered a Prier with a Book in his hands,
whom when Waid espied, he cried earnestly unto the
people, to take heed of the doctrine of the whore of *Ba-
bylon*, exhorting them to embrace the doctrine of the
Gospel preached in King *Edward's* days, when the Sher-
iff, exhorting the people, often interrupted, saying, Be
quiet Waid, and die patiently. I am (said he) I thank
God quick, Master Sheriff, and too trust to die. All this
while the Prier stood full looking over the Coverlet, as
though he would have uttered somewhat: but Waid very
mightily admonished the people to beware of that Doct-
rine; in which the Prier perceived, whether he were
amazed, or could have no audience of the people, withdrew
himself out of the place immediately, without speaking
a word, and went away down to the Town. Then the
Reeds being set about him, he pulled them out, and imbraced
them in his arms, always with his hands making a hole to
gainst his face, that his voice might be heard, which
they perceiving that they were Tormentors, away cast fag-
gots at the same hole, which, notwithstanding, he still, as
he could, put off, his face being hurt with the end of a
Faggot cast thereto. Then first being put unto him, he
cried unto God often, Lord, Jofeph receive my soul
without any token or sign of impatience in the fire, till
at length, after the fire was once thoroughly kindled,
he was heard by no man to speak, full holding his hands up
over his head together towards heaven, even when he

was dead and altogether rested, as though they had bin
slain up with a prop standing under them.
This sign did God show upon him, whereby his very
Enemies might perceive, that God had according to his
prayer. Heved him a token upon him, even to their
shame and confusion. And this was the order of this
godly Martyr's execution; this was his end, and his
likeness to confound and strike with the spirit of damn-
ation the Prier that Locust which was risen up to have
spoken against him; and also no less wonderfully sustained
these hands which he lifted up to him for comfort in his
torment.

Spectators present Richard Fletcher Pa-
ter, none Minister Ecclesie Cranbroke,
Richard Fletcher filius, Minister Ec-
clesie Kentis.

The apprehension, examination, condemnation, and burn-
ing of Drick Carver and John Lauder, who suffered
Martyrdom for the testimony of Christ, Gospel.

The 22. day of this month of July, was burned at *Wes-
gate*, within the County of *Surry*, one Drick Carver, 21. Dore, &
over, late of the parish of *Brighton* in the same County, &
County. And the next day (being the 23. day of the
same month) was also burned at *Strating*, another named
John Lauder, late of *Godstone* in the County of *Surry*.
Which two men were (with others) about the end of the
month of October, Anno 1554. apprehended by *Ed-
ward* Carg, Gentelman, as they were at prayer: within
the dwelling-house of the said Drick; and by him were
sent up unto the Queens Council. Who, after examina-
tion, sent them as prisoners to *Newgate*, there to attend
the leisure of *Boner* Bishop of *London*. From whence
(upon the Bishops receipt of a Letter from the Lord Mar-
quis of *Winchester* now Lord Treasurer) they were
brought by the Keeper of the Prison (now Lord Treasurer)
after into the Bishop's Chamber at his house in *London*, and
there (being examined upon divers points of Religion) they
made their several confessions, flouting and signing
with their own hands. Which being read, the Bi-
shop objected unto them certain other Articles, causing
them to swear truly and directly to answer therunto;
which Articles they confessed to be true, referring them-
selves chiefly to their former Confessions.

This done after long persuasions and fair exhortations,
they were demanded whether they would stand to their
Answers. To whom Lauder said, I will never go from
these Answers so long as I live. The other also contrived
the same, and therefore they were commanded to ap-
pear again before the Bishop in the Confinery at *Paris*,
the tenth day of the same month next following. Which
Articles and Confession, with the aforementioned Letter
do here ensue.

A Letter from the Marquis of Winchester, Lord Treas-
urer, unto Boner Bishop of London, touching the exami-
nation of the said Prisoners.

After my right hearty Commendations to your good Thes-
aurer, I shall not forget you the 8. of June next
against this time; I am (said he) I thank God quick,
Master Sheriff, and too trust to die. All this while the
Prier stood full looking over the Coverlet, as though he
would have uttered somewhat: but Waid very mightily
admonished the people to beware of that Doctrine; in
which the Prier perceived, whether he were amazed, or
could have no audience of the people, withdrew himself
out of the place immediately, without speaking a word,
and went away down to the Town. Then the Reeds being
set about him, he pulled them out, and imbraced them in
his arms, always with his hands making a hole to gainst
his face, that his voice might be heard, which they per-
ceiving that they were Tormentors, away cast faggots at
the same hole, which, notwithstanding, he still, as he could,
put off, his face being hurt with the end of a Faggot
cast thereto. Then first being put unto him, he cried
unto God often, Lord, Jofeph receive my soul without
any token or sign of impatience in the fire, till at length,
after the fire was once thoroughly kindled, he was heard
by no man to speak, full holding his hands up over his
head together towards heaven, even when he

was dead and altogether rested, as though they had bin
slain up with a prop standing under them. This sign did
God show upon him, whereby his very Enemies might per-
ceive, that God had according to his prayer. Heved him a
token upon him, even to their shame and confusion. And
this was the order of this godly Martyr's execution; this
was his end, and his likeness to confound and strike with
the spirit of damnation the Prier that Locust which was
risen up to have spoken against him; and also no less won-
derfully sustained these hands which he lifted up to him
for comfort in his torment.

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trying to recompense your Lordship again shortly twice as many. From my Houſe this ſeventh of June, 1555.

Your loving Friend,
Wincheſ.

The Conſiſtion of Dirick Carver, before Boner Biſhop of London.

Dirick Carver
his Con-
feſſion.

Dirick Carver Beer-Brewer of *Brighthelmſe*, in the County of *ſuffex*, where he hath dwelled by the ſpace of 30 or 40 years, born in the Village of *Dilſon* by *Stoken* in the Land of *Lake*, 40 years of Age, or thereabouts, and now Priſoner in *Newgate*, where he hath remained and continued at the Councils commandment, ſince *Albaleyn* day laſt paſt, being examined concerning his Faith and belief, he ſaith, that the very ſubſtance of the Body and Blood of Chriſt is not in the ſaid Sacrament, and that there is no other ſubſtance remaining in the ſaid Sacrament after the words ſpoken by the Prieſt, but only the ſubſtance of Bread and Wine.

The miniſter
of the Sacra-
ment ſeemed
to ſee the
Body of
Chriſt real-
ly.

Item, Being examined concerning the Maſs in *Latin* now uſed in the Church of *England*, he believeth that there is no Sacrifice in the ſaid Maſs, and that there is in it no falvation for a Chriſtian man, except it be ſaid in the Mother Tongue; that he might underſtand it, and concerning the Ceremonies of the Church, he ſaith and believeth, that they be not profitable to a Chriſtian man.

Auricular
Confefſion
and Abſolu-
tion of the
Prieſt re-
jected.

Item, Being examined concerning auricular Confeſſion, he ſaith, that he hath and doth believe, that it is neceſſary to go to a good Prieſt for good counſel; but the abſolution of the Prieſt, laying his hand upon any mans head, as is now uſed, is nothing profitable to a Chriſtian mans ſalvation. And further he ſaith, that he hath not been confeſſed, nor received the Sacrament of the Altar, ſince the Coronation of the Queen that now is.

The faith of
the Church ſet
forth and be-
lieved in the
Church of
England, in
Q. Mary
time re-
jected.

Item, Concerning the Faith and Religion now taught, in the Church ſet forth and believed in the Church of *England*, he ſaith, that he hath and doth believe, that the Faith and Doctrine now taught, ſet forth, and uſed in the ſaid Church of *England*, is not agreeable to Gods Word. And furthermore he ſaith, that Biſhop *Hoper*, *Carmichael*, *Rogers*, and others of theſe Chriſtian men, which were of late burned, were good Chriſtian men, and did preach the true Doctrine of Chriſt, as he believeth; and ſaith that they did ſhed their Blood in the ſaid Doctrine, which was by the power of God, as he faith and believeth.

Profer Launder
and John Launder,
imprisoned
for hearing
the Goſpel.

And further being examined, he ſaith, That ſince the Queens Coronation, he hath had the Bible and Pſalter in *English*, read in his houſe at *Brighthelmſe* divers times, and likewiſe ſince his coming into *Newgate*; but the Keeper hearing thereof, did take them away; and ſaith alſo, that about a Twelve-month now paſt, he had the *English* Proceſſion ſaid in his Houſe, with other *English* Prayers. And further ſaith, that *Thomas Jeſſon*, *John Newgate*, and *William Feſſe* being Priſoners with him in *Newgate*, were taken with this Examinee in his Houſe at *Brighthelmſe*, as they were hearing of the Goſpel, then read in *English*, a little before *Albaleyn* day laſt paſt, and brought into the Court; and being examined thereupon by the Council, were committed by them to Priſon in *Newgate*.

The Conſiſtion of John Launder, before Boner Biſhop of London.

John Launder
his Con-
feſſion.

John Launder Husbandman of the Pariſh of *Godſpene*, in the County of *ſurrey*, of the Age of 25 years, born at *Godſpene* aforeſaid, being examined, doth confeſs and ſay, that about two days next before *Albaleyn* day laſt paſt, this Examinee and one *Dirick Carver*, *Thomas Jeſſon*, *William Feſſe*, with divers other Perſons to the number of twelve, being altogether in their Prayers, ſaying the Service in *English*, ſet forth in the time of King *Edward* the Sixth, in the Houſe of the ſaid *Dirick*, ſituate at *Brighthelmſe* in *ſuffex* were apprehended by one *M. Edw. Gage*, and by him ſent up hither to *London*, to the King and Queens Council, and by them (upon his

examination) committed to *Newgate*, where he with his ſaid other Fellows, hath ever ſince remained in Priſon.

And further being examined, he doth confeſs and ſay, that the occaſion of his coming to the ſaid *Brighthelmſe* was, that he was upon certain buſineſſes there to be ſped for his Father: and ſo being there, and hearing that the ſaid *Dirick* was a man that did much favour the Goſpel, this Examinee did reſort to his houſe and company, where before that time he did never ſee or know, and by reſon of that his reſort, he was apprehended as before: And further doth confeſs and believe, that there is here in Earth one whole and Univerſal Catholick Church, whereof the Members be diſperſed through the World, and doth believe alſo, that the ſame Church doth ſet forth and teach only two Sacraments, *Videlicet*, the Sacrament of Two ſay Baptiſm, and the Sacrament of the Supper of our Lord, And whosoever doth teach or uſe any more Sacraments, or yet any Ceremonies, he doth not believe that they be Ceremonies of the Catholick Church, but doth abhor them from the bottom of his heart: And doth further ſay and believe that all the Services, Sacrifices and Ceremonies, now uſed in this Realm of *England* (yea and in all other parts of the world, which hath been uſed after the ſame manner) be erroneous and taught and contrary to Chriſts inſtitution, and the determination of Chriſts Catholick Church whereof he believeth that he himſelf is a member.

Alſo he doth confeſs and believe, that in the Sacrament, there is this Realm of *England* (yea and in all other parts of the world, which hath been uſed after the ſame manner) be erroneous and taught and contrary to Chriſts inſtitution, and the determination of Chriſts Catholick Church whereof he believeth that he himſelf is a member.

Alſo he doth confeſs and believe, that in the Sacrament, there is this Realm of *England* (yea and in all other parts of the world, which hath been uſed after the ſame manner) be erroneous and taught and contrary to Chriſts inſtitution, and the determination of Chriſts Catholick Church whereof he believeth that he himſelf is a member.

Alſo he doth believe and confeſs that auricular Confeſſion is not neceſſary to be made to any Prieſt, or to a Confeſſor, nor yet to any other creature, but every perſon ought to acknowledge his ſinfulneſſe and confeſs his ſins only to God; and alſo that no perſon hath any authority to abſolve any man from his ſins and alſo believeth that the right and true way (according to the Scripture) after a man hath ſin from grace to fin, to aſſure to Chriſt again; is to ſorry for his offences, and to do the ſame or the like no more; and not to make any auricular Confeſſion of them to the Prieſt, either to take abſolution for them at the Prieſts hands. All which he ſaith Opinions he hath believed by the ſpace of ſeven or eight years paſt, and in that time hath divers many times openly argued and defended the ſame, as he ſaith, &c.

Articles objected by Boner Biſhop of London againſt Dirick Carver and John Launder

1. I ſay, I do object againſt you, and every of you, that ye and every of you, being within the ſaid City of *London*, have ofmy Jurisdiction (being Biſhop of *London*) and ſubject unto the ſame, offending and treſpaſſing within the ſaid Priſon and City in matters of Religion, and concerning the Catholick Faith and belief of the Church in any wiſe.

2. Item, I do object againſt you, and every of you, that ye and every of you, ſince your firſt coming and entering into the ſaid priſon, and during your abode there, in both there and in ſundry places within this City and Dioceſs of *London*, have holden, maintained, and defended ſundry opinions againſt the Sacraments of the Church,

ſpecially

ſpecially againſt the Sacrament of Penance, and alſo againſt the Sacrament of the Altar.

3. Item, I do likewiſe object that ye, and every of you, in all or ſome of the ſaid places, have (as concerning the Sacrament of the Altar) holden, maintained and defended, to the beſt of your power, that in the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar there is not the very ſubſtance of the Body and Blood of our Saviour Chriſt, but rather the Sacrament there is only the ſubſtance of natural Bread and Wine, and no other ſubſtance.

4. Item, I do likewiſe object that you, and every of you, in all or ſome of the ſaid places, have, concerning the Maſs in *Latin* now uſed in the Church, and the ſacrifice of the ſaſe, holden, maintained, and likewiſe defended, that the ſaid Maſs is not good or profitable, and that there is no ſacrifice in the ſame.

5. Item, I do likewiſe object, that you and every of you, in all or ſome of the places, have concerning the ceremonies of the Church, holden, maintained, and likewiſe defended, that the ſaid ceremonies are not profitable to a Chriſtian man, but hurtful and evil.

6. Item, I do likewiſe object, that you and every of you, in all or ſome of the ſaid places, have concerning the Sacrament of Penance, holden, maintained, and likewiſe defended, that auricular Confeſſion (being a part thereof) albeit it may be made unto a good Prieſt for counſel, yet the abſolution of the Prieſt, laying his hand upon any mans head, and doing as is now uſed in the Church, is nothing profitable to any mans ſalvation, and that therefore ye neither have been confeſſed to the Prieſt after the uſual manner of the Church, nor yet received the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar ſince the coronation of the Queens Maſtity, which is more then the ſpace of one whole year and a half.

7. Item, I do likewiſe object, that ye and every of you, in all or ſome of the ſaid places, concerning the Faith and Religion now taught, ſet forth, uſed and believed in the Church of this Realm of *England*, and the Doctrine of the ſaſe which, there was ſuch havoc made, by the free will of the ſaſe, that it is not agreeable to Gods Word, but clean contrary to the ſame.

8. Item, I do likewiſe object, that ye and every of you, in all or ſome of the ſaid places, have believed, ſpoken, and ſaid, and to your power upholden maintained, and ſaid, that Biſhop *Hoper*, *Carmichael*, *Rogers*, and others of their Opinions, which of late within this Realm were burnt for Hereticks, were good Chriſtian men, in ſpeaking and holding againſt the ſaid Sacrament of the Altar and that they did preach nothing but the true Doctrine of Chriſt, hedding their Blood for the maintenance of the ſaid Doctrine.

9. Item, I do likewiſe object, that ye and every of you, have earnestly laboured and travelled, to the beſt and uſe of your power, to have up againſt the *English* Service, and the Communion in all points, as was uſed in the latter days of King *Edward* the Sixth, here in this Realm of *England*.

10. Item, I do likewiſe object, that ye and every of you, have thought and do think firmly and ſtedfaſtly, and ſo have and do believe, that the Faith, Religion, and Doctrine, ſet forth in the ſaid time of the ſore ſaid King *Edward*, was in all points good and godly, containing in it the true Faith and Religion of Chriſt, in every part.

11. Item, I do likewiſe object and ſay, that ye and every of you, (for your miſchief, offence, tranſgression, and miſbehaviour in the premiſſes, and for that alſo that you would not come to your ſeveral Pariſh Churches, and hear your divine Service there, as other Chriſtian people did and do; but aſent your ſelves from the ſame, and have your private Service in your houſes, eſpecially in the houſe of *Dirick Carver*) were ſent up unto the King and Queens Maſtities private Council, and by them or ſome of them ſent afterwards into the Priſon of *Newgate* aforeſaid, having there by their Authority remained as Priſoners, during all the time ye have been there.

12. Item, I do likewiſe object and ſay, that the ſaid Biſhop of *London* was commanded by the Authority of the ſaid Council, to make proceſs againſt you, and every of you, ſo that it was not your procuring or ſearching that you ſhould be ſo commanded or called before me in this manner Hereticks, but partly by your deſerts, and partly the commandment enforced me to call and ſend for you,

to make anſwer herein, and hereof to ſhew you the ſaid Letters.

Their Anſwers to the Articles.

Upon Monday, being the tenth day of June, theſe two perſons (with others) were brought by the Keeper unto the Biſhops Conſistory (as it was before commanded) at one of the Clock in the Afternoon, where the Biſhop firſt beginning with the ſaid *Dirick Carver*, cauſed his Confeſſion with the Articles and Anſwers to be openly read unto him (which order he kept at the condemnation of every Priſoner) asking him whether he would ſtand to the ſame. To whom the ſaid *Dirick* answered, that he would: for your Doctrine, quoth he, is payſon and forcery. If Chriſt be here you would put him to a worſe death then he was put before.

You ſay that you can make a good ye; ye can make a pudding as well. Your Ceremonies in the Church be beggary and payſon. And further I ſay, that auricular Confeſſion is contrary to Gods Word, and every payſon: with divers other ſuch words.

The Biſhop ſeeing his conſtancy, and that neither his accuſtomed flatteries, nor yet his cruel threatenings could move this good man to ſtand to his idolatry, pronounced his uſual and general bleſſings (as well towards this *Dirick* as alſo upon the ſaid *John Launder*) although theſe ſeverally, who (after the like manner of proceſſed with him) remained in the ſame conſistory, as did the others, and therefore were both delivered unto the Sheriffs, where there preſent, but afterwards were conveyed to the places afore named, and there moſt joyfully gave their ſides to be burned in the fire, and their ſouls into the hands of Almighty God, by Jeſus Chriſt, who hath allowed them to a better hope of life.

This *Dirick* was a man whom the Lord had bleſſed as well with temporal riches, as with his ſpiritual treaſures; which riches yet he was no clog or let to his true profeſſion of Chriſt, (the Lord by his grace to working in him) of the which, there was ſuch havoc made, by the free will of the ſaſe, that it is not agreeable to Gods Word, but clean contrary to the ſame.

Moreover, at his coming into the Town of *Lewes* to be burned, the people called upon him, beſeeching God to ſtrengthen him in the Faith of Jeſus Chriſt. He thanked them, and prayed unto God, that of his mercy he would ſtrengthen them in the like Faith. And when he came to the ſign of the *Starr*, the people drew near unto him, where theſe ſaid, that he had found him a faithful man in all his Anſwers. And as he came to the fluke, he kneeled down and made his prayers, and the Sheriff made haſt.

Then his Book was thrown into the Barrel, and when he had ſcrip himſelf (as a joyful member of God) he went into the Barrel himſelf. And as ſoon as ever he came in, he took up the Book and threw it among the people, and then the Sheriff commanded in the King and Queens name, on pain of death, to throw in the Book again. And immediately, that faithful Member ſpoke with a joyful voice, ſaying:

Dear Brethren and Siſters, witneſs to you all, that I am come to ſeal with my blood Chriſts Goſpel, becauſe I know that it is true: it is not unknown unto all you, but that it hath been truly preached here in *Lewes*, and in all places of *England*, and now it is not. And becauſe that I will not deny here Gods Goſpel, and be obedient to mans Laws, I am condemned to dye. Dear Brethren and Siſters, as many of you as do believe upon the Father, Son, and the holy Goſt, unto everlaſting life, ſee you do the works appertaining to the ſame. And as many of you as do believe upon the Pope of *Rome*, or any of his Laws, which he ſet forth in theſe days, you do believe to your utter condemnation, and except the great mercy of God, you ſhall burn in Hell perpetually.

Imme.

Where find
you that in
the Court,
thou doest
not believe
on the Pope
as he sayeth

Immediately the Sheriff spake unto him, and said, If thou dost not believe on the Pope thou art damned Boy and Soul. And further the Sheriff said unto him, Speak to thy God, that he may deliver thee now, or else

to strike me down to the example of this People; but Anno this faithful Member said, The Lord forgive you your sayings. 1555

The Martyrdom of Margery Polley.



The Martyrdom of Margery Polley, as related by her own testimony, Anno 1555, July 22.

Horrible
prooking
of God
Judgment.

And then spake he again to all the People there present, with a loud voice, saying, Dear Brethren, and all you whom I have offered in words or in deed, I do hereby forgive all you, which have offended me in thought, word, or deed. And he said further in his Prayer, Oh Lord my God, thou hast written, He that will not forsake Wife, Children, House, and all that ever he hath, and take up thy Cross and follow thee, is unworthy of thee. But thou Lord knowest, that I have forsaken all, to come unto thee: Lord have mercy upon me, for unto thee I commend my Spirit; and my Soul doth rejoice in thee. These were the last words of that faithful Member of Christ, before the fire was put to him. And after that the fire came to him, he cried, Oh Lord, have mercy upon me, and (sprung up in the fire, calling upon the Name of Jesus, and so he ended.

Thomas Iveson, Martyr.

The Iveson, or Iveson, apprehended with Dirick and others, and suffered at Chichester.

AT Chichester, about the same Month was burned one Thomas Iveson of Goshope in the County of Surrey, Carpenter; whose apprehension, examination and condemnation (for as much as it was at one time, and in one form with Dirick Carver, and John Lauder) I do here omit, referring the Reader to their History and Doctrines before-mentioned; living only this his several Confession and private Answers made before Bishop Bener at his last examination in the Confraternity, I thought not to pretermite, who being examined upon the fore-said Articles, answered as followeth.

The Answer of Thomas Iveson to the Objections of Bishop Bener of London, in a Chamber at his House, in the Month of July.

Answers of Thomas Iveson.

First, That I believed, that there is but one Catholic, Universal, and whole Church of Christ, that sheweth the whole World, which hath and holdeth the true Faith, and all the necessary Articles of Christian belief, and all the Sacraments of Christ, with the true use and administration of the same.

2. Item, That he is necessarily bounden to believe

and give credit, in all the said Faith, Articles of the Belief, Religion, and the Sacraments of Christ, and the administration of the same.

3. Item, That that Faith, Religion, and administration of Sacraments, which now is believed, used, taught, and set forth in this our Church of England, is not agreeing with the Truth and Faith of Christ, nor with the Faith of the said Catholic and Universal Church of Christ.

4. Item, Concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, he believeth, that it is a very Idol, and detestable before God as it is now ministered.

5. Item, That the Mass is naught, and not of the institution of Christ, but that it is of Man's invention: and being demanded whether any thing used in the Mass be good, he said that he would answer no further.

6. Item, That he had not received the Sacrament of the Altar, since it had been ministered as now it is in England, neither was confessed at any time within these seven years; nor he hath not heard Mass by the same space.

7. Item, That auricular Confession is not necessary to be made to a Priest; for that he cannot forgive, nor absolve him from sins.

8. Item, Concerning the Sacrament of Baptism, that it is a sign and token of Christ's Circumcision was, and none otherwise, and he believeth that his sins are not washed away thereby, but his Body only washed: for his sins be washed away only by Christ's Blood.

9. Item, That there be in the Catholic Church of Christ only two Sacraments, that is to say, the Sacrament of Baptism, and the Sacrament of the Supper of the Lord, and no more, which are not rightly used at this present time in England, and therefore be unprofitable.

10. Item, He believeth, that all the Ceremonies now used in the Church of England, are vain, superfluous, and idle, superstitious and naught.

Furthermore, The said Iveson being earnestly travailed withal to recant, said in this wise, I would not recant and forsake my opinion and belief for all the goods in London: I do appeal to Gods mercy, and will be none of your Church, nor submit my self to the same: and that I have said, I will stay upon. And if there came an Angel from Heaven, to reach me any other Doctrine, then

Anno
1555

The Martyrdom of Thomas Iveson.



The Iveson
was killed
in this.

than that which I am now in, I would not believe him. Which answer thus made, he was condemned as an Heretic, and with the same Persons was committed to the Secular Power (as they term it) and at the place above-mentioned was burned; persevering still in his constant Faith unto the end.

John Alsworth.

In the latter end of this Month of July, John Alsworth died in Prison, at the Town of Reading, being there in bonds for the cause and testimony of the truth of the Lords Gospel. Whom although the Catholic Prelate (according to their usual solemnity) did exclude out of these Catholic burial, yet we for no cause why to exclude him out of the number of Christs holy Martyrs, and heirs of his holy Kingdom.

James Abbes, a Martyr of blessed memory, suffering for the true cause of Christs Gospel.

Agth.
John Alsworth
died in this.

Among many that travelled in these troublesome days to keep a good Conscience, there was one James Abbes, a young man, which through compulsion of the tyranny then used, was enforced to have his part with his Brethren in wandering, and going from place to place, to avoid the peril of apprehending. But when time came, that the Lord had another work to do for him, he was caught by the hands of wicked men, and brought before the Bishop of Norwich, D. Hopkin. Who examining him of his Religion, and charging him therewith very sore, both with threats and fair speech, at the last the said poor James, did yield and related to their naughty persuasions, although his Conscience contented not thereby.

John Alsworth
died in this.

Now when he was dismissed, and should go from the Bishop, the Bishop calling him again, gave him a piece of Money, either l. d. or xx. d. whether I know not; which when the said James had received, and was gone from the Bishop, his Conscience began to throb, and inwardly to accuse his fact, how he had disappointed the Lord by consenting to their beastly illusions: In which combat with himself (being piously vexed) he went immediately to the Bishop again, and there threw him his Money, which he had received at his hand, and said, I repent me that I ever gave his consent to their wicked persuasions, and that he gave his consent in making of my Money.

The Martyrdom of Master John Denley.



The Martyrdom of Master John Denley, as related by his own testimony, Anno 1555, July.

Now this being done, the Bishop with his Chaplains did labour afresh to win him again, but in vain: for the said James Abbes would not yield for any of them all, although he had played Fast before through infirmity, but stood manfully in his Masters quarrel to the end, and abode the force of the fire, in the consuming of his Body into ashes, which tyranny of burning was done in Burgh, the second day of August, Anno 1555.

A discourse of the Apprehension, Examination, and Condemnation of John Denley, Gentleman, John Newman, and Patrick Packington, martyred for the Testimony of Christs Gospel.

IN the midst of this tempestuous rage of malignant Adversaries, persecuting and destroying the poor flock of Christ, many there were, which though they were not Spiritual men, yet thought to help forward, for their parts, and as one would say, to heap up mo Coals to this furious flame of Persecution, whether of a blind zeal or a parasitical flattery, I know not. Amongst which, one was Edmund Tyrell Esquire, and at that time a Justice of Peace within the County of Essex, an Adversary (as it seemeth) to cruel murderers of Gods Saints. Who as he came from the burning and death of certain godly Martyrs, met with John Denley, Gentleman, and one John Newman (both of Maidstone in Kent) travelling upon the way, and going to visit such their godly Friends, as then they had in the said County of Essex. And upon the sight of them as they bragged, first upon suspicion apprehended and searched them; and at last, finding the confessions of their Faith in writing about them, sent them up unto the Queens Commissioners, directing also unto one of the said Commissioners, these his favourable Letters in their behalf. The Copy whereof here may appear as followeth.

A Copy of Edmund Tyrells Letter, to one of the Queens Commissioners.

SIR, with most hearty Commendations unto you, I send a Letter of mine, which I have received from Sir Nicholas Hare and you, and other of the King and Queens Majesties Commissioners, by a Serjeant, to a valet of the King and Queens, called John Failes, for certain business about S. Ojibbes, the which I could not certainly go about, for that I had received a Letter from

the Word to excommunicate me, and I am to be taken as an Heathen person, not for a day, or 40. days, but unto fuchtime as I do openly in the Congregation knowledge my fault, then the Minister hath power by the Word to preach to me or them the remission of our sins in the Blood of Jesus Christ, as it is written in the 13. of the Acts of the Apostles, and Mat. 18. Other confessions I know none.

To this fifth Article, I the said John Denley have answered the fifth.

To the sixth Article I answer, that as touching the Sacrament of Baptism, which is the Christening of Children, it is altered and changed; for S. John used nothing but the preaching of the Word and the Water, as it doth appear, when Christ required to be baptized of him, and others also which came to John to be baptized, as it appeareth, Math. 3. Mark 1. Luke 3. and Acts 8. the Chamberlain said; See here in Water, when I let thee be baptized? It appeareth here that Philip had preached unto him; for he said here in Water. We do not read that he asked for any Cream, Oyl, nor for Spittle, nor conjoined Water, nor conjoined Wax, nor yet Croyson, nor Salt, for it kemet that Philip had preached no such things to him; for he would as well have asked for him as for Water: and the Water was not conjoined, but even as it was alone. Acts 18. Then answered Peter Can any man forbid Water that should not be baptized? etc. Acts 16. And Paul and Silas preached unto him the Word of the Lord, and all that were in his house: and he took them the same hour of the night, and washed their wounds, and he was baptized, and all they of his household were baptized. Where ye see nothing but preaching the Word and the Water. The like also is to be said of the rest of the Ceremonies of your Church.

To the eighth Article I answer forthly, that there be Sacraments no more but two; Baptism, and the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, except ye will make the Rain-bow a Sacrament: for there is no Sacrament but had a promise annexed unto it.

To the ninth Article I do answer you, that ye have my mind written already. For it was found about me when I was taken, and also ye know my mind in the fourth Article, plainly expressed concerning the Bodily presence: For Christs body is in heaven, and will not be contained in so small a piece of Bread. And as the words which Christ spake are true indeed, so must they also be understood by other of the Scriptures which Christ spake himself, and so the Apostles after him. And thus I make an end, &c.

By me John Denley.

The first day of the month of July, the said three prisoners were brought into the Confraternity in Pauls Church, where he proceeded against them after the usual form and manner of Law, reading first their Confessions, Articles, and Answers, and then tempting them, sometime with fair promises, otherwhise with threatnings, which were always his chief arguments and reasons to persuade wilful. In the end, feeling their unmovable constancy, upon the fifth of July he condemned them as Heretics, and gave them unto the Sheriffs of London, and to his common executioners, who kept them until they were commended by Writ to find them for their several pieces of suffering; which was for Mr. Denley, Sheterden, where the 8. day of August he was burned. And being set in the fire with the burning flame about him, he sang in a Psalm.

Then cruel Dr. Story being there present, commanded one of the tormentors to hurl a Faggot at him, whereupon being hurt therewith upon the face that he bled again, he left his fingering, and clapt both his hands on his face. Truly, quoth Dr. Story to him that hurled the Faggot, thou hast made a good old Song.

The said John Denley being yettill in the flame of the fire, put his hands abroad firing again, yelling at the last his spirit into the hands of God through his Son Jesus Christ.

After the Martyrdom of Mr. Denley at Uxbridge, which was the 8. of August, suffered also not long after Patrick Packingham at the same Town of Uxbridge, about the 28. of the said Month. This Packingham was charged

of Bener (as ye hard in the tenth Article before) for his behaviour shewed in the Bilbous Chappel, who at the Mass time there standings, would not put of his Cap, which was taken for a heinous offence. The said Packingham also being much labored by Bener to recant, protested that these words to the Bishop, that the Church which he believed was no Catholic Church, but was the Church of Satan, and therefore he would never turn to it, &c.

Furthermore, as touching the other words, which were spoken by Newman, dwelling at Mansfield in Kent, he was burned the last of August, at Saffron Walden in the County of Essex, whose examination and confession of his Faith and Belief, for the which he was cruelly burnt and persecuted, hereunder followeth.

The Examination of John Newman, Martyr.

John Newman first was apprehended in Kent dwelling in the Town of Mansfield, and there was examined before Dr. Thomas Suffragan, and others, at Canterbury. From thence he was brought to Bener, and there condemned with Mr. Denley and Packingham, and burned at Saffron Walden, as is before related. But because his Examination and Answers before the Suffragan came not then to my hand, I thought here in this place to deliver them, rather than they should utterly be suppressed. And first what his answer was by writing to the said Suffragan, after his apprehension, you shall hear by the tenor of his own words, as follow.

I may please you to understand, that for the space of all the time of King Edwards reign, we were diligently instructed with continual Sermons, made by such men, whose faith, wisdom, learning, and virtuous living, was commended unto all men under the Kings hand and Seal, and under the hand of the whole Council. Their men taught diligently a long time, performing by the words, gations of Gods Word, that there was no Transubstantiation, nor Corporal presence in the Sacrament. Their Doctrine was not believed of us suddenly, but by their continual preaching, and also by our continual prayer unto God, that we might never be deceived; but if it were true, as God would incline our hearts unto it, and if it were true, that we might never believe it. We weighed that they laboured with Gods Word, and we asked the advice of our friends, neither could we find that they preached false Doctrine. We considered also, as we did learn, that the Kings Grace and his Council, and the most part of the whole Realm believed as they taught, because no man preached the contrary. Also we knew that the Preachers were commanded by the King and Lewis of the Realm, to preach unto us such Doctrine, as was to the authority of Gods Word agreeable, and no other, and by their diligent setting forth of it by the Kings commandment, and the whole consent of the whole Council, and by the authority of the Kings Word, we imbraced it, and received it as a very infallible Truth, taught unto us for the space of seven years. Therefore, until I saw as our Conscience are otherwise taught and instructed by Gods Word, we cannot without sign of our Conscience take it as many suppose at this time. And we trust in God that the Queens merciful highness, neither yet her most honorable council will in a matter of Faith or Conscience nor violence, but in the gift of God, and commandment of man, neither of mans Law, neither at such time as men require it, but at such time as God giveth it.

The Examination and Answers of John Newman Martyr before Dr. Thornton, and others.

First, one of the Doctors, or one of the Bench, called the Archdeacon or Fancier, or some other, whose name I know not, desired Newman, that he should begin, asking him in this wise.

Doctor. How say you to this: This is my Body which is given for you.

Newman. It is a figurative speech, one thing spoken, and another meant, as Christ faith; I am a Vine, I am a Door, I am a Stone, &c. Is he therefore a material Stony Vine, or a Stony Door?

Dr.

Dr. This is no figurative speech. For he faith; This is my Body which is given for you, and so faith he not of the true Vine, or Door; but that is a figurative speech.

New. Christ faith, This Cup is the New Testament in my Blood. If ye will have it to mean, then let them take and eat the Cup.

Dr. Nay, that is not so meant; for it is a common phrase of speech among our felives: We fay to our friend drink a Cup of Drink, and yet we meant he should Drink the Drink in the Cup.

New. Why, if ye will have the one fo understood, ye must fo understand the other.

Dr. Nay, it is a common use of speech to fay, Drink a Cup of Ale or Beer. And therefore it is no figurative speech.

New. The often using of a thing doth not make that thing other than it is; but whosoever one thing is spoken, and another meant, it is a figurative speech.

Dr. Well, we will not stand hereabout. How fay ye of the real presence? Is not Christs natural Body there that was born of the Virgin Mary?

New. No, I do not so believe; neither can I fo believe; for the Soul of man doth not feed upon natural things as the Body doth.

Dr. Why how then doth it feed?

New. I think the Soul of man doth feed as the Angels in Heaven, whose feeding is only the pleasure, joy, felicity, and delectation that they have of God: and fo the Soul of man doth feed and eat, through Faith, the Body of Christ.

Collins. Yes, but if the Body doth feed upon natural things, the Soul cannot continue with the Body: therefore the Body must needs feed upon natural things as the Body doth.

I grant it to be true; but yet the Soul doth live otherwise than the Body which doth perish: therefore natural things do not feed the Body only. I pray you what did Judas receive at the Supper?

Dr. Mary, Judas did receive the very Body of Christ, but it was to his damnation.

New. Why? was the Devil entered into him before? Then he had not the Devil and Christ in him at one time.

Dr. Nay, the Devil did enter into him afterward.

New. Yes, and before too: what do ye think? Had he but one Devil? Nay, I think he had rather a legion of Devils at the latter end.

Dr. Well, put case it be so: what fay you to that?

New. Mary, if Christ and the Devil were both in Judas at once, I pray you how did they two agree together?

Dr. We grant that they were both in Judas at that time: for Christ may be where the Devil is, if he will; but the Devil cannot be where Christ is, except it please Christ.

New. Christ will not be in an unclean person that hath the Devil.

Thornton. Why will ye not believe that Christ was in Hell? and ye will grant that the Devil is there; and so might he be in Judas, if it pleased him.

New. Christ would not suffer Mary Magdalene to touch him which, fough him as his grave, and did love him intirely; much less he will suffer an ungodly man to receive him into his unclean Body.

Thorn. Yes, seeing God may do all things, he may do what he list, and be where he will. And doth not the flesh fay; He is in Hell, and in all places? Why should we then doubt of his being there?

New. Though his Godhead be in all places, yet that is not sufficient to prove that his Humanity is in all places.

Thorn. No, do you not believe that God is Omnipotent, and may do all things?

New. I do believe that God is Almighty, and may do all that he will do.

Thorn. Nay, but if he be Omnipotent, he may do all things, and there is nothing impossible for him to do.

New. I know God is almighty, and can do all that he will; but he cannot make his Son a tyrant, nor can deny himself, nor can he restore Virginity once violated and defiled.

The Examination and Answer of John Newman, Martyr.

Thorn. What is that to your purpose? God doth not defile Virginity; we speak but of things that God doth.

New. Why, will ye have the Humanity of Christ in all places as the Deity is?

Thorn. Yea, he is in all places as the Deity is, if it please him.

New. I will promise you that semeth to me a very great Heretic, for Heaven and Earth are not able to contain the Divine Power of God, for it is in all places, as here and in every place: and yet ye fay, that whosoever the Deity is, there is also the Humanity, and fo ye will make him no Body, but a fantastical Body, and so a Body indeed.

Thorn. Nay, we do not fay he is in all places as the Deity is, but if it please him he may be in all places with the Deity.

New. I promise you that semeth to me as great an Heretic as ever I heard in my life, and I dare not grant it: I left I should deny Christ to be a very Man, and that were against all the Scriptures.

Thorn. Truly, what shall we stand reasoning with him? I dare fay he doth not believe that Christ came out of his Mother, not opening the matrices. Do you believe that Christ rofe from death, and came thorow the flood?

New. I do believe that Christ rofe from death; but I do not believe that he came thorow the flood, neither doth the Scripture fo say.

Thorn. Lo, how fay you? he doth not believe that Christ came through the flood; and if he doth not believe this, how shall he believe the other? If he could believe this, it were calfe for him to believe the other.

New. The Scripture doth not fay he went thorow the flood, but it faith the Apostle of God came down, and rolled away the flood, and for fear of him the Keepers became even as dead men.

Thorn. Ah fool, fool, that was because the woman should see that he was risen again from death.

New. Well, the Scripture maketh as much for me, as it doth for you, and more too.

Thorn. Well, let us stand any longer about this. Back again to the real presence. How fay ye, is the Body of Christ really in the Sacrament, or no?

New. I have answered you already.

Thorn. Well, do ye not believe that it is there really? New. No, I believe it not.

New. Well, will ye stand to it?

Thorn. I must needs stand to it, till I be persuaded by a further Truth.

New. Nay, ye will not be persuaded, but stand to your own Opinion.

Thorn. Nay, I stand not to mine own Opinion. God I take to witness, but only to the Scriptures of God, and that can all those that stand here witness with me, and nothing but the Scriptures: and I take God to witness, that I do nothing of presumption, but that that I do, is only my Conscience, and if there be a further Truth than I see, except it appear a Truth to me, I cannot receive it as a Truth. And seeing Faith is the gift of God, and cometh not of man; for it is not you that can give me Faith, nor no man else: therefore I trust ye will bear the more with me, seeing it must be wrought by God, and when it shall please God to open a further Truth to me, I shall receive it with all my heart, and embrace it.

Thornton had many other questions which I did not bear away; but as I do understand, there are the chiefest: as for Taupes, foolish and unlearned, he lacked none. Praise God for his gifts, and God increase in us strength.

The Arguments of John Newman.

If the Body of Christ were really and bodily in the Sacrament, then whosoever received the Sacrament, received also the Body.

The wicked receiving the Sacrament, receive not the Body of Christ.

Ergo, the Body of Christ is not really in the Sacrament.

E e Argument.

Argument.

Ca. They which eat the Flesh, and drink the Blood of Christ, dwell in him, and he in them.
 mof. The wicked dwell not in Christ, nor he in them.
 res. Ergo, the wicked eat not the Flesh, nor drink the Blood of Christ.

Argument.

Ca. They that have Christ dwelling in them, bring forth much fruit, John 15. He that dwelleth in me, and I in him, bringeth forth much fruit.
 mof. The wicked bring forth no fruit of goodness.
 res. Ergo, they have not Christ's Body dwelling in them.

Argument.

Da. Where remembrance of a thing, there is imported the absence thereof.
 r. Remembrance of Christ's Body is in the Sacrament.
 Do this in remembrance of me, &c.
 f. Ergo, Christ's Body is imported to be absent.

Marry they will say, we see him not with our outward eyes; but he is commended under the forms of Bread and Wine, and that we see is nothing but a quality or an accident. But let them show me a quality or an accident without a substance, and I will believe them. And thus much concerning Newman's Examinations and Arguments.

The faith of John Newman, dwelling at Maidston in Kent, who was by Occupation, a Weaver.

Abas. 12. Heb. 10. The Lord is the Protector of my life. The just shall live by Faith, and if he withdraw himself, my soul shall have no pleasure in him.

Gen. 12. MY Faith is, that there is one God, which is with me at our beginnings, and without ending. This God created all things visible and invisible. And after that he had made both Heaven and Earth, with all other Creatures, he made Man, and set him in the place which he had prepared for him, which place he called Eden: he gave to Adam his commandments and Precepts, and said, Wherefore thou dost the thing which I forbid, thou shalt surely die: the death; yet did Man for all this disobey God his Creator, and after his fall, he fled from God, and himself, and was in a miserable deperate case. But God seeing man in his miserable estate, because he and all posterity should not continue in death, promised Adam that the woman's Seed should break the Serpent's head, whereby it meant, that the Son of God should become man, and destroy the devil, which by his subtle persuasions had deceived Adam. Then did Adam, by Faith, take hold of God's promise, and became the fervent of righteousness, through the Faith which he had in the promise of the Woman's Seed. So did Abel, Seth, Henoch, and Noah, with Faithful Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob, and the rest of the faithful until Christ's times. So Paul faith: They did eat of all of spiritual meat, and did all drink of one spiritual drink; they did drink of that spiritual rock that followed them, which rock was Christ that fiveth us. And when the time was full come, God sent his Son, made of a woman, that is, he took flesh of the virgin Mary, and became man: not the shadow of a man, nor a fantastical man, as some falsely feign, but a very natural man in all points, in all excepted, which God and man is Christ the promised Woman's Seed. This Christ was here conversant among men for the space of 30 years & more; and when the time was come that he should go to his Father, he gave unto us his mystery of our Redemption, that we through Faith should eat his Body, and drink his Blood, that we might feed on him through Faith to the end of the world. After this Christ offered up his Body on the Cross to pacify his Father, and to deliver us from the thralldom of the Devil, in the which we were through sin original and actual. And with that one sacrifice of his Body once offered on the Cross,

1 Cor. 10. Gen. 12. 1 John 22. 1 Cor. 13. Heb. 10.

he hath made perfect for ever all them that are sanctified. He defended into hell, the third day he rose again from death, and was conversant at certain times with his Disciples for the space of 40 days, after he rose from death. Then in the sight of all his Disciples he ascended into Heaven: and as his Disciples stood looking upward, and beholding him how he went into Heaven, two men clothed by them in white apparel, which also said; Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into Heaven? This Jesus which is taken up from you into Heaven, shall so come even as ye have seen him go into Heaven. So Peter also faith, that the Heavens must receive him, until the time that all things which God hath spoken by the mouth of all his Prophets since the world began, be refilled again, which is the latter day, when he shall come to judge the quick and the dead. I do Believe in the Holy Ghost, which is the Spirit of God, proceeding from the Father and the Son, which Holy Spirit is one God with them. I believe that there is an Holy Church, which is the company of the faithful and elect People of God, dispersed abroad throughout the whole world, which Holy Church or Congregation doth not look for Christ here, nor Christ there, neither in the desert, nor in the secret places whereof Christ warneth us, but as St. Paul saith, in Heaven; where he sitteth on the right hand of God the Father; they set their affections on things that are above, and not on things that are on earth. For they are dead concerning the things of this world, and their life is hid with Christ in God: and when Christ, which is their life, shall show him self, then shall they also appear with him in glory. I believe that there is a communion of Saints, even the fellowship of the Faithful People which are dispersed abroad throughout all the whole world, and are of one mind: they follow Christ their Head, they love one another as Christ loved them, and are knit together in one, even in Christ: which Church or Congregation hath forgiveness of Sin through Christ, and shall enter without spot before the face of God into his glory. For as Christ, being their Head, hath entered pure and clean, so they entering by him, shall be like him in glory. And I am certain and sure, that all they which do die, shall rise again and receive their Bodies. In them shall they see Christ come in his glory, to judge the quick and the dead. At whose coming all men shall appear and give a reckoning of their doings: he shall separate the good from the bad, he shall put in them which are his elect; Cometh blessed of my Father, inherit the Kingdom prepared for you from the beginning; but to the other that have always refused his will, he shall say: Depart from me ye cursed into everlasting fire which is prepared for the Devil and his Angels.

Thus have I briefly declared my Faith, which were no Faith at all if I were in doubt of it. This Faith therefore I desire God to increase in me. Praise God for his gifts.

And thus have ye the Martyrdom with the Confession of the blessed man, and witness of the Lords' Truth, who for that gave his life, as is before declared.

Richard Hook.

Likewise Richard Hook about the same season, and likewise for the same matter gave his life at Chichester.

The Examinations, Answers, and condemnation of William Collier, William Hooper, Henry Laurence, Richard Collier, Richard Wright, Henry Stene, before the Bishop of Dover, and Harpsfield Archbishop of Canterbury.

Matthias was made a little before in the story of M. Bland and Nicholas Sheriden, of certain other Kentish-men, who being the same time with them called forth and examined by the then Bishop of Dover, viz. Nich. Harpsfield, Rich. Collier, and Robert Colman: yet notwithstanding, because the condemnation and execution of them was deferred a little longer, till the latter end of the month of August; coming therefore now to the time of suffering, we will briefly touch some part of their Examinations and Answers as we find them in the

Register

Anno Regis. The Names of these were William Coker, Wil. Hooper, Henry Laurence, Rich. Collier, Rich. Wright, 1555. Wil. Stene. What Articles objected to Matter Bland

and them were, ye heard before. To the which Articles they answered for themselves severally, in effect as followeth.



The Martyrdom of 6 Martyrs. M. Col. Wt. Hooper, Hen. Laurence, Rich. Collier, Rich. Wright, Wil. Stene, at Canterbury, 1555: Aug.

First William Coker said, he would answer no otherwise than he had already answered; and being offered to have longer respite of six days after, he refused to take it, and so upon the fame, sentence of condemnation was read against him, the eleventh of July.

William Hooper first seemed to grant to the faith and determination of the Catholick Church, after calling himself better to mind, constantly sticking to the truth, he was condemned the next week after, the 16. of July.

Henry Laurence examined the said 16 of July, and partly deferred to the 2 of August, answered to the Articles objected against him; first denying auricular confession, and that he neither had nor would receive the Sacrament; because, faith he, the order of the Holy Scriptures is changed in the order of the Sacraments.

Moreover, the said Laurence was charged for not putting off his cap when the Suffragan made mention of the Sacrament, and did reverence to the same: the said Laurence answering in these words, What said he ye shall not need to put off your cap: for it is not so holy that you need to put off your cap thereunto.

Further, being opposed concerning the verity of the Sacrament given to Christ's Disciples, he affirmed, that even as Christ gave his very Body to his Disciples, and consigned it to be the same; so likewise Christ himself said, he was a Door, &c. adding moreover, that as he had said before to be faith full that the Sacrament of the Altar was an Idol, and no remembrance of Christ's passion, and contrary he knoweth not. At last required to put to his hand in subscribing to his answers, he wrote these words under the bill of their examinations, *Ye are all of Anti-christ, and him ye fol.* And here is hand was stayed to write any further because he would have written out follow, &c. And so upon the fame, sentence was given against him the second of August.

Richard Collier of Alford.

Richard Collier above mentioned, having the 16 of August to appear, examined of the Sacrament of the

Popish Altar; answered and said, that he did not believe, the words that after the Consecration there is the real and substantial Body of Christ, but only Bread and Wine, and that it is most abominable, most detestable, and most wicked to believe otherwise, &c. Upon this the sentence was read against him, and he condemned the 16 of August. After his condemnation he sang a Psalm. Wherefore the Priests and their Officers railed at him, saying, he was out of his wits.

Richard Wright.

Richard Wright the same place and day, being the 16 of August, appearing, and required of the Judge what he believed of the real presence in the Sacrament, answered again, that as touching the Sacrament of the Altar and the Mass, he was ashamed to speak of it, or to name it, and that he allowed it not, as it was used in the Church. Against whom the sentence was also read the day and place aforesaid.

William Stene.

William Stene of the aforesaid Parish of Alford, likewise detected and accused, was brought to appear the said 16 day of August, where he in the said Chamberhouse of Canterbury, being required to make answer to the positions laid unto him by the Judges, made answer again, that he should command his dog, and not man; and further declared, that Dick of Dover had no Authority to sit against him in judgement, and asked where his Authority was? Who then shewed him certain Bulls and Writings from Rome, as he said. William Stene denying that to be of sufficient force, the said Dick said also he had Authority from the Queen. Then the Martyr alleging that the Bishop of Canterbury (who then was in prison) was his Diocesan, urged him to shew his Authority from the Archbishop, or else he denied his Authority to be sufficient. And as touching the Sacrament of the Altar, he found it not (he said) in the Scriptures; and therefore he would not answer thereunto.

E. c.

And

And moreover, the Judge speaking of the Sacrament of the Altar, with reverence thereof, and putting off his cap, he said, That he needed not to reverence that matter so highly. And thus (saying to the Judge, that he was a Bloody man, &c.) the sentence was pronounced against him; after which sentence being read, he said, that the Sacrament of the Altar was the most blasphemous Idol that ever was, &c.

And thus these fix heavenly Martyrs and Witnes-bearers to the truth, being condemned by the bloody Suffragan and Archdeacon of Canterbury, Master Collins, and Master Faneus, were burned all together in the same Town of Canterbury, at three flakcs and one fire, about the later end of August.

The copy of their sentence condemnatory, you may find above in the story of John Rogers; for the Papists in their condemnations follow one manner of sentence of course commonly against all that be condemned through their unmerciful Tyranny.

The perfection of ten Martyrs together, sent by certain of the Council to Bower to be examined.

After the burning of these fix above named, next followed the perfection of ten other true Servants and Saints of the Lord, not such Saints as the Pope maketh, or which are mentioned in *Legenda Sanctorum*, or in *Vita Patrum*, or in the fabulous Book *de vita Sanctorum Valentinianum*, &c. but such as are spoken of in the Holy *Apocalyp*, of whom it is written, *Hij sunt qui sequuntur Agnum quocunque jierit, quia locumati folas* in *Jangine Agni*. i. These be they that follow the Lamb whithersoever he goeth, and which have washed their robes in the Blood of the Lamb, &c. Thus these Saints be not of the Popes making, or rather, to say the truth, they are of the Popes making; the Popes making (I say) in this respect, not that the Saints of God are made by the Pope, but that the Saints of God are tried and declared by the Pope: so, as by afflictions of Saint Job's patience was proved, by Pharaohs God power declared, and by *Salomons* *Tenaculum* was won (as *Tully* writeth), for except he had lost it before, *Q. Fabius* could not have recovered it, so in like manner, unless by Antichrist good men had been destroyed, otherwise they had not been true Martyrs of Christ. The names of these were.

Elizabeth Warne, William Hale, George Tankerfield, Thomas Lyes, Robert Smith, Thomas Kings, Stephen Harwood, John Wade, Thomas Fyfe, John Lallford.

The prisons of London beginning now to be replenished with Gods Saints, and still more and more coming in, the Council and Commissioners, thinking to make ready dispatch with the poor prisoners, caused these ten above named, to be sent with their letter directed to Robert Bishop of London, by him to be examined, and bid out of the way. The copy of which their letter, with their names subscribed, here followeth to be read and noted.

A Letter sent by the Commissioners to the Bishop of London, Doctor Bower.

After our hearty commendations to your good Lordship, we send you here John Wade, Will Hale, George King, Thomas Lyes of Essex, Thomas Fyfe, Robert Smith Painter, Stephen Harwood Brewer, George Tankerfield Cook, Elizabeth Warne, Joan Lallford of London, *Sacramentaries*, all of which we desire your Lordship to examine, and to order according to the Ecclesiastical laws: praying your Lordship to appoint some of your Officers to receive them at this beaver's hand, And thus most heartily fare your Lordship well. From London this second of July.

Your Lordships loving Friends,

Nich. Hare, Rich. Redd, Will. Roger, Will. Cooke.

The names of the Commissioners to the Bishop.

The History of Elizabeth Warne Widow, burnt at Stratford Bow.

Now fervently to prosecute the stories of these ten Martyrs aforementioned: first we will begin with the history of Elizabeth Warne, who in this Month of August was burnt at Stratford Bow, with unto London Widow, late the Wife of John Warne Upholster, and Mary, who also was burned in the end of the Month of May last past, as before in his storie is recorded. This Elizabeth had been apprehended amongst others, the first day of January, in a house in Bow Churchyard in London, as they were gathered together in prayer, and at that present was carried to the Counter (as is also above specified) where the lay as prisoner until the 11. day of June. At which time she was brought unto Newgate, and remained there in the like case unto the second day of July. Then she was sent by the King and Queens Commissioners unto Bower Bishop of London, who the fix day of the same month caused her with divers others (as Robert Smith, George Tankerfield, &c.) to be brought before him into his Palace, and there examined her upon sundry articles, such as are common order be ministered unto the poor Saints and Martyrs of God, as you may more plainly perceive by other more large and ample processes, as well before, as hereafter mentioned.

The chiefest objection that he used either towards her, or the most of those, was touching the real and corporal presence of the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar, as the chiefest ground and probable foundation for their Catholic dignity. Many other matters he objected against them as for not coming to the Church, for speaking against the Mass, for despoiling their ceremonies and new found Sacraments, with divers other hard and trifling toys, not worthy any mentioning.

In the end, when she had been divers times brought before him and other adherents, and there forcibly exhorted to recant, she said; Do what ye will. For Christ was in an error, then am I in an error. Upon which answer, he was the 12. day of the same month of July adjudged and condemned as an Heretic, and so delivered unto the secular power, as they term it, to be by them (yet at the Clergies appointment) put to death, which thing was accomplished in her the same month above mentioned.

The chiefest procurer of his her death was Doctor Story, being (as it is thought) of some alliance either to her the said Elizabeth, or else to her late Husband. Who, though he was at the first apprehension of his said kindred woman, a very earnest suter for her deliverance to Doctor Martin, then one of the King and Queens Commissioners, in matters of Religion (himself being as yet not made Commissioner) and had by his face obtained her deliverance for that present, as Doctor Martin himself (the author hereof) hath reported, yet afterwards, upon what occasion God only knoweth, except upon some burning charity, the said D. Story obtaining now the room of one of the Commissioners, caused not only the said John Warne, but also his wife, and afterwards his daughter to be again apprehended, never leaving them until he had brought them all to affix. This was the rage of that devout Catholic, and white Child of the Mother Church, that neither kind nor any other consideration could prevail with him, although it did (at his request) with others, who in respect of him were but strangers unto them. The Law then his wife, turn his wife, or else rid her poor Church from such an Hydra, as thanked be the Lord, now he hath.

George Tankerfield, a faithful Martyr and Witness of the Gospel, constantly suffering for the testimony of the Lord.

George Tankerfield of London, Cook, born in the City of York, about the age of 27. or 28. years in the City of King Edwards dayes a very Papist, till the time Queen Mary came in, and then, perceiving the great cruelty used of the Popes side, was brought into a midoubt of their doings, and began (as he said) in his heart to abhor them. And as concerning the Mass, whereof he had but a doubtful opinion before, and much striving with himself that case; at length he fell to prayer, de-

Q. Mary.

The Martyrdom of George Tankerfield.

dering God in mercy to open to him the truth, that he might be thoroughly persuaded therein; whether it were of Gods will: or if not, that he might utterly hate it in his heart, and abhor it: which according to his prayer the Lord mercifully heard, working daily more and more in him to detest and abhor the same: and so he was moved to read the Testaments, whereby (as is said) the Lord lightened his mind with the knowledge of the truth, working lively Faith in him to believe the same, and utterly to detest all Papistry, and so he came no more to their doings. And not only that, but also this lively Faith, his heart, kindled such a flame in him, as would not be kept in, but utter it forth by confession thereof, reproving his own former doings to his Friends, exhorting them likewise to convert and turn to the truth with him, and thus he began to be fuelled out among them; till at the last he was sent for, as followeth.

It pleased God to strike him with sickness, whereby he lay long sick upon a certain day to take the ayr abroad, he rose up and went and walked into the Temple fields to see the flowers. In the mean season came Beard home to his House, and inquired for him, pretending to his Wife, that he came only to have him to come and dress a Banquet at the Lord Pagets. The Wife, because of his apparel (which was very brave) took him to be some lord's Gentleman, and with all good prepared her house to receive her Husband, having a good hope he should now earn some Money: and left this Gentleman should be noyed with tarrying, the fether him a cushion to sit him self, and laid a fair napkin before him, and for bread thereon, and came to her Husband; who when he heard it said, A Banquet Woman! Indeed it is such a Banquet, as will not be very pleasant to the flesh, but Gods will be done. And when he came home he saw who it was, and called him by his name, which when his Wife perceived, and wherefore he came, like a tall Woman would play Peter parry, and instead of a Sword, took a Spit, and had run him thorow, had not the Constable, which Beard had for by his man, come in widelie, and reduced him, yet the fene a Brickbat after him, and his him on the back. And so Tankerfield was delivered to the Constable, and brought to Newgate about the last day of February, Anno 1555. by the fayed Beard Yeoman of the Guard, and Simon Fowler Pewterer, Constable of Saint Dunstons in the West, sent in by Roger Chomley Knight, and by Doctor Martin.

Tankerfield thus being brought to prison by his Adversaries, at length with the other above named was brought to his examination before Bower. Who, after his accustomed manner, ordered his Articles and positions unto him, the copie and tenor of which his ordinary Articles ye may read above expressed.

To these Articles, as above rehearsed, he answered again, constantly declaring his mind both touching Auricular confession, and also the Sacrament of the Popish Altar, and likewise of the Mass, &c. First, that he was not confessed to any Priest five years past, nor that he would but only to Gods; and further declaring that he would hereafter be confided to any Priest, for that he found it not in Christs book, and took it only to be a Counsell.

And concerning the Sacrament, commonly called here in England of the Altar, he confessed that he neither had nor did believe, that in the said Sacrament there is the Real Body and Blood of Christ, because that the Right is ascended into Heaven, and there doth sit at the Right Hand of God the Father.

And moreover he said, that the Mass now used in the Church of England was naughty, and full of Idolatry and Abomination, and against the Word of God; affirming also, that there are but two Sacraments in the Church of Christ, Baptism and the Supper of the Lord, &c. And to these Affertions, he said, he would stand: and so he did to the end.

And when at last the Bishop began to read the sentence, exhorting him before with many words to revoke his professed opinion (which they called Damnable and Heretical) he was standing ready all contrary perorations, answering the Bishop again in this sort, saying, I will not, said he, forsake mine opinions, except you (my Lord) can recell them by Scriptures; and I care

not for your Divinity: for you condemn all men, and prove nothing against them. And after many fair words (manner) to convert, or rather pervert him, he answered boldly again, saying moreover; That the Church whereof the Pope is supreme head, is no part of Christs Catholic Church: and adding thereunto, and pointing to the Bishop, spake to the People saying, good People beware of him, and such as he is, for he is the People that deceive you, &c.

These with other words more he spake; whereupon the Bishop, reading the sentence of his Popish condemnation, gave him to the secular power.

And so this blessed Servant of God was had to St. Althams, and there with much patience and confidence ended his life, the 26. day of August, for the defence of the truth which at length will have the Victorie.

Certain notes concerning George Tankerfield, after he came to suffer Martyrdom at Saint Althams.

Pyrrhus, he was brought unto St. Althams by the high Sherif of Hertfordshire, Master Edward Brackley Esquire, and one Pulier of Hitchen, which was under Sheriff.

How their lives was the cross-eyes, whereas there was great concourse of People to see and hear the prisoner: among the which Multitude some were ready to see so godly a man brought to be burned; others praised God for his constancie and preferance in the truth. Contrariwise some there were which said; it was pity he did stand in such opinions and others; both old Women and Men cried against him: one called him Heretic, and said it was pity that he lived. But George Tankerfield did speak unto them so effectually out of the Word of God, banishing of their ignorance, and protesting unto them his unpurged Conscience, that God did mollifie their hardened hearts, infomuch that some of them departed out of the Chamber with weeping eyes.

(which retained unto him a certain School-master, who was a certain communication with George Tankerfield, the day before he was coming towards St. Althams, as touching their Sacrament of the Altar, and other points of Popish Religion: but as he urged Tankerfield with the Authority of the Doctors, wrestling them after his own will, so on the other side Tankerfield answered him mightily by the Scriptures, not wretched after the mind of any man, but being interpreted after the will of the Lord Jesus, &c. So that as he would not allow such allegations as Tankerfield brought out of the Scriptures without the opinions of the Doctors; so again Tankerfield would not credit his Doctrine to be true, except he could confirm it by the Scriptures. In the end Tankerfield prayed him, that he would not trouble him in such matters, for his Conscience was established, &c. and so he departed from him, withering him welland protesting that he meant him no more hurt than his own Soul.

Item, when the hour drew on apace that he should suffer, he desired the wine-drawer, that he might have a pint of Malmsiey and a loaf, that he might eat and drink that in remembrance of Christs Death and Eufion because he could not have ministered unto him by others in such manner as Christ commanded; and then he kneeled down, making his confession unto the Lord with all which were in the chamber with him; and after that he had prayed earnestly unto the Lord, and had read the institution of the Holy Supper by the Lord Jesus out of the Evangelists, and out of St. Paul, he said, O Lord, thou knowest it, I do not this to derogate Authority from any man, or in contempt of those which are thy Ministers, but only because I cannot have it ministered according to thy word, &c. and when he had spoken these words, and such like words, he received it with giving of thanks.

Item, when some of his Friends wished him to eat some meat, he said he would not eat that which should do others good that had more need, and that had longer time to live than he.

Item, he prayed his Host to let him have a good fire in the chamber; he had so, and then he fitting on a form before the fire, put off his shoes and hose, and stretched out his legs to the flame, and when it had touched his foot, he quickly withdrew his legs, & threw Spirit another way. The flesh said, O thou fool, wilt thou burn and needst not? The Spirit said, Be not afraid, for this is nothing in respect of fire eternal. The flesh said, Don't leave the company of thy Friends and acquaintance which love thee, and will let thee lack nothing. The Spirit said, The company of Jesus Christ and his glorious presence doth exceed all fleshly Friends. The flesh said, Do not shun thy fire, for thou mayest live if thou wilt much longer. The Spirit said, This life is nothing unto the life in heaven which lasteth forever, &c. And all this time the Sheriffs were at a certain Gentlemen's house at dinner, not far from the Town, whither also retired Knights and many Gentlemen out of the County, because his Son was married that day, and until they returned from dinner the prisoner was left with his Host to be kept and looked unto. And George Tankersfield all that time was kindly and lovingly intreated of his Host; and considering that his time was short, his saying was, That although the day was never so long, yet at the last it ringeth to evening song.

Item, about two of the Clock, when the Sheriffs were returned from dinner, they brought George Tankersfield out of his Inn unto the place where he should suffer, which is called *Romeland*, being a green place nigh unto the west end of the Abbey Church: unto the which when he was come, he kneeled down by the stake that was set up for him, and after he had ended his prayers he arose, and with a joyful Faith he said, that although he had a sharp dinner, yet he hoped to have a joyful Supper in Heaven.

Item, while the Fagots were fet about him, there came a Priest unto him, and persuaded him to believe on the Sacrament of the Altar, and he should be saved. But George Tankersfield cried out vehemently, and said; I defy the Whore of *Babylon*, I defy the Whore of *Babylon*: Fie of that abominable Idol: Good People do not believe him, good People do not believe him. And then the Mayor of the Town commanded to fet fire to the Heretic, and said, If he had but one load of Fagots in the whole World, he would give them to burn him. There was a certain Knight by, who went unto Tankersfield, and took him by the hand, and said, Good Brother, be strong in Christ, this he fakes softly; and Tankersfield said, O Sir, I thank you, I am so, I thank God. Then fire was fet unto him, and he defied the Sheriff and all the People that they would pray for him; the most part did so. And so embracing the fire, he basted himself in it, and calling on the name of the Lord Jesus he was quickly out of pain, &c.

After the Martyrdom was ended, and that he was fallen asleep in the Lord, there were some superstitious old Women who did blasphemously say, that the Devil was so strong with him and all such Heretics as he was, that they could not feel any pain almost, nor yet be sorry for their sins.

The History and Examinations of Robert Smith, constantly maintaining the truth of Gods Word, and suffering for the same in the Month of August.

Robert Smith was brought unto Newgate the fifth of November, in the first and second year of the King and Queen, by John Matthew Yeoman of the Guard of the Queens side, by the commandment of the Council. This Smith first gave himself unto Service in the house of Sir Thomas Smith Knight, being then Provost of Eaton: from thence he was preferred to Windsor, having there in the Colledge a Clerkship of ten pound a year. Of stature he was tall and slender, active about many things, but chiefly delighting in the Art of painting, which many times, rather than his own sake, he did for any living or lucre, he did practise and exercise. In Religion he was fervent, after he had once tasted the truth; wherein he was much confirmed by the preachings and readings of one Master Turner of Windsor, and

Robert Smith
active in the
Art of painting.

others. Whereupon at the coming of Queen Mary Anno 1553, he was deprived of his Clerkship by her Visitors, and not long after he was apprehended, and brought to examination before Boner, as here followeth, written and testified with his own hand.

The first Examination of Robert Smith before Bishop Boner.

About 9. of the Clock in the Morning, I was among the rest of my Brethren brought to the Bishops house; and I first of all was brought before him into his chamber, to whom the Bishop said as followeth, after he had asked my name.

Boner. How long is it ago since the time that ye were confitted to any Priest?

Smith. Never since I had years of discretion. For I never saw it needful, neither commanded of God to come to them my faults to any of that sinful number, whom ye call Priests.

Boner. Thou shewest thy self even at the first chop to be a rank Heretic, which being weary of painting, art entered into Divinity, and so falling, through thy departing from thy Vocation, into Heretic.

Smith. Although I have understanding in the said occupation, yet (I praise God) I have had little need all my life hitherto to live by the same, but have lived with the use of the same in mine own house as honestly in my Vocation, as ye have lived in yours, and yet used the same for the sake of the Altar, and what is your opinion in the same?

Smith. I never received the same since I had years of discretion, nor never will, by Gods grace; neither do esteem the same in any point, because it hath not Gods ordinance, neither in name, nor in other usage, but rather is set up and erected to mock God withal.

Bon. Do ye not believe that it is the very Body of Christ that was born of the Virgin Mary, naturally, substantially, and really, after the words of Consecration?

Smith. I shewed you before it was none of Gods ordinances, as ye use it; then much less to be God, or any part of his substance, but only Bread and Wine erected to the use aforesaid: yet nevertheless, if ye can approve it to be the Body that ye speak of by the Word, I will believe it; if not, I will, as I do, account it a detestable Idol; not God, but contrary to God and his truth.

Bon. Then after many raging words and vain objections, he said, there was no remedy but I must be your slave.

Smith. Ye shall do no more unto me, then ye have done to better men than either of us both. But think not thereby to quench the Spirit of God, neither thereby to make your matter good. For your force is too well fery to be healed so privily with blood. For even the very Children have all your deeds in derision that although ye perch up one place with Authority, yet shall it break out in forry to your shame.

Bon. Then after much ado, and many railing entences, he said, throwing away the paper of mine examination; Well, even now, by my troth, even in good earnest, if thou wilt go and be shaven, I will tear this paper in pieces.

Smith. To which I answered; I would be too much to his shame to shew it to men of discretion.

After which Answer, I was carried down to the garden with my Jailer, and there remained until my Brother Harwood was examined; and then being again brought up before the said Boner, he demanded if I agreed with Harwood in his confession, upon these Articles following.

Bon. What say you to the Catholic Church? Do ye not confess there is one in Earth?

Smith. Yes verily, I believe that there is one Catholic Church, or faithful congregation, which as the Apostle faith, is builded upon the Prophets and Apostles, Christ Jesus being the head cornerstone; which Church in all her words and works maintaineth the word, and bringeth the same for her Authority, and without it doth nothing, nor ought to do, of which I am assured I am by grace made a member.

Bon.

Bon. Ye shall understand, that I am bound when my Brother offendeth, and will not be reconciled, to bring him before the congregation: now if your Church be the same, where may a man find it, to bring his Brother before the same?

Smith. It is written in the Acts of the Apostles, that when the Tyranny of the Bishops was to great against the Church in *Jury*, they were fain to congregate in houses and private places, as they now do; and yet were they nevertheless the Church of God: and seeing they had their matters rectified being shut up in a corner, may we not do the like now aday?

Bon. Yea, their Church was known full well. For St. Paul writ to the *Corinthians*, to have the man punished and excommunicate, that had committed evil with his Fathers Wife. Whereby we may well perceive it was a known Church; but yours is not known.

Smith. Then could you not persecute as ye do, but ye say the Church of God at *Corinth* was manifest both to God, and Paul; even so is this Church of God in *England*, whom ye persecute, both known to God, and also even to the very wicked, although they know not, nor will not know their truth nor conversation; yea, and your sinful number have professed their verities, and maintained the same a long season.

Bon. Well, thou sayest that the Church of God was only at *Corinth*, when Paul writ unto them, and so will I put in writing, shall I?

Smith. I do marvel greatly, my Lord, that ye are not ashamed to lay snares for your Brethren on this manner. This is now the third time ye have layed for me. Where my Lord Mayor, who was walking on the said Fifth, to make me confess that the Church of *England* is not the Church of Christ. Secondly, to say, it is not known. Thirdly, to say the Church of God is not universal, but particular: and this is not the office of a Bishop. For if an innocent had come in your way, you would have done your best, I see, to have intangled him.

Harf. We Friends quene of my Lords Chaplains, are you not innocent, as it appeareth in the said *Smith*. By the grace of God, I am that I am; and this grace in me, I hope, is not in vain.

Bon. Well, quoth my Lord, laughing; tell me, how sayest thou of the Church?

Smith. I say, I say whereupon the true Church is builded, and I affirm in *England* to be the Congregation of God, and also in *common terms*, as it is written, *The Church is gone forth into all lands*, and that this is the afflicted and persecuted Church, which ye cease not to imprison, flay, and kill. And in *Corinth* was not all the Congregation of God, but a number of those holy and elect People of God. For neither Paul nor Peter were dead People of God, when they wrote, and yet were they of the Church of God as many thousands more, which also communicate in that Holy Spirit.

Bon. What call ye Catholic, and what call you Church?

Smith. Catholic is universal, and Church is a Congregation knit together in unity.

Then after much like vain talk, it was laid to my charge, that my fellow and I spake one thing. Whereof I praised God and was fain to go to a garden. Where after a while as my Brother Harwood and I had been together, cometh one of my Lords Chaplains, that much desired to commune with me, demanding first if I were a prisoner.

Smith. I am in this flesh a prisoner, and subject to my Master and yours; but I hope yet the Lords free man through Christ Jesus.

Def. I do much desire to talk with you lovingly, because ye are a man that I much lament, with many other three words.

To which I answered; *Sub melle later os venenum*. And after much ado about his god, I compelled him to say, that it must needs enter into the belly, and so fall into the draught. To which he answered.

Def. What Derogation was it to Christ, when the Jews spelt in his face?

Smith. If the Jews, being his enemies, did spit in his face, and being his Friends throw him into the draught, which of us have deserved the greatest damnation? Then by your argument, he that doth injury to Christ, shall

have a most plentiful Salvation.

Def. Then shalt he away, and would have his humanity incomprehensible; making a comparison between his soul and the Body of Christ, bringing in to serve his turn, which way Christ came in among his Disciples, which the Doors being shut?

Smith. Although it be said, that when he came the Doors were shut, yet have, as much to prove, that the Doors opened at his coming, as ye have to prove the Christ, to have come through the Door. For that mighty GOD that brought the Disciples out of prison, which yet when the Door was shut, was able to let Christ in at your purpose; for they lay yet, neither is he in more than one place at once. At which answer when he had made many offerings, he departed away from me, and we were carried unto my Lords hall, where we were baited of my Lords band, almost all the days; until our Keeper being the midwife, shut us up all in a fair chamber, while my Lord went into his Synagogue to condemn Master Duly and John Newman.

Then brought they up my Lord Mayor to hear our matter above in the chamber, and I first of all was called unto the chamber, where my Lord intended to Sup. Where my Lord Mayor being fet with the Bishop and one of the Sheriffs, while was walking on every side: I standing before them as an out-cast, which made me remember how *Pilar* and *Herod* were made Friends, but no man was sorry for *Josaphat* hurt. But after my Lord had well drunk, my Articles were put for and read, and he demanded whether I laid not, as was written.

Smith. That I have said, I have said, and what I have said, I do mean utterly.

Boner. Well, my Lord Mayor, your Lordship hath heard somewhat, what a frow Heretic this is, and that his Articles have defered Death. Yet nevertheless he himself of the Sheriffs, they report me to seek Blood, and call me mans Blood in all my life. I have flayed him from the Confistory this day, whether I might have brought him justly: and yet here before your Lordship I declare him to turn, and I will with all speed dispatch him out of trouble; and this I profess before your Lordship and all this audience.

Smith. Why, my Lord, do ye put on this fair visage before my Lord Mayor, to make him believe that ye do not seek not my Blood, to cloak your Murthers through my stoutness, as ye call it? Have ye not had my Brother Tomkins before you, whose hand when you had burned most cruelly, ye burnt also his Body and not only of him but of a great many of the members of Christ, men that feared God, and lived virtuously, and also the Queens Majesties most true Subjects, as their goods and Bodies have made manifest? and seeing in their Saints ye have shewed so little mercy, shall it seem to my Lord and this audience, that ye shew me more favour? No, no, my Lord, but ye mean as ye say, why then exclaim ye me of that I am not bound to answer you unto?

Boner. Well, what saith thou by the Sacrament of the Altar? Is it not the very Body of Christ, flesh, Blood, and bone, as it was born of the Virgin?

Smith. I have answered, that it is none of Gods order, by this neither any Sacrament, but mans own vain invention, which sheweth him the Lords institution. But when he was to be carried before the audience, declaring that we knew *Bartholomew* nothing, bringing out his *Hec est corpus meum*, it was, in my dish, I proved before the audience, that it was a dead god, declaring the definition appointed between the two creatures of Bread and Wine, and that a Body without Blood hath no life. At which Harpfield found himself much offended, and took the tale out of my Lords mouth sayings.

Harf. I will approve by the Scriptures, that ye blaspheme God in so saying: for it is given in two parts, because there are two things shewed, that is to say, his Body and his passion, as I said Saint Paul: and therefore is the Bread his Body, and the Wine the representation of his Death and Bloodshedding.

Smith.

The dark illusions of the Devil
Have dimmed to their eyes,
That they cannot abide the Truth,
To stir in any wife.

And if ye keep the perfect path,
(As I have, hope you do)
Ye shall be sure to have such shame,
As they may put you to.
For, all that lead a godly life,
Shall surely suffer loss;
And eke the world will seek their shame,
And make them kiss the Cross.
Ye shall be killed all faith Christs,
Your sorrows shall not cease:
And yet in your afflictions,
I am your perfect peace.

For in the world ye shall have wo:
Because ye are unknown:
And eke because ye hate the world,
The world will love his own.

Be fervent therefore to the death,
Against all their devices:
And God shall surely fight for thee
Against thine Enemies.

Commit your cause unto the Lord,
Revenge not any evil:
And thou shalt fee the wicked want,
When thou shalt leave thy will.

For all afflictions that may fall,
That they can say or do:
They are not sure of the wealth,
That we attain unto.

For I have seen the Sinners spread
Their branches like a Bay:
And yet ere one could turn his head,
Were withered clean away.

Beware that money make ye not
In riches to arise
Against the goodness of the Lord,
Among the worldly wise.

For money mischief it hath made,
That may not be express:
And many evils it hath begun,
Which may not be redress.

For money maketh many a one,
In riches to rebel:
And he that maketh Gold a god,
He hath a Soul to sell.

It maketh Kings to kill and slay,
And waste their wits in war:
In leaving of the Wolf at home,
To hunt the Fox afar.

And where they should see justice done,
And set their Realm in rest:
By money they be made a mean
To see the poor oppress.

It maketh Lords obey the Law,
That they do ill and wrong:
It maketh Bishops suck the Blood,
That God hath dearly bought.

And where they should be faithful friends,
And Fathers to their flock:
By money they do turn about,
Even like a Watercock.

The Priests dish make a many mean,
To have again his whores,
To put away his wedded Wife,
And Children out of doors.

It holdeth back the husbandman,
Which may not be forbore:
And will not suffer him to sow,
And call abroad his Corn.

In like case it doth let again,
When that the seed they sow:
It choaketh up the Corn again,
So that it cannot grow.

The husband doth would have a wife,
With Nobles new and old:
The wife would have the husband hang'd,
That she might have his gold.

It maketh murderers many a one,
And heareth much with blood:
The Child would see the Parents slain,
To sell upon their god.

And though it be a blessed thing,
Created in the kind:
It is a necessary evil,
Annexed to the mind.

For who so playeth with the Pitch,
His fingers are defiled:
And he that maketh Gold a god,
Shall surely be beguiled.

Be friendly to the fatherless,
And all that are oppress:
Afflict them always out of hand,
And let them sit at rest.

In all your doings and your deeds
Let mercy still remain:
For with the measure that ye mete,
Shall ye be met again.

Be always lowly in your life,
Let love enjoy her crown:
The high Trees are seldom sure,
And soonest overbrow.

The Lions lack and suffer sore,
In hunger and in thirst:
And they that do oppress the poor,
Continue sick at heart.

The Bie is but a little beast
In body or in fight:
And yet she bringeth more increase,
Than either Crow or Kite.

Therefore beware in any wise,
Keep well your watch always:
Be sure of Oil within your lamp,
Let not your light decay.

For Death doth snatch them that lack,
And hateth them that have:
And treadeth down the rich and poor
Together in the grave.

Exhort your Children to be chaste,
Rebuke them for their ill:
And let them not at any wife
Be wedded to their will.

Laugh not with them, but keep them low,
Shew them no merry cheer:
Left thou do weep with them also,
But bring them up in fear.

And let your lips and living flame,
That ye be not suspect:
For which they are correct.
Be meek and modest in a mean,

Let all your deeds be done:
That they which are without the Law,
May see how right ye run.

Keep well the member in your mouth,
Your Tongue see that yetame:
For out of little sparks of fire
Proceedeth out a flame.

And as the poison dish express,
Therewith of the Dead:
Even so the Tongue dish manifest
The heart that feareth God.

For therewith bless we God above,
And therewith curse we men:
And thereby murderers do arise,
Through whom now and then.

And seeing God hath given a Tongue,
And put it under power:
The sweet way it is to set
A hatch before the door.

For God hath set you in a seat,
Of double low degree:
First unto God, and then to man,
A subject for to be.

I written not that I see in you
These things to be suspect:
But only set before your faces,
How sin should be correct.

For Hell and blood I know ye are,

At other women be:
And if ye dwell in flesh and blood,
There is infirmity.

Receive a warning willingly,
That to thy teeth is told:
Accept the gift of greater price
Than if ye gave the gold.

A wife man, faith Solomon,
A warning will embrace:
A fool will sooner (as faith be)
Be smitten on the face.

And as your members must be dead
From all things that are vain:
Even so by baptism ye are born
To live with Christ again.

Thus farewell free and faithful friend:
The Lord that is above
Increase in thee a perfect faith,
And lead thee in his love.

And as I pray with perfect love,
And pour out bitter tears:
For you and all that are at large
Abroad among the briars:

Even so I pray thee to prefer
My person and my bandi,
Unto the everlasting God
That hath me in his handi.

That I may pass out of this pond,
Whereto I am oppress:
Inclined in a clod of clay,
That here can have no rest.

That as he hath begun in me
His merits many one:
I may attain to everlast,
My brethren that be gone.

That when the death shall do his worst
Where he shall point a trace,
I may be able like a man
To look him in the face.

For though he catch away my cloak,
My body into dust:
Yet am I sure to have a soul,
When death hath done his worst.

And though I leave a little dust
Disolved without blood:
I shall receive it safe again,
When God shall see it good.

For my Redeemer I am sure
Deth live for evermore,
And sitteth high upon the heavens,
For whom I longer sore.

Even as the Deer with deadly wounds
Escaped from the snail,
Deth hath by all the means he may
To seek unto the joy.

Of whom I hope to have a crown,
That always shall remain:
And eke enjoy a perfect peace,
For all my wo and pain.

The God that greeth all increase,
And seeketh still to love,
Abound in thee that perfect peace,
Which I do hope to have.

And I beseech the living God
To hold thee in his hands:
And with thee ever with all my heart,
The blessing of my hands.

Which I esteem of higher price
Than pearl or precious stone:
And shall endure for evermore,
When earthly things are gone.

For though the fire do consume
Our treasure and our store:
Yet shall the goodness of the Lord
Endure for evermore.

And where thou art a friend to him
That is to me full dear,
That God of might make thee amend,
When all men shall appear.

That hath shewed mercy to the meek,
And rid them out of pain.

And thus the Lord possist thy spirit,
Till we do meet again.

If thou wilt have a recompence,
Abide still in obedience.

The Exhortation of Robert Smith un-
to his Children, commonly set out
in the name of Mr. Rogers.

Give ear my Children to my words,
If from God hath dearly bought:
Lay up in your Law within your hearts,
And print it in your thought.

For I your Father have foreseen
The frail and fleshy way,
Which flesh and blood would follow vain
Even to their own decay.

For all and every living beast,
Their cry do know full well:
But Adams heirs, above the rest,
Are ready to rebel.

And all the creatures on the earth,
Full well can keep their way:
But man above all other beasts,
Is apt to go astray.

For earth and flesh is his strength,
His glory and his reign:
And unto flesh at the length,
Shall he return again.

For flesh doth flourish like a flower,
And grow up like a grass:
And is consumed in an hour,
As it is brought to pass.

In me the image of your years,
Your treasure and your trust:
Whom ye do see before your face,
Disolved into dust.

For as ye see your fathers flesh
Converted into clay:
Even so shall ye my children dear,
Consume and wear away.

The sun and moon, and eke the stars,
That serve the day and night:
The earth and every earthly thing
Shall be consumed quite.

And all the worship that is wrought
That have been heard or seen,
Shall clean consume and come to nought:
As it had never been.

Therefore that ye may follow me,
Your father and your friend,
And enter into that same life,
Which never shall have end.

I leave you here a little book,
For you to look upon:
That you may see your fathers face,
When I am dead and gone.

Who for the hope of heavenly things,
While he did here remain,
Gave over all his golden years,
In prison and in pain.

Where I among mine iron bands,
Enclined in the dark,
Not many days before my death,
Did dedicate this work.

To you mine heirs of earthly things
Which I have left behind:
That ye may read and understand,
And keep it in your mind.

That as you have seen heirs of that
Which once shall wear away:
Even so ye may possist the part
Which never shall decay.

In following of your fathers foot,
In truth and eke in love:
That ye may also be his heirs
For evermore above.

And in example to your youth,
To whom I wish all good,
F F

I preach you have a perfect faith,
And led it with my blood.
Have God always before your eyes,
In all your whole intents.
Commit not sin in your wife,
Keep his Commandments.
Altho' that ardent words of Rome,
And all her blasphemies;
And drink not of her decretals,
Nor yet of her decrees.
Grow honour to your mother dear,
Remember well her pain:
And recompence her in her age,
In like with love again.
Be always aiding at her hand,
And let her not decay:
Remember well your fathers fall,
That should have been her stay.
Grieve of your portion to the poor,
As riches doth arise:
And from the needy naked soul
Turn not away your eyes.
For he that will not hear the cry
Of such as are in need:
Shall cry himself and not be heard
When he would hope to feed.
If God have given you great increases,
And blessed will your store,
Remember ye are put in trust,
To minister the more.
Beware of foul and filthy lust,
Let whoredom have no place:
Keep clean your Pockets in the Lord,
That he may you embrace.
Ye are the Temples of the Lord,
For ye are dearly bought:
And they that do defile the same,
Shall surely come to nought.
Puffest not pride in any case,
Build not your nests too high:
But leave always before your face,
That ye be born to die.
Defraud not him that hired is,
Your labour to justify:
But give him always out of hand,
His penny for his pain.
And as ye would that other men
Against you should proceed:
Do ye the same again to them,
When they do stand in need.
And part your portion with the poor,
In money and in meat:
And feed the faintest feeble soul,
With that which ye should eat.
That when your members lacketh meat
And clothing to your back:
Ye may the better think on them
That now do live and lack.
Ask counsel also at the wife,
Give ear unto the end:
Rejoice not in the sweet rebuke
Of him that is your friend.
Be thankful always to the Lord,
With prayer and with praise:
Desire you him in all your deeds,
Eke to direct your ways.
And sit not like that faithless sort,
Whose bellies being fed,
Consume their years upon the earth:
From belly unto bed.
Seek first I say the living God;
Set him always before:
And then be sure that he will bless
Your basket and your store.
And thus if you direct your days
According to this book,
Then shall they say that see your ways,
How like me you do look.
And when you have so perfectly,
Upon your fingers ends,
Possessed all within your books,

Then grow it to your friends.
And I beseech the living God,
Replenish you with grace,
That I may leave you in the heavens,
And see you face to face.
And though the sword have cut me off
Contrary to my kind,
That I could not enjoy your love,
According to my mind:
Yet I do hope when that the heavens
Shall vanish like a smoke:
I shall receive your perfect shape,
In body and in soul.
And that I may enjoy your love,
And ye enjoy the land,
I do beseech the living God
To hold you in his hand.
Farewell my children from the world
Where ye must yet remain:
The Lord of Hosts be your defence,
Till we do meet again.
Farewell my loves, and loving wife,
My children, and my friends:
I hope to God to have you all,
When all things have their end.
And if you do abide in God,
As ye have now begun:
Your course I warrant will be short,
To have not far to run.
God grant you to go to end your years
As he shall think it best:
That ye may enter into heaven,
Where I do hope to rest.
Written at the Request of a Lady in
her Book.

If you will walk the way,
That Christ hath you assigned:
Then learn this little verse,
Which I have left behind.
Be forewarn in the truth,
Although it bear the blame:
And eke apply your youth,
To stick unto the same.
That when old age is come,
And death begins to call,
The truth may be your staff,
To stay you up withal.
And though it bring rebuke,
And cause you kiss the cross:
Yet is a reward,
To all that suffer loss.
For here we do lay out
The things that be but vain:
But we are sure to reap
The things that do remain.
For all that ye do lose,
Is but a sinful shame,
And like unto a rose,
That tarrieth but a time.
But if ye carry Christ,
And walk the perfect way,
Ye shall possess the gold,
That never shall decay.
And all your fathers goods
Shall be your recompence:
If ye confess the words
With double diligence.
Not only for to hear
His pure and perfect word,
But also to embrace
The five and eke the sword.
And if ye keep this path,
And do not run a crook:
Then shall ye meet the King
That writ this in your Book.
In that eternal joy,
That always shall remain:
Thus farewell faithful friends,
Till we do meet again.

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Legem pone.

Teach me O Lord, so walk thy ways,
My living to amend,
And I shall keep it all my days,
Even to my latest end.
Give me a mind to understand,
So shall I never start:
But I shall keep all thy precepts,
Even wholly with my heart.
Make me to go a perfect pace
In that I have begun:
For all my love and my delight,
Is in thy ways to run.
Encline my heart unto thy ways,
Set thou thereon my thought:
And let me not conjure my days,
To covet that is naught.
O quicken me in all thy ways,
The world now to despise:
And from all fond and foolish toys,
Turn thou away mine eyes.
O plant in me thy perfect Word,
Which is to me so dear:
Lay up thy Law within my heart,
To keep me still in fear.
And rid me of that great rebuke
Which I do fear full sore:
For all thy judgments and thy law
Endure for evermore.
Behold, O Lord, in thy precept,
Is all my whole delight:
O quicken me in all thy ways,
That I may walk aright.

To his Brother.

As Nature doth me bind,
Because thou art my blood,
According to my kind,
To give thee of my good.
That thou mayst have in mind
How I have run my race,
Although thou hide behind
But for a little space.
I give thee here a pearl,
The price of all my life,
For which I leave my life,
To buy it with my blood.
More worth than all the world,
Or ought that I can see,
Although it be yclad
In such a simple coat.
For when I had obtained
The pearl of such a price,
Then was I sure I gained
The way for to be wise.
It taught me how to fight,
My flesh for to despise,
To stick unto the light,
And eke to leave the lies.
In finding out my feed
With bread and bitter care,
That I might reap with joy
In everlasting year.
And have for all my loss
My travail and my pain,
A thousand times and more
Of better goods again.
And for because the good
That hath been got and gained,
And that the Lords elect
Have evermore obtained,
Is clasp'd in this book:
Which I do give to thee:
Wherein I have my part,
As thou thy self mayst see.
In which I hope thou shalt
A stock also in store:
And wilt not cease to soil

Till God hath made it more.
I will thee to honour,
Be sure thou keep it well:
For if thou do it well,
Thy part shall be in hell.
And here I testify
Before the living God,
That I desire to do
The things that are forbid.
And as my judgment is,
My body to be loath,
My heart is surely set
Thereunto to be covetous:
And fit it is to the will,
To put in me his power,
Upon his holy hill
To fight against this whore,
Faint well I am content,
If he allow it to,
To stand with all my might
The whore to overthrow.
Even with a willing mind,
The death I will outface:
And as I am assured,
The baitel to embrace.
The which which bear the truth,
How I have past the pike,
May yet aside their youth,
And learn to do the like

And though it be my lot, to let her suck my blood,
Yet am I well assured, it shall do her no good.
For she is set to kill the things she thinketh accursed,
And shall not have her fill of blood until she burst.
And when as thou shalt see, or hear of my decease,
Pray to the living God, that I may pass in peace.
And when I am at rest, and rid out of my pain:
Then will I do the like for thee to God again.
And to my woful wife, and widow desolate,
Whom I do leave behind, in such a simple state,
And compassed with tears, and mourning many one;
Be thou her flying staff when I am dead and gone.
My mouth may not express the dolor of my mind:
Nor yet my heaviness to leave her here behind.
So let her have thy heart if it may do her good.
I took her from the world, and made her like the cross;
But if she hold her own, she shall not suffer loss.
For where she had before a man unto her make,
That by the force of fire was strangled at a stake,
Now shall she have a King to be her helping hand:
To whom pertain all things that are within the land.
And eke my daughter dear, whom I bequeath to thee,
To be brought up in fear, and learn the A B C.
That she may grow in grace, and ruled by the rod:
To learn and lead her life within the fear of God.
And always have in mind, thy brother being dead,
That thou art left behind a father in my stead.
And thou my brother dear, and eke my mothers son,
Come forth out of all fear, and do as I have done.
And God shall be thy guide, and give thee such increases,
That in the flames of fire thou shalt have perfect peace.
Into eternal joy, and pass out of all pain:
Where we shall meet with mirth, and never part again.

If thou wilt do my daughter good,
Be mindful of thy brothers blood.

To all which love God unfeignedly, and intend to lead a godly life according to the Gospel, and to persevere in the same, I wish unto the end: grace and peace from God the Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

BE not afraid, most dearly beloved in our Saviour Jesus Christ, at these most perilous days, wherein I am and by the difference of God, the Prince of darkness is brought to the ken look, and rageth in his Members against the Elect of God with all cruelty, to set up again the Kingdom of wrong, is Antichrist: against whom, he that ye be strong in faith, and to resist his most devilish doctrine, with the pure Gospel is to be.

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Another Letter sent to his Wife

perfections of wordlings, and have found a friend, which will (I truly) find a meat for you if you be not already provided, desiring you in any case to abide such order, as those my friends shall appoint in God. And bear well in mind the words which I spake at our departing, that to God hath found us, and also elected us worthy to suffer with him; we may endeavour our selves to follow uprightly in this our vocation, desiring you to present my hearty Commendations to all our Friends, and especially to your Parents, keeping your friend close in any wife. Give most hearty thanks to my Friend, which only for our cause is come to *Windsor*. Continue in Prayer. Do well. Be faithful in all things. Beware of abominations; keep you clean from sin. Pray for me, as I do for you. I have sent you a piece of God's word a token, and most entirely desire you to read me word if ye lack any thing. The Lord Jesus preserve you and yours, Amen. From *Newgate* the 15th of April.

By your Husband here and in Heaven,
Robert Smith.

The foretold Robert Smith the valiant and constant Martyr of Christ, thus replenished, as ye have heard with the fortitude of Gods Spirit, was condemned at *London* by *Boner* their Bishop, the 12th day of July, and suffered under *Uxbridge* the 8th day of August, who as he had been a comfortable instrument of God before to all them that were in Prison with him: so now also being at the Stake, he did not least comfort the people, there standing about him, willing them to think well of his cause, and not to doubt but that his body dying in that quarrel, should rise again to life. And said he, I doubt not but that God will shew you some token thereof. At length he being together as in a lump like a black coal, all men thinking him for dead, suddenly rose upright before the people, lifting up the stumps of his arms, and clapping the hands together, declaring a rejoicing heart to them; and so bending down again, and hanging over the fire, he slept in the Lord, and ended this mortal life.

LETTERS.

A Summation Letter of Robert Smith, to Anne Smith his Wife.

SEEK first to love God, dear Wife, with your whole heart, and then shall it be easy to love your Neighbour.

Be friendly to all Creatures, and especially to your own Soul.

Be always an enemy to the Devil and the World, but especially to your own Flesh.

In hearing of good things joyne the ears of your head and heart together.

Seek unity and quietness with all men, but specially with your Confidence; for he will not easily be intrusted.

Love all men, but especially your Enemies.

Hate the sins that are past, but especially those to come.

Be as ready to further your Enemy, as he is to hinder you; that you may be the Child of God.

Desire not that which Christ hath cleansed, lest his blood be laid to your charge.

Remember that GOD hath hedged in your tongue with the teeth and lips, that it might speak under correction.

Be ready at all times to look to your brothers eyes, but especially in your own eye. For he that warreth other than that he himself is faulty, doth give his neighbour the clear wine, and keepeth the dregs to himself.

Beware of riches and worldly honour: for without understanding, prayer, and fasting, it is a snare, and altogether, all which are like to continuing fire, of which if a man take a little, it will warm him, but if he take too much, it will consume him. For it is hard for a man to carry fire in his bosom, and not to be burnt.

Shew mercy unto the Saints for Christs sake, and Christ shall reward you for the Saints sake. Among all

other Prisoners visit your own Soul: for it is included in a perilous Prison.

If you will love God, hate evil, and ye shall obtain the reward of well doing.

Thus fare you well good Anne. Have heartily commended to all that love the Lord unfeignedly. I beseech you have me in your prayer while I am living, and I am assured the Lord will accept it. Bring up my Children and yours in the fear of God, and then shall I not fail but receive you together in the everlasting Kingdom of God, which I go unto.

Your Husband, Robert Smith.

If ye will meet with me again,
Forake not Christ for any pain.

Another Letter sent to his wife Anne Smith.

THE Grace of Almighty God be always with you, Anne. Love and comfort, strengthen, and stability you in all things, that what his blessed will is, ye may follow faithfully, to his honourary comfort and your own salvation, and the good example to our Posterity.

I have received your Letter, and I praise God, without any danger: nevertheless, if Gods marvellous goodness had not brought it to my hands by *Peter* their Keeper, there might have risen a great trouble upon the same. For well ye know *George* is a wicked man, utterly without all fear of God; and if he had gotten it, the Council fire had sent it. But *Peter* like an honest man never opened it. Wherefore I desire you from henceforth let your Letters be delivered at *Chancery Lane* end, to my *Sister Tankersfield*, and she may deliver them safe into my hand. We are very freightly kept, I praise God of my mercy. Nevertheless Almighty God is always with us. I have sent you that ye wrote for. The two Nieces that should have gone by *Nicholas* to our Friends, I send now, and desire them to accept them as a poor Prisoners gift, until God give more largely. *Thomas Jeson* sendeth you a Penny, I pray you give him thanks for the same, and *Dirck* also. I have sent you of that little that I have now two pieces of Spanish money. The Lord Jesus have you in his custody, and find you good speed. In any case keep your self close, I doubt much of your walkings. Have my hearty Commendations to your Parents, and desire them with you to have me in their Prayers. Be fervent in Prayer, pray, pray, pray, that God would of his mercy put up with *St. Seward*, and look on his People. Tell my Brother, with Commendations, that the next comer shall bring up the Epistle and Exhortation, I have written all this fortnight for my Lady, yet, and almost done nothing else. I would have sent him the Articles of *William Flower*, and my talk with him, if I could have delivered it from the Prison. The Holy Ghost keep you, I would ye could make a means, for your money, to send a Cheefe to *Peter*, for I find much kindness at his hands. Ye shall always hear of me at *Tankersfield* house. All the Congregation salute you. Fare you most heartily well.

I have not yet (tell my Brother) spoken with the person. There hath come so freightly a Commandment, that no man might come to us, because *Toucy* cursed the Pope at the Gallows. They thought it to be our counsel.

Yours, and ever yours,

Robert Smith.

Another Letter sent to his Wife.

GRACE, Mercy, and Peace from God the Father, and from the Lord Jesus Christ, be with you, dear Wife, now and ever, Amen, and prevent your ways through his holy Spirit, that ye may in all your words and works please God, and deserve his honour and your salvation, that they which fee your conversation may in all things learn to do like, even to the utter shame and confusion of the wicked and ungodly. Amen.

I sent you by Mr. *Alexander* a Purse with money. I have certain Tolent for you, sent by *Prison* *Felix* Iowato you, that is, from Mr. *Hawkes* 12 d. from Mr. *Simon*

Anno

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Stephen 12 d. from his Wife A.d. from Master *Hais* live new groats, from M. *Ardeley* 12 d. from Master *Bradford* 12 d. which Men be all gone to death, except Master *Bradford*, he beheaden still. There is also gone to death *Nicholas Chamberlain*, *Thom. Olymond*, *William Hamford*. There is also Committed the Monday *Drick Carver*, *Thomas Jeson*, *John Lander*, and *William Vellay* is reprieved. Pray to God to have mercy upon his People, and bid my Brother, if he can conveniently, come down on Monday next; if he cannot well do it, let him abide at home. Have me heartily commended to your parents. I have sent each of them a token, a bowed groat, and desire them for Gods sake to help us with their Prayers. Have little *Katherine* in mind. Commend me unto all good friends. Continue in Prayer. Beware of vanity. Let not God be dishonoured in your conversation, but be a good Matron, keep your self inobedient. The peace of God rest with you for ever, Amen.

My Brother *Jeson* sendeth to you a token, to your Mother a token, and to *Katherine* a token, three pence. *John Lander* sendeth you a piece of Spanish Money. *Father Harvill* a piece of a piece. *W. Andrews* sendeth you a raft of Ginges, and I send your Mother one, and a Nutmeg. I send *Katherine* Comfits for a token, to me. I have sent you a key-clog for a token.

Your husband Robert Smith,

A Letter sent to his friend.

THE eternal God keep you in his fear. I have hearty commendations unto you and your husband, and beseeching Almighty God to preserve you in well doing, and in perfect knowledge of his Christ, that ye may be found faultless in the day of the Lord. I have heard say that my friend is given over to vanity; it breaketh my heart, not only to hear that he so doth, but also to teacheth other that it is unlawful to go to all abomination, which now stand in the Idol Temple. Nevertheless, dear friend, ye are not moved to follow him; for they have no inheritance with God and Christ. But look, that by going into the Idol Temple, ye defile not the Temple of God; for light hath no fellowship with darkness. But look what the Lord hath commanded, that do. For if not going to Church were without perfection, they would not learn that they less. But all things that is sweet to the Flesh, is allowed of the Fleishly. The Lord shall reward every Man according to his works, and he that leadeth into captivity, shall go into captivity, and he that by the Fleishly Man is led in the Flesh, shall of the Flesh reap corruption. The Lord Jesus give thee his holy Spirit, Amen.

I have sent thee an Epistle in metre, which is not to be laid up in my coffin, but in thy heart.

Seek peace, and pursue it. Fear God, love God with all thy Heart, with all thy Soul, and with all thy strength.

Thy friend and all Mens in Christ Jesus, Robert Smith.

Scribed in much haste from N. the twelfth of May.

Robert Smith to all Faithful Servants of Christ, exhorting them to be strong under Persecution.

Contents thy self with patience, With Christ to bear the Crook of pain, Which can and will thee recompense.

A thousand fold with joys again. Let nothing can thy heart to quail, Lanced out thy blood, hale up thy jail.

And below sure thou shalt attain, Unto the pure that shall remain.

For evermore.

The burning of Stephen Harwood, and Thomas Full, martyred for the testimony of the Gospel.

About this time dyed also by cruel fire these two Martyrs of God, that is to say, Stephen Harwood at Stratford, and Thomas Full at Ware. Which both two, as they were about one time burned with the fore-

mentioned Robert Smith and George Tankersfield, although in sundry places, so were they also committed and openly Condemned together with them. Their prociety, because it was joyed all in one with the prociety of Robert Smith, and other of the same company above mentioned, I thought it superfluous again to repeat the same; save that of Thomas Full this to be headen, which was as he in his last appearing the 12 of July, was moved by the Bishop to revoke his opinion, thus he answered; No (said he) my Lord, for there is no truth cometh out of your Mouth, but all lies. Ye condemn Men and will hear the Truth. Where can ye find any anointing or greasing in Gods Book? I speak nothing but the Truth, and I am certain that it is the Truth that I speak. This answer of him only I find noted by the Register; although how slenderly these Registers have dealt in uttering such matters, that is, in omitting those things which most worthy were to be known, by their doings it is easy to be seen. But to be short, after their answers made both he and Thomas Full were for their faithful perseverance Condemned together by the Bishop in his customed place, to be burned, and so (as before ye have heard) finished their Martyrdoms one at Stratford, the other at Ware, in the Month of August, and your above said August.

The constant Martyrdom of William Hale, burned at Barnet.

OF the same company of these ten above recorded, which were set up to Bishop Boner by Sir *Nicholas Hale* and other Commissioners, in the company of George Tankersfield and Robert Smith, was also William Harvill Thorp in the County of Essex, who likewise being examined with the rest, the 12 of July, received with them also the sentence of Condemnation. Giving this exhortation withal to the lookers on: Alas good People, said he, beware of this Idolater, and this Antichrist, pointing unto the Bishop of London, who was delivered to the Sheriff as an Heretic to be burned, who sent him to Barnet, where about the latter end of August he most constantly sealed up his Faith with the confirming of his Body by cruel fire, yielding his Soul unto the Lord Jesus his only and most sure Redeemer.

George King, Thomas Leyes, John Wade, singled in Prison, and were buried in the fields.

YE heard before of ten sundry persons sent out of *Newgate* by Master Hale and other Commissioners, to be examined of Boner Bishop of London. Of whom six already have been executed in several places, as hath been shewed; whose names were Elizabeth Warr, George Tankersfield, Robert Smith, Stephen Harwood, Thomas Full, and William Hale. Other three, to wit, John Wade, George King, Thomas Leyes, and John Wade sickening in *Lodowick Tower*, were so weak that they were removed into sundry houses within the City of London, and there departed and were cast out into the fields and there buried by night of the faithful Brethren, when none of the day durst do it, proper metum Judaeorum. The last that the Story remained of the foretold company was John Layse or Layfild, the daughter-in-law to Master *John* and Elizabeth Warr, Martyrs; but because he was respiced to a longer day, her Body and Martyrdom we will defer till the Month of January the next year following.

William Andrews.

HE like Catholic charity was also shewed upon William Andrews of Harley, in the County of the Isle of Essex, Carpenter, who was brought to *Newgate* the first day of April, Anno 1555, by *John* and *Elizabeth* Layfild, the daughter-in-law to Master *John* and *Elizabeth* Warr, Martyrs; but because he was respiced to a longer day, her Body and Martyrdom we will defer till the Month of January the next year following.



The Martyrdom of William Hale.



A Picture describing the strait handling of the
close prisoners in Tollards Tower.

A Letter sent to Edward Southwell.

A L
Sir
1900
1900

Richard Southwell

W. Andrew
twice before
H. Boney.
W. Andrew
through
strait hand
ling, died in
Newgate.
W. Andrew
buried in
the field.

*The Martyrdom of ROBERT SAUNDERS, -
and his defence of Christ's Gospel.*

Mr. Foster
Justice p
secutor of
Christ's P
ple.

Rob. Sa
in K. E
word c
godly
Preach

Minister at *Barfold* in *Suffolk*, where he taught faithfully and fruitfully that flock which the Lord had committed to his charge, so long as the time would suffer him to do his duty.

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In conclusion, when such as should better him lifted him at home with his Wife, they bringing word to the Officers and the People immediately flocking about his house to see him, he was met by a great company, and he took him in the night flight, because they durst not do it in the day time, for fear of trouble and tumult; although good *Saunders* did nothing withstand them at all, but he privately yielded himself into their custody, and put him on board. When they had thus taken him, they put him into *Windsor*, where he pulled his time weekly among his Godly Brethren, so long as he was permitted to continue there. Howbeit not long after, being taken from thence, he was carried (through the malice of the wicked men) to *Northwich*, where the said *Billicius* called *Hopson* (whether he be Dr. *Dunning* or no, I cannot tell) cruelly against him, as if he were a blasphemer, and a blasphemer, and a blasphemer, and so forth. Men in that time of persecution, as we have seen, were very cruel to the poor, and they had not their matches for frauds and cruel tormenting of the Bodies of the Saints among all the rest before, but specially through the procuring of *Dunning*, so that

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The cruel
handling of
Rev. Samuel
in prison.

not.
Samuel
brought to
burning.

in a flumber, at which time one clad all in white fenc'd to fland before him, which miniftr'd comfort unto him by thefe words; *Samuel, Samuel, be of good cheer, and take a good heart unto thee. For after this day thou fhalt never be either hungry or thirfty.* Which thing caus'd him to be glad, and to be comforted, and to be burned, and that from time till he fhould flirre, he felt neither hunger nor thirft. And this declared he to the end, as he faid, that many might behold the wonderful works of God. Many more like matters concerning the great comfort he had of Chrift in his afflictions, he could not tell, but he left them to the judgement of others. And thus he ended his relation of his afflictions, and of the great comfort which he receiv'd thereby. And yet if it had pleased God, I would he had been lefs modeft in that behalf, that the love and care that Chrift hath of his people might have the more appeared thereby unto us by fuch plain Arguments, for the more plentiful comfort of the godly, and the better and more plentiful testimonies of the fame in the holy Scriptures already

No lefs memorable it is, and worthy alfo to be noted, concerning the three Ladders which he told to divers he faw in his fleep, fet up toward Heaven; of the which there was one fometwat longer than the reft, but yet at length they became one joyning (as it were) all three together. This was a forewarning revealed unto him, declaring undoubtedly the Martyrdom final of himfelf, and from the death of two honeft women, which were brought forth, and fuffered in the fame TOWNSHON after.

As this goodly Martry was going to the fire, there came a certain Maid to him, which took him about the neck and killed him, who being marked by them that were present, was sought for the next day after to be had to Prison and burned, as the very party her self informed me: Howbeit, as God of his goodness would have it, she escaped their fiery hands, keeping her self secret in the Town a good while after. But as this Maid, called *Rafe Notingham*, was marvellously preferred by the Providence of God; so there were other two honest women did fall into the rage and fury of that time. The

The name of this maid was *Rafe Nottingham*.

The cruell burning of Robert Samuel, Martyr



The martyrdom of
 Rev. Samuel
 at Ipswich,
 Anno 1555
 August 31.

Two godly ones
women, the wife
one a Brew-
ers wife, the Ch

Shoemakers
wife, ap-
pointed,

bands again: I know well, faith she, that it is lawful enough to fly away, which remedy you may use, if you will. But my case standeth otherwise. I am tied to my Husband, and have beside a fort of young Children at home; and then I know not how my Husband, being a Carnal man, will take my departure from him; therefore I am minded, for the love of Christ and his Truth, to stand to the extremity of the matter.

such as look to be saved, to be obedient unto them.

Bish. Is not the holy Church to be believed also?

Ans. Yes, if it be builded upon the Word of God.

Bish. The Bishop said to Coe, that he had charge of his soul.

Coe. Have ye to my Lord? Then if ye go to the Devil for your sins, where shall I become?

Bish. Do you not believe as your Father did? Was not he an honest man?

Coe. It is written, that after Christ hath suffered, There shall come a People with the Prince that shall destroy both City and Sanctuary. I pray you shew me whether this destruction was in my fathers time, or now?

Bish. The Bishop nor answering his question, asked him whether he would not obey the Kings Laws.

Coe. As far as they agree with the Word of God, I will obey them.

Bish. * Whether they agree with the Word of God or not, we be bound to obey them, if the King were an Infidel.

Coe. If *Sydrach*, *Myasac*, and *Abednego* had to do. *Nebuchadnezzar* had not confuted the living God.

Bish. Then the Bishop told him, that these 2. years we have been governed with such Kings.

Coe. My Lord, why were ye then dumb, and did not speak or bark?

Bish. I durst not for fear of death: and thus they ended.

But after this done, it was reported that I railed; wherefore I called it to memory, and wrote this my railing, that light should not be taken for darkness, nor sin for holiness, and the Devil for God, who ought to be feared and honoured both now and ever. Amen.

This *Roger Cox*, an aged Father, after his sundry troubles and conflicts with his Adversaries, at length was committed to the fire at *Yoxford* in the County of *Suffolk*, where he most blessedly ended his aged years, Anno 1555. *Menf. Septemb.*

The Mar- tyrdom of Roger Cox was committed to the fire at *Yoxford*, Anno 1555. *Menf. Septemb.*



The burning of five Martyrs at Canterbury.

Who upon the Third day of *August* were brought before *Thomas* the foresaid Bishop of *Dover* and his Complices, and there were both jointly and severally examined upon certain Articles, touching the Sacrament of their Altar, Auricular Confession, and other such like.

To the which the said *Catmer* (being first examined) made answer on this wise; Christ (quoth he)

Thomas Cob of Haverhill, Butcher, Martyr.

Anno 1555.

Ver and besides this for said *Roger Cox*, *William Allen*, *James Abbot of Stokelyland*, *Robert Samuel*, *Thomas Catmer*, *Anthony Burward*, and others more, in the same year, upon the 12. of *August*, was also with them condemned *Thomas Cob* of *Haverhill*, Butcher, executed in the Month of *September*.

Damning the bloody Chancellor of *Norwich*; first, whether he believed that Christ is really and substantially in the Sacrament of the Altar; answered, That the Body of Christ, born of the blessed Virgin, was in Heaven, and otherwise (he said) he would not answer, because he had read in the Scriptures, that Christ did ascend and did never descend since; and therefore said that he had not learned in the Scripture, that Christ should be in the Sacrament.

Furthermore, being demanded whether he would obey the Laws of the Realm of *England*, made for the only of faith, or no? he answered, That his body should be at the King and Queens commandment so far as the Law of God would suffer, &c. In fine, the said *Thomas Cob* being condemned the same 12. day of *August*, with the other Fellow-Martyrs, was burned in the Town of *Thetford*, Anno 1555. *Menf. Septemb.*

The Mar- tyrdom of George Catmer, Robert Streater, Anthony Burward, George Brodbridge, and James Tutty.

Now from *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, to return again into the Dioceses of *Canterbury*, we have to intreat of five worthy Martyrs, whose blood in the same year and month of *September* was spilt for the true testimony of Christ, and his Gospels cause. The Names of the which five Martyrs, were these:

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Anno 1555.

And, that he did not so believe; for you do maintain Heretic and Idolatry (quoth he) in that ye teach to worship a false God in the Sacrament, enclosed in a Box. It is you that are the malignant Church; for in your Church there are twenty things said against the Law of God.

The like objection was articulated also against *Anthony Burward*, who also said, that their Sacrament was made an Idol.

After him was *George Brodbridge* demanded what he said to those Articles. Who answered, that he would not be confuted of a Priest, because he could not forgive his own sins. And further said, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is not the real Body of our Saviour Christ, but Bread given in the remembrance of him. Moreover, as for holy Bread, we have holy Water, and your Mass, I do (quoth he) utterly detest them.

And last of all, did also *James Tutty* make and confirm their said first former answers.

And therefore they were all five condemned to be burned as Heretics, and so were they all, in one fire at *Canterbury* abroad, about the sixth day of *September* then next following.

The Mar- tyrdom of John Glover and Robert Glover.

Thomas Hayward and John Goreway, Martyrs.

As though the rage and vehemency of this terrible Persecution in *Queen Maries* days did chiefly light in *London*, *Essex*, *Norfolk*, *Suffolk*, and *Kent*, as hath been partly already declared; yet notwithstanding, besides the same, we find but few parts of this Realm free from this kind of fire. And first to begin with the Dioceses of *Litchfield* and *Cowentry*, there were laid these two to be condemned and also burned about the middle of the said Month of *September* at the Town of *Litchfield*; whose names were *Thomas Hayward* and *John Goreway*.

The Mar- tyrdom of John Glover and Robert Glover.

The persecution and story of Mr. Robert Glover Gentleman, and of John Glover his Brother, in the Dioceses of *Litchfield*.

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And as touching this for said *John Glover* who through his manifold afflictions seemed to have a deeper taste and contemplation of spiritual things, joynt with mortification from all worldly cares more than the other had; although sufficient relation be made before in our first edition to be seen; yet concerning his spiritual conflicts, and the Loads graven working in him, be considered the consideration thereof is both worthy of memory, and the example may work experience peradventure to the comfort of the godly, it shall not be hurtful to rehearse some part of the same. So is pleased God to give him by his heavy hand of inward afflictions and grievous trials, painful upon this man, that though he suffered not the

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time with good Confidence (God I take to record) moved all such as I had conference vithal to be no dalliers in Gods matters, but to they themselves, as I have great a light and knowledge, hearty, earnest, confident, and fable in so manifest a Truth, and not to give place one jot contrary to the same. Now thought I, if I shall withdraw my self, and make any this to pull my own neck out of the collar, I shall give great offence to my weak Brethren in Church, and advantage to the Enemies to flander Gods Word. It will be said, He hath been a great bolder of others to be earnest and fervent, but to fear no worldly perils or dangers, but he himself will give no such exam-ple.

Wherefore I thought it my bounden duty, both to God and Man, (as it were) by the great goodness of God marvellously called and appointed hereto, to sit aside all fears, perils and dangers, all worldly respects and considerations, and like as I had heretofore according to the measure of my small gift within the compass of my vocation and calling, from the bottom of my heart unfeignedly moved, exhorted and persuaded all that profess Gods Word, manfully to persist in the defence of the same, not with sword and violence, but with suffering and loss of life, rather than to defile themselves again with the wretched abomination of the Romish Antichrist; so the hour being come, with my fact and example to ratify, confirm, and protest the same to the hearts of all true Believers: and to this end, by the mighty assistance of Gods holy Spirit, I relieved my self, with much peace of Confidence, willingly to furnish whatsoever the Romish Antichrist should do against me, and the Rother because I understood the Bishops coming to be at hand, and considered that poor mens Conferences should be then sharply assaulted. So remained I prisoner in Coventry by the space of ten or eleven days, being never called to any answer of the Masters, contrary to the Law of Laws of the Realm, they having neither Statute, Law, the Realm, Proclamation, Letter, Warrant, nor commandment for my apprehension. They would have laid all the matter some again upon the Summer: who being examined, denied it before their faces (as one of my friends told me) saying, that he had no commandment concerning me, but for my elder brother. So lay they their extreme dogs against me to their charge at the great day.

The second day after the Bishops coming to Coventry, Mr. Warren came to the Guildhall, and willed the chief Taylor to carry me to the Bishop. I laid to Mr. Warren charge the cruel flogging of my death; and when he would have excused himself, I told him he could not wipe his hands so; he was as guilty of my blood before God, as though he had murdered me with his own hands.

And so he departed from me, saying, I needed not to fear if I would be of his belief. God open his eyes if it be his will, and give him grace to believe, which he and all of his inclination shall find (I fear) too true for their parts; that is, that all they which cruelly, maliciously, and pitifully persecute, molest, and afflict the Members of Christ for their Confidence sake, and for the true testimony of Christs Word, and cause them much unjustice to be slain and murdered, without speedy reproof, resistance like overbearing, where they shall with and defy, cry and call, but in vain (as their right Conscience Epule did) to be refreshed of them, whom in this world they contemned, despised, diddained, as Slaves, Misers, and Wretches.

When I came before the Bishop in one Denon's house, he began with this Protestation, that he was my Bishop for lack of a better, and willed me to submit my self.

I said to him, I am not come to accuse my self; what have you to lay to my charge?

He asked me whether I was learned? I answered, I was finally learned.

My Master Chancery standing by, said, I was a Master of Arts in Art.

Then my Lord laid to my charge my not coming to the Church.

Here I might have dallied with him, and put him to his proofs, forasmuch as I had not been for a long fa-

son in his Diocese, neither was any of the Citizens able to prove any such matter against me. Nevertheless Anno 1555. I answered him through Gods merciful help, that I neither had nor would come at their Church as long as their Maf was used there, to save (if I had them) five hundred lives. I willed him to shew me one jot or tittle in the Scriptures for the proof and defence of the Maf.

He answered, he came to teach, and not to be taught. I was content (I told him) to learn of him, so far as he was able to teach me by the Word of God.

Bish. Who shall judge the Word?

Glover. Christ was content that the people should judge his Doctrine by searching the Scriptures, and so was Paul; so methinks ye should claim no further privilege nor prebeminence than they had.

Thus spake Robert Glover, offering him further, that he was content the Primitive Church next to the Apostles time, should judge betwixt the Bishop and the people. But he refused also to be judged by that. Then he said he was his Bishop, and therefore he must believe him.

Glover. If you say black is white, my Lord (quoth Glover) must I also say you say, and believe the false because you say it is so? Master Chancellor here noted me to be arrogant, because I would not give place to my Bishop.

Glover. If you will be believed because you are a Bishop, why find you fault with the people that believed Mr. Latimer, Mr. Ridley, Mr. Hooper, and the residue of them that were Bishops?

Bish. Because they were Heretics.

Glover. And may you not err (quoth I) as well as they? Where was I for learning at my Lords hand to perforce me, and he oppressed me only with his authority. He did I was diffident from the Church, and asked me where my Church was before King Edwards time?

I defined him to shew me where their Church was down where in Helias's time; and what outward there it had in Christs time.

Bish. Helias's complaint was only of the Ten Tribes that fell from Davids house, whom he called Heretics.

Glover. You be not able to see any Prophecy that the other two Tribes had at that same time. My Lord making no answer to that, Mr. Rogers, one of the Masters of the City, cometh in the mean season, taking upon him as though he would answer the Text. But my Lord forthwith commanded me to be committed to some Tower, if they had any besides the Common Goal, saying, He would at the end of his Visitation of his Diocese, weed out such filly Wolves. Mr. Rogers willed him to content himself for that night till he had taken further order for me. Even where it pleased, you, said I to my Lord, I am content; and so I was returned at that time to the Common Goal again from whence I came.

On the Friday morning, being the next day after, I had warning by one of the Prisoners to prepare my self to ride with my Fellow-Prisoners the same day to Litchfield, there to be beheld at the Bishops pleasure. Which trying at the first, something discouraged me, fearing lest I should by the means of my great sickness, through extreme handling (which I looked for) have died in the Prison before I should come to my answer: But the Bishop rebuked immediately with Gods Word this infidelity by my self, and by the false corrected mine own misfeeling, and comforted me in this manner. What make I of God? I do not his Power as great in Litchfield as in Coventry? Doth not his Promise extend as well to Litchfield as to Coventry? Was he not with Habakkuk, Daniel, Mordecai, and Jeremy, in their most dangerous imprisonments? He knoweth what things we have need of. He will number all the hairs of our head. The Sparrow falls not on the ground, without our heavenly Fathers will; much more will he care for us if we be not fathers, whom he hath made worthy to be witnesses of his Truth. So long as we put our trust in him, we shall never be defrauded of his help, neither in prison, neither in sickness, in health, neither in life, nor in death; neither before Kings, nor before Bishops, nor the Devil himself, much

less of his Ministers shall be able to prevail against us. With such like Meditations I was ever busy that they could not provide horses enough for us, fild, let them carry us in a Dung-cart for lack of horses, if they list; I am well content for my part.

Nowwithstanding, at the request of my Friends, I wrote to Master Major, and his Brethren, briefly requiring them that I might make answer here to such things as should be laid to my charge: The Contents of which Letter were these.

A Letter of Mr. Robert Glover to the Mayor of Coventry and his Brethren.

I beseech you to understand, that it is not unknown, as well to the Keeper of the Goal, as to the Inhabitants of this town where I dwell, that I am a man subject to very great sickness, and have been by the space of eleven years and more, so that it is not like that I shall be removed from peril and danger of life. And because I was here committed to ward by your appointment, I would gladly here answer to such things as should be laid to my charge. If I may obtain this of you, I have cause thankfully to acknowledge your indifference; if otherwise, I pray God it be not laid to your charge at the great day, where every man shall have full judgment without respect of person.

Your prisoner in the Goal, always mindful of you in my poor prayer,
Robert Glover.

But I received no answers of my Letters to nor for I conjectured, that when the Bishop and the Chancellor had seen them, it moved them the rather to have me away, being more desirous (as I suppose) to have had me dispatched privily in Prison, than to comely to my answer. The manner of intreating and using me at my first coming to Prison, did partly declare the same.

Certain Sergeants and Constables of Coventry, being appointed to have the conveying of us to Litchfield, to be delivered there to one Jephthah the Chancellors man, sent from Coventry with us for the same purpose, we were commanded to horsback about eleven or twelve of the clock on Friday, being Market day, that we might be the more gazed and wondered at: and to kindle the people hearts more against us, they did proclaim a Letter concerning a Proclamation made for calling in, and dissolving of all such Books as truly expound in, and interpret the Scriptures. We came to Litchfield about four of the clock at night, and had leave to repose our selves for our Supper time. We dined at the sign of the Swallow, where we were entertained friendly and gently.

After Supper Jephthah repaired to us, whom we suspected that upon Saturdays we might rest our selves that night, being unprovided of any thing to help our selves withal in the Prison at that present. He was content at the first (as he seemed) but afterwards, whether it was by perdition, or rather (as I seemed to me) he did but of policy put off the time, he had gathered a multitude to flare and wonder upon us, and also that we should provide nothing to ease our selves withal; he revoked his promise, and so by content we were had to the Prison, the multitude wondering at us. I willed Jephthah before to execute his Office with mercy, telling him that they should have judgment without mercy, that shewed no mercy. And this mercy I found at his hand.

He put me into a Prison that same night, where I continued till I was condemned, in a place next to the Dungeon, narrow of rooms, strong of building, and very dark, with small light, and there allowed he me abundance of straw, in stead of my bed, without chain, form, or any other thing else to ease my self withal. God of his mercy gave me great patience through prayer that night, so that it had been his pleasure, it could have been contented to have ended my life: But Jephthah and one Perley the Bishops man, which afterwards was my continual Keeper for the most part, came to me in the mornings, to whom I said, This is a great extremity, God lend us patience, and no more.

Then they were content that I should have a bed of mine own procurement. But I was allowed no help, neither night nor day, nor company of any man, notwithstanding my great sickness; nor yet paper, pen nor ink, or book, saving my New Testament in Latin, and a Prayer-Book which I privily stole in.

Within two days after, Master Chancellor, and one Tuke, a Prebendary there, came to me into my Prison. Master Chancellor exhorted me to conform my self to my Lord and to the Church. He willed to my Soul no more hurt than to his own, helike because I had laid to his charge at Coventry the flogging of my blood unjustly and wrongfully.

Now thus the second time I answered Mr. Chancellor his Exhortation, That I refused not to be ruled by that Church that was content to be ordered and governed by the Word of God.

Chan. He asked me how I knew the Word of God, but by the Church.

Glover. The Church sheweth which is the Word of God, therefore the Church is above the Word of God. This is not a good reason in learning, said I to Master Chancellor. For it is like unto this; John shewed the people who was Christ; Ergo, John was above Christ. Or else, I have a man that knoweth not the Kingdom, and I tell him who the King is: am I therefore above the King?

Mr. Chancellor said, he came not to reason with me, and so departed. So remained I without any further comfort of any man by the space of eight days, until the Bishops coming: In which time I gave my self continually to prayer, and meditation of the merciful promises of God, made unto all, without exception of person, that call upon the Name of his dear Son Jesus Christ. I found in my self daily amendment of health of body, increase of peace in conscience, many consolations from God, by the help of his holy Spirit; and sometimes as it were a taste and glimmering of the life to come; all for and his only Son Jesus Christs sake: to him be all praise for ever and ever.

The Enemy could not many times find ways to afflict me, often oblecting to my Confidence mine own unworthiness, through the greatness of the benefit to be counted among the number of them that should suffer for Christ, for his Gospels sake. Against him I replied with the Word of God on this sort, What were all those whom God had chosen from the beginning, to be his witnesses, and to carry his name before the world? Were they not men, as Paul and Barnabas said, Similitur ob- noxi peccatis, as well subject to wickedness, sins, and imperfections, as other men be? Even such were Noah, Abraham, David, and all the rest. Quis prior dedis illis, as Paul faith, Who gave first unto them? And also speaking to every man, What haist thou that thou recoverest not? Likewise John, All have received of his fulness; they were no bringers of any goodness to God, but altogether unworthy receivers. They chose not God first, but he chose them. They loved not God first, but he loved them first. Yea, he both loved and chose them when they were his enemies, full of sin and corruption, and void of all goodness. Esi Dominum omnium, deus in omnes & super omnes in est. 140.

He is and will be fill the same God, as full in mercy, as mighty, as able, as ready, as willing to forgive sins without respect of person, to the worlds end, of all them that call upon him. Prope est Dominus omnibus invocantibus eum: God is near, he is at hand, he is with all, with all (I say) and refuseth none, excepteth none that faithfully in true repentance call upon him, in what hour, what place, or what time, wherever it be. It is not arrogancy nor presumption in any man, to barter God (as it were) with his promise, and of duty to claim and challenge his alidelphe, and assistance in all our perils, dangers and distress, calling upon him, not in the confidence of our own goodness, but in the trust of his promise made in Christ, in whom, and by whom, and for whose sake, whosoever boldly approaches to the Mercy seat of the Father, is sure to receive whatsoever is expedient or necessary, either for body or soul, in more ample wife and larger manner, than he can well with, or dare desire. His Word cannot lie, Call upon me in the day of trouble, and I will hear thee, and thou shalt praise me.

Mr. Glover
gladly as
guilt the
exception
of the law
my is that
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ner.

I answered the enemy also on this manner: I am a sinner, and therefore unworthy to be a witness of this funeral, and therefore unworthy to deny his Word, because I trust. What then? Must I deny his Word, because I am not worthy to profess it? What bring I to pass in so doing, but add sin to sin? What is greater sin than to deny the truth of Christ's Gospel? as Christ himself beareth witness, *He that is ashamed of me or of my words, of him I will be ashamed before my Father and all his Angels.* I might also by like reason forbear to do any of God's Commandments.

When I am provoked to pray, the enemy may say to me, I am not worthy to pray; therefore I shall not pray; and in like manner of all the Commandments, I shall not forbear swearing, stealing, murdering, because I am not worthy to do any Commandment of God. These be the delusions of the Devil, and Satans suggestions, which must be overcome by continuance of Prayer, and with the Word of God applied, according to the measure of every mans gift, against all assaults of the Devil.

Mr. Glover
brought a
gain before
the Bishop.

At the Bishops first coming to Litchfield, after mine imprisonment, I was called into a By-chamber next to my Prison, to my Lord. Before whom, when I came, and saw none but his Officers, Chaplains and Servants, except it were an old Priest, I was partly amazed, and lifted up my heart to God for his merciful help and assistance.

Reasoning
between
Mr. Glover
and the Bishop.
The new
Church is
always
built up
on the
foundation
of the
Apostles;
which
though it
appear not
always
inward
light, the
truth is in
the time,
not in the
Church.
Times did
alter, and
with the
times the
enemies at
the Church
may arise,
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nothing at all, according
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Persecution is
severer, the Truth
of the Church
abundantly
more, sometimes
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nothing at all, according
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My Lord asked me how I liked my imprisonment, I proceeded to persuade me to be a Member of his Church, which had continued for many years. As for our Church (as he called it) it was not known he said, but lately in King Edwards time.

I profess my self to be a Member of that Church (said I) that is built upon the Foundation of the Apostles and Prophets, Jesus Christ being the Head corner stone; and so I alleged the place of St. Paul to the Ephesians. And this Church hath been from the beginning (said I) thought it bear no glorious show before the world, being ever, for the most part, under the Cross and Affliction, contemned, despised and persecuted; My Lord on the other side, contended that they were the Church.

Glover. So cried all the Clergy against the Prophets of Jerusalem, saying, *Temple Domini, Temple Domini, The Church, the Church, &c.* And always when I was about to speak any thing, my Lord cried, Hold thy peace; I command thee by the virtue of obedience to hold thy peace, calling me a proud arrogant Heretic.

Glover. I willed my Lord to burden me with some speculations, and then to convince me with some Scriptures and good Learning.

Then my Lord began to move certain questions. I refused to answer him in corners, requiring that I might make my answer openly. He said I should answer him there. I stood with him upon that point until he said, I should to prison again, and there have neither meat nor drink till I had answered him.

Then I lifted up my heart to God, that I might stand and agree with the Doctrine of his most holy Word.

Byk. The first question was this, How many Sacraments Christ instituted to be used in the Church?

Glover. The Sacrament of Baptism, said I, and the Sacrament that he instituted at his last Supper.

Byk. No more, said he?

Glover. To all those that declare a true and unfeigned repentance, a sure hope, a true and confident faith in the death of Christ, to such, Ministers (I grant) have authority to pronounce, by the power of Gods Word, the remission of sins.

Here interrupting me, he would needs bear me in hand that I called this a Sacrament. I would not greatly contend with him in that point, because that matter was of no great weight or importance; although he in so doing did me wrong, for I called it not a Sacrament.

The first
question.

Power by
Gods word
to the Minister
Baptize in the
name of the
Father, Son,
and Holy Spirit.

He asked me further, whether I allowed their confessions?

I answered, No.

Byk. Then he would know my mind what I thought of the presence of Christs Body in the Sacrament. Glover. I answered, that their Mass was neither Sacrifice nor Sacrament, because said I you have taken away the true institution, when you reforme again, I will tell you my judgment concerning Christs Body in the Sacrament.

And thus much did this worthy Martyr of God leave behind him by his own hand in writing concerning the manner of his using and intreating in Prison, and also of his conflicts had with the Bishop and his Chancellor. More examinations he had (no doubt) with the Bishop in the publick Confidory, when he was brought forth to be condemned, which also he would have left unto us, if either length of life, or leisure of time, or haste of execution had permitted him to finish that he intended; but by reason of the Writ of his burning being come down from London, lack of time neither did leave him to do, neither yet could I get the Record of his last Examinations, wherefore they are become.

Only this which I could learn by relation of one *Aus. Ben Berner*, a Minister, and a familiar friend of his, concerning the going to his death. I can report, that the said blessed Servant of the Lord, *Mr. Robert Glover*, after he was condemned by the Bishop, and was now at a point to be delivered out of this world, it so happened, that two or three days before his heart being languid and desolate of all spiritual consolation, felt in himself no appetite nor willingness, but rather a heavy and dullness of spirits, full of much discomfort to bear the bitter Cross of Martyrdom ready to be laid upon him.

Whereupon fearing in himself left the Lord had utterly withdrawn his wonted favour from him, made his moan to this *Austen* his friend above remembered, desiring unto him how earnestly he had prayed day and night unto the Lord, and yet could receive no motion nor sense of any comfort from him.

Unto whom the said *Austen* answering again, willed and desired him patiently to wait the Lords pleasure, and howsoever his present feeling was, yet seeing his cause was just and true, he exhorted him constantly to stick to the fame, and to play the man, nothing misdoing but the Lord in his good time would visit him, and satisfy any desire with plenty of consolation, whereof (he said) I am sure he was right certain and sure, and therefore desired him not to whosoever any such feeling of Gods heavenly mercy should begin to touch his heart, that then he should then have some figuration thereof, whereby he might witness with him the fame, and so departed from him.

The next day when the time came of his Martyrdom, as he was going to the place, and was now come to the fight of the Stake, although all the night before praying for strength and courage he could feel none, suddenly he was so mightily replenished with Gods holy comfort and heavenly joyes, that he cried out, clapping his hands to *Austens*, and saying in these words, *Austen, he is come, he is come, &c.* and that with such joy and alacrity, as *Austen* was so much affected with it, that he was almost ready to burst into tears, and to liberty of life, than as one puffing out of the worldly breath, any pains of death. Such was the change of the marvellous working of the Lords hand upon that good man.

Cornelius Bungy, Fellow Martyr with Master Robert Glover.

In the same fire with him was burned also *Cornelius or Bungy*, a Carpenter of Coventry, and condemned by the said *Radolph* Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield. As concerning the Articles which were to him objected, the effect thereof was this.

First, It was articulated against him, that these three years last, in the City of Coventry and Litchfield, and neighbourhood, he did hold, maintain, argue and teach, that the Priest hath no power here to absolve any sinner from his sins.

Secondly, That by Baptism sins be not washed away, because he said that the washing of the flesh purgeth the flesh outwardly, and not the soul.

Thirdly,

Q. Mary.

Annos
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Thirdly, That there be in the Church only two Sacraments, that is, Baptism and the Lords Supper.

Fourthly, That in the Sacrament of the Popish Altar, was not the real Body and Blood of Christ, but the Substance of Bread and Wine there remaining still; because *St. Paul* calleth it Bread and Wine &c.

Fifthly, That he within the compass of the said years and time, did hold, maintain, and defend, that the

Pope is not the Head of the Visible Church here on Earth, &c.

Sixthly, That he was of the Diocese and Jurisdiction of the Bishop of Coventry and Litchfield, &c.

Seventhly, That the Premises are true, manifest and notorious, and that upon the same there hath been a publick voice and fame, as well in the places above rehearsed, as in other quarters also about, &c.



His Answer.

Unto the which Articles he answered again: To the first he granted, and to every part thereof, meaning after the Popish manner of Absolution.

To the second he granted first, after revoked the same.

To the third also he granted, adding withal that in Scripture there be no more contained.

To the fourth, touching the Sacrament, he granted, and to every part thereof.

To the fifth, concerning the Pope likewise.

Also to the sixth he granted, and likewise to the seventh.

Upon these Articles and his Answers to the same, the said *Radolph* the Bishop read the Sentence, and so committed him also after condemnation of *Mr. Robert Glover*, to the Secular Power.

Thus this forecited *Cornelius*, fully condemned by the Bishop before mentioned, suffered at the same Stake with the Christian Martyr *Mr. Robert Glover* at Coventry, about the twentieth day of September.

Here followeth the Story of John Glover and William Glover, how they were Excommunicated and cast out after their death, and buried in the Fields.

Now that we have discoursed the Story of *Mr. Robert Glover*, something also would be touched of his other two Brethren, *John* and *William Glover*. Who albeit they were not called to finish their course by like kind of Martyrdom in the fire, as the other did; yet because for their constant profession of Gods Gospel unto the later end, they were exempted after their death, and cast out of the same Church, as the other was; I thought them not unworthy therefore in the story to be joined together, which in one cause and the same profession were not furnished one from the other.



And first concerning *Mr. John Glover* the eldest Brother, what inward torments and agonies he sustained by the ghastly Enemy, partly ye heard before described: now what his bodily Enemies wrought against him, remained to be declared. Whose rage and malice, although God restrained, that they could little prevail against him so long as his life endured, yet after his death, having power upon him, what they did ye shall now understand.

After the Martyrdom of *Mr. Robert Glover*, although *John Glover*, seeing his Brother to be apprehended for him, had small joy of his life for the great sorrow of his heart, wherewith he was fore oppressed, and would gladly have put himself in his Brothers stead, if Friends had not otherwise perwaded him, shewing that in so doing he might intangle himself, but should do his Brother no good. He thus in great care and vexation endured, yet notwithstanding rubbed out as well as he could, till at length about the latter end of Queen Marys time, was a new search made for the said *John Glover*.

Whereupon the Sheriffs, with their under Officers and Servants, being sent to seek him, came into his House where he and his wife were. It chanced as he was in the Chamber by himself, the Officers brutling into the house, and searching other rooms, came to the Chamber door where this *John Glover* was, who being within and holding each softly with his hand, perceived and heard the Officers busking about the door, amongst whom, one of the said Officers having the firing in his hand, was ready to draw and pluck at the same.

In the mean time another coming by (whose voice he heard and knew) bade them come away, saying they had been there before. Whereupon they departing thence, went to search other corners of the house, where they found *Agnes Glover* his wife, who being led to Litchfield, and there examined before the Bishop, at length, after much ado, was constrained to give place to their tyranny: *John Glover* in the mean time, partly for care of his wife, partly through cold taken in the Woods where he

The great
dread of
God again
in firing
John Glover
Agnes Glover
wife to John
Glover, ap-
prehended.

Concerning the Story of *William Wolley*, I received moreover from the University of *Cambridge*, by a credible person, and my faithful friend *William Fulke*, this Relation which I thought in this place not unmeet to be notified unto the Reader in order and form as followeth.

There were burned at *Ely* two godly Martyrs, the one called *Wolley*, the other *Pyeat*. In these two appeared a divers disposition of spirit. *Pyeat* was mild, humble and meek, promising that he would be conformable to his Persecutors, if they could persuade him by the Scriptures. The other, *Wolley* was stout, strong, and vehement, one having *blasphemous* of the Spirit and detested all their doings, as of whom he was fure to receive nothing but cruelty and tyranny. He was wonderful jealous over his Companion, fearing lest his gentle nature would have been overcome by the flattering enticements of the world, and therefore the same day that they were burned, when they would have taken him along, he pulled him away from them almost by force. He was so devout to glorify God with his suffering, that being wonderful fore tormented in the Prison with the *Tobacco*, he feared nothing more than that he should depart before the day of Execution (which he called his glad day) were come.

This *Wolley* being in Prison at *Ely*, was visited by *Thomas Hadlo* Beer-Brewer in *Ely*. To him he delivered certain money to be distributed (as he appointed) part to his Wife, and part to his Kindreds and Friends, and especially six shillings eight pence to be delivered to one *Richard Denton*, Smith, dwelling at *Wells* in *Cambridgeshire*, within the Jurisdiction of the Isle of *Ely*, with his Commendation, that he marvelled that he carried so long behind him, seeing that he was the first that delivered him the Book of Scripture unto his hand, and told him that it was the Truth, desiring him to make haste after as fast as he could.

This *Thomas Hadlo*, both to avoid the danger of the time, and to have a witness of his doings hereafter, delivered the said sum of Money to one Mr. *Laitimer*, a Preacher in *Essex* (who then referred often to his house) to be distributed as *Wolley* had appointed; which thing he performed, riding from place to place. And when this six shillings eight pence was delivered to *Richard Denton* with the Commendation aforesaid. His answer was this, I confess it is true, but alas I cannot burn. This was almost one whole year after *Wolley* was burned. But he that could not burn in the Cause of Christ, was afterwards burned against his will, when Christ had given peace to his Church. For in the year of our Lord 1564, on *Tuesday* being the eighteenth of *April*, his house was set on fire, and while he went in to save his goods, he lost his life, with two other that were in the same house.

Witnessed by *Thomas Hadlo* and *William Fulke*.

Nor much unlike to this, was also the example of *M. Wolley*, Chaplain to *Bishop Ridley*, who refusing to dye in Christ's Cause with his Master, laid Murther on his Conscience, and soon after died.

Dr. Nicholas Ridley, and *Mr. Hugh Laitimer*, both Bishops, Preachers, and Martyrs of Christ, with their doings, conferences, and sayings delivered.

The same year, month and day which the forefard two Martyrs, *William Wolley* and *Thomas Pyeat* suffered at *Ely*, the same was *Anno 1555. Octob. 16.* followed also at *Oxford* the slaughter of two other special and singular Captains and principal Pillars of Christ's Church, *Mr. Ridley* Bishop of *London*, and *Nich. Heath* Bishop of *Exeter*, of whose Lives and famous doings and memorable learning, and incomparable ornaments and gifts of grace, joined with no less commendable Incorruptibility of life, as all the Realm can witness sufficiently; it is needeth not greatly that we should stand exactly at this time in setting forth a full description of the same, but only to comprehend briefly in a few words, touching the order of their lives, & of such as necessarily ferveth to the due instruction of the Rea-

der, and maketh to the use of this present History, in *Anno* declaring first their beginning, and bringing up, the 1555, their studies and acts in the University, their premisses also by their studies to higher dignity, at last their trouble and travel in fleeing forth Religion, and in maintaining the same to the shedding of their blood. And first to begin with the life of *Mr. Ridley*, whose story here ensueth.

Among many other worthy and sundry Histories and notable Acts of such as of late days have been troubled, murdered, and martyred for the true Gospel of Christ in *Queen Mary's* reign, the tragical story and life of *Dr. Ridley*, I thought good to commend to *Christians*, and leave to perpetual memory; befecching the (gentle Reader) with care and study well to peruse, diligently to consider, and deeply to print the fame in thy breast, seeing him to be a man beautified with such excellent qualities, so gloriously inspired and godly learned, and now written doubtless in the Book of Life, with the blessed Saints of the Almighty, crowned and throned amongst the glorious Company of Martyrs. First, de- 200, his fending of a flock right worshipful, he was born in *Northamptonshire*, where being a Child, he learned his Grammar with great dexterity in *Newcastle*, and was moved from thence to the University of *Cambridge*, where he in short time became so famous, that for his singular talents, he was called to higher functions and offices of the University, by degree attaining thereto, and was called to be *Dean of Pembroke Hall* and there made *Dean* of Divinity. After this, departing from thence, he travelled to *Paris*, where at his return was made *Chaplain* to King *Henry the Eighth*, and promoted afterwards by him to the Bishoprick of *Rochester*; and so from thence translated to the See and Bishoprick of *London* in King *Henry's* *Edward's* days.

In which calling and offices he so travelled and occupied himself by preaching and teaching the true and wholesome Doctrine of Christ, that never good Christian was more singularly loved of his dear Father, than he of his Flock and Diocese. Every Holiday and Sunday he lightly preached in some one place or other, except he were otherwise letted by weighty affairs and business, to which Sermons the people resorted, fawning about him like Bees, and covering the sweet Flowers and wholesome joyce of the fruitful Doctrine, which he did not only preach, but shewed the fame by his life, as a glittering Lanthorn to the eyes and senses of the blind, in his pure order and chastity of life (declining from evil desires and concupiscences) that even his very enemies could not reprove him in any one spot thereof.

Besides all this, which he was piously well learned, his memory was great, and he of quick reading walt, that of right he deserved to be comparable to the best of this Age, as can testifies as well divers his notable Works as Sermons, and sundry his Disputations in both the Universities, and also his very Advantages, all which willly so self themselves.

Besides all this, with he was of counsell, deep of wit, and very politic in all his doings. How merciful and careful he was to reduce the obdurate Papists from their erroneous opinions, and by gentleness to win them to the Truth, his gentle ordering and courteous handling of *Dr. Heath*, late Archbishop of *Tork*, being Prisoner with him King *Edward's* time in his house one year, sufficiently declareth. In fine, he was both a Prelate, and in all points so good, godly, and gloriously a man, that *England* may justly rue the loss of what they a Treasure. And thus hitherto concerning the Publick Matters.

Now will I speak somewhat further particularly of his person and conditions. He was a man right comely and well proportioned in all points, both in complexion and lineaments of the body. He took all things in good part, bearing no malice nor rancour from his heart, except but flightily forgetting all injuries and offences against him. He was very kind and natural to his Kindreds, and yet not boasting with them any thing otherwise than right would require, giving them all such ways for a general rule, yea to his own Brother and Sister, that they doing evil should seek or look for nothing

Anno nothing at his hand, but should be as frangers and aliens unto him, and they to be his Brother and Sister, which was used honestly, and a godly trade of life.

He using all kinds of ways to mortifie himself, was given to much prayer and contemplation: For duly every Morning, from as his apparel was done upon, he was first forthwith to his Bed-chamber, and there upon his knees prayed the space of half an hour; which being done, immediately he went to his Study (if there came no other business to interrupt him) where he continued till ten of the Clock, and then came to the Common Prayer, daily used in his house. The prayers being done, he went to dinner; where he used little talk, except other worthy occasion by some had been ministered, and then was it sober, discreet and wife, and sometime merry, as cause required.

The dinner done, which was not very long, he used to sit an hour or thereabouts talking or playing at the Chess: That done, he returned to his Study, and there would continue, except Suters or business abroad were occasion of the contrary, until five of the Clock at Night, and then would come to Common-Prayer, as in the forenoon: which being finished, he went to Supper, beholding himself there as at dinner before. After Supper recreating himself in playing at Chess the space of an hour, he then would return again to his Study, continuing there till 11 of the Clock at Night, which was his common hour to go to Bed, then faying his prayers upon his knees as in the Morning when he rose. Being at his Manor of *Fulham*, as divers times he used to go to read daily a Lecture to his Family at the Common-Prayer, beginning at the Acts of the Apostles, and so going thorow all the Epistles of *S. Paul*, giving to every man that could read a New Testament, hiring them besides with money to learn by heart certain principal Chapters, but especially the 13 Chapter of the *Acts*, reading also unto his household officers the 103 Psalm, being marvelous diligent over his Family, that they might be a spectacle of all vertue and honesty to others. To be short, as he was godly and veruous himself, so nothing but vertue and godliness reigned in his house, feeding them with the food of our Saviour Jesus Christ.

Now remaineth a word or two to be declared of his gentle nature and kindly piety in the usage of an Old woman called *Mrs. Bener*, Mother to *Dr. Bener* former time Bishop of *London*, which I thought good to touch, as well for the rare clemency of *Dr. Ridley*, as the unworthy inhumanity and ingrateful disposition again of *Dr. Bener*. *Bishop Ridley* being at his Manor of *Fulham*, 41-42 years of age, was visited by *Mrs. Bener*, dwelling in a house adjoining to his house, to dinner and Supper, with one *Mrs. Mungie*, *Bener's* Sister, faying, Go for my Mother *Bener*, who coming, was ever placed in the Chair at the Table end, being so gently intreated, welcomed, and taken, as though he had been born of her own Body, being never displaced of her seat, although the Kings Council had been present, faying, when any of them were there (as divers times they were) by your Lordships favour this place of right and custom is for my Mother *Bener*. But how well he was recompensed for this his singular gentleness, and pitiful piety after, at the hands of the said *Dr. Bener*, almost the least Child that goes by the ground can declare. For who afterward was more one to *Ridley*, than *Bener* and his? Who more went about to seek his destruction than he? recompensing this his gentleness with extreme Cruelty: As well appeared by the fruit handling of *Ridley's* own Natural Sister, and *George Shipfile* her Husband from time to time, and *Dr. Bener*, almost the least Child that goes by the ground can declare. For who afterward was more one to *Ridley*, than *Bener* and his? Who more went about to seek his destruction than he? recompensing this his gentleness with extreme Cruelty: As well appeared by the fruit handling of *Ridley's* own Natural Sister, and *George Shipfile* her Husband from time to time, and *Dr. Bener*, almost the least Child that goes by the ground can declare. 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Therefore, &c. The first part of the Argument is evident and the second part I prove thus in the times of the Prophets of Christ, and his Apostles, all things were most corrupt. The People were miserably given to superstition, the Priests did not only give to superstition, but also to the Law of God; and yet notwithstanding we read not that the Prophets made any Schisms or divisions, and Christ himself haunted the Temple, and taught in the Temple of the Jews. Peter and John went up into the Temple at the ninth hour of Prayer; Paul after the reading of the Laws, being desired to fly from the People, did not refuse to do it. Yea further, no man can flatter, that either the Prophets, or Christ, and his Apostles did refuse to pray together with others, to facilitate, or to be partakers of the Sacrament of *Missa* Law.

I grant the former part of your Argument, and to the second part I say, that although it contain many true things of the corrupt state in the times of the Prophets, of Christ, and the Apostles, and of the Temple being haunted of Christ and his Apostles; yet notwithstanding the second part of your Argument is not sufficiently proved. For ye ought to have proved that either the Prophets, either Christ or his Apostles did in the Temple communicate with the People in any kind of worshipping, which is forbidden by the Law of God, or repugnant to the Word of God. But that can no where be shewed. And as for the Church, I am not angry with it, and I never refused to go to it, and to pray with the People, to hear the Word of God, and to do all other things whatsoever may agree with the Word of God. *S. A. Ridley* speaking of the Ceremonies of the Jews (I suppose in the Epistle ad *Galatas*) although he grant they grievously oppressed that People, both for the numbers, and bondage of the same, yet he calleth them burdens of the Law, which were delivered unto them in the word of God, not prelations of men, which notwithstanding if they were not contrary to God's Word, might after a sort be born withal. But now, seeing they are contrary to those things which are in the Word of God written, whether they ought to be born of any Christian or no, let him judge which is spiritual, which feareth God more than man, and loatheth everything else more than this flesh and transitory life. To that which was said that my father lacketh the example of the godly Fathers that have gone before and the contrary is most evident in the history of *Toby*.

Of whom it is said, that when all other went to the golden Calves, which *Jeroboam* the King of *Israel* had made, he himself alone fled all their Companies, and got him to *Jerusalem* unto the Temple of the Lord, and there he worshipped the Lord God of *Israel*. Did not the man of God threaten grievous plagues both unto the Priests of *Belial*, and to the Altar which *Jeroboam* had there made after his own fantasy? Which plagues King *Jehoiachin* the true Minister of God, did execute at the time appointed. And where so we read, that the Prophets or the Apostles did speak with the People in their Idolatry, when as the People were worshipping with their High Altars? For what cause I pray you did the Prophets rebuke the People to reach, as for their false worshipping of God after their own minds, and not after Gods Word? For what was so much as that was? Wherefore the false Prophet could not to assign the true Prophets of God, therefore they beath themselves with their own words. *Q. Mary* says, I pray you, can you understand that *S. Paul* alleged, when he said, what concord hath Christ with *Belial*?

Either what part hath the Believer with the Infidel? or how agrees the Temple of God with Images? For ye are the Temple of the living God, as God himself hath said, I will dwell among them, and will be their God, and they shall be my People. Wherefore, come out from among them, and separate your selves from them (saith the Lord) and touch none unclean thing, so will I receive you, and will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my Sons and Daughters, saith the Lord Almighty.

Judith that holy Woman, would not suffer her self to be defiled with the meats of the wicked. All the Saines of God, which truly feared God, when they have been provoked to do any thing which they knew to be contrary to Gods Laws, have chosen to die, rather than to forsake the Laws of their God. Wherefore the *Macedonians* put themselves in danger of death for the defence

of the Law, Yea and at length died manfully in the defence of the same. If we do praise *Saint Augustine* the *Macedonians*, and that with great admiration, because they did stoutly stand unto death, for the Law of their Country, how much more ought we to suffer all things for our Baptism, for the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ? But the Supper of the Lord (which a one I mean) as Christ himself commanded us to celebrate, the Mass utterly abhorred and corrupteth most shamefully.

Who am I that I should add any thing to this which you have so spoken? Nay I rather think you that have vouchsafed to minister to plentiful armour to me, being otherwise altogether unarmed, faving that he cannot be left destitute of help, which rightly trusteth in the help of God. I only learn to die in reading of the New Testament, and am ever now, and then praying unto my God, that he will be an helper unto me in time of need.

Seeing you are so obligingly set against the Mass, that you affirm, because it is done in a Tongue not understood of the People, and for other causes, I cannot tell what I begin to suspect you, that you think not Catholicly of Baptism also. Is our Baptism, which we do use in a Tongue unknown unto the People, the true Baptism of Christ, or no? If it be, then doth not the strange Tongue hurt the Mass. If it be not the Baptism of Christ, tell me how were you Baptized. Or whether will ye (as the *Anabaptists* do) that all which were baptized in Latin, should be Baptized again in the English Tongue?

Although I would with Baptism to be given in the vulgar Tongue for the Peoples sake which are present, that they may the better understand their own profession, and also be more able to teach their Children the same, yet notwithstanding there is not like necessity of the vulgar Tongue in Baptism, as in the Lords Supper. Baptism is given to Children, who by reason of their Age are not able to understand what is spoken unto them, what Tongue soever it be. The Lords Supper is, and ought to be given to them that are waken. Moreover, in Baptism which is accustomed to be given to Children in the Latin Tongue, all the substantial points (as a man would say) which Christ commanded to be done, are observed. And therefore I judge that Baptism to be a perfect and true Baptism; and that it is not only not useful, but also not lawful for any man to christenize be christened again. But yet notwithstanding, they ought to be taught the Catechism of the Christian Faith, when they shall come to years of discretion, which Catechism whosoever desires, or will not deliviously embrace and willingly learn, in my judgment he playeth not the part of a Christian man. But in the Popish Mass are wanting certain substantial, that is to say, things commanded by the Word of God to be observed in the Ministration of the Lords Supper; of the which there is sufficient declaration made before.

Where you say (I would with) surely I would with it, that you had spoken more vehemently, and to have said, it is of necessity, that all things in the Congregation should be done in the vulgar Tongue, for the edifying and comfort of them that are present, notwithstanding that the Child it self is sufficiently Baptized in the Latin Tongue.

Forasmuch as I perceive you to be stiffly, I will not say obstinately bent, and so wedded to your Opinion, that no gentle Exhortations, no wholesome counsels, no other kind of means can call you home to a better mind, there remaineth that which like a safe was wont to be the only remedy against fustian and hubbub, perfors that is you must be hampered by the Laws, and compelled either to obey whether ye will or no, or else to suffer that which a Rebel to the Laws ought to suffer. Do you not know that whosoever refuseth to obey the Law of the Realm, he bewrayeth himself to be an enemy to his Country? Do you not know that this is the readiest way to stir up Sedition and Civil war? It is better that you should bear your own sin than that through the example of your breach of the Common Laws, the common quiet should be disturbed. How can you say, you will be the Queens true subject, when as you do openly profess that you will not keep her Laws?

O heavenly Father, Father of all wisdom, understanding, and true strength, I beseech thee for thy only Son our Saviour Christ, sake, look mercifully upon me wretched Creature, and send thine holy Spirit into my breast, that I may only understand according to thy wisdom, how what answer it is to be beaten back, but also when I must give place in the field for the glory of thy Name, that then I being strengthened with the defence of thy right hand, may manfully stand in the Confession of thy Faith, and of thy Truth, and continue in the same unto the end of my life, through the same our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

Now to the objection. I grant it to be reasonable, that he which by words and gentleness cannot be made to yield to that is right and good, should be bridled by the strict correction of the Laws: that is to say, he that will not be subject to Gods Word, must be punished by the Laws. It is true that is commonly said, he that will not obey the Gospel, must be named and taught by the rigor of the Law. But these things ought to take place against him, which refuseth to do that is right and just according to true Godliness, not against him, which cannot quietly bear Superstitions, but doth hate and detest from his heart such kind of proceedings, and that for the glory of the Name of God. To that which ye say, a transgression of the common Laws bewrayeth himself to be an enemy of his Country, surely a man ought to look unto the nature of the Laws, what manner of Laws they be which are broken. For a faithful Christian ought not to think alike of all manner of Laws. But that laying ought only may be understood of those Laws as be not contrary to Gods Word. Otherwise, whosoever leaveth their Country in Trunk (that is to say, in God) they will always judge if at any time the Laws of God and man be the one contrary to the other that a man ought rather to obey God than man. And they that think otherwise, and pretend a love to that Country forsooth as they make their Country to fight as it were against God, in whom consisteth the only stay of their Country, surely I do think that such are to be judged most deadly enemies and traitors to their Country. For they that fight against God which is the safety of their Country, what do they else but go about to bring upon their Country a present ruin and destruction? But they that do so are worthy to be judged enemies to their Country, and betrayers of the Realm. Therefore, &c.

But this is the readiest way (ye say) to stir up Sedition, to trouble the quiet of the Common-wealth; therefore are these things to be repressed in time by force of Laws. Behold, Satan doth not cease to practise his old guiles, and accustomed subtilties. He hath ever this cart in a readiness to hurl against his Adversaries, to accuse them of that which he may bring them (if he can) in danger of the Higher Powers. For so hath by his Minister always charged the Prophets of God. *Abah* said unto *Eliab*; *Art thou that troublest Israel?* The false Prophets also complained to their Princes of *Jeremy*, that his words were foolish, and not to be suffered. Did not the *Scribes* and *Pharisees* falsely accuse Christ as a Seditious person, and one that spake against *Cesar*? Did not he at the last cry, *If ye let this man go, ye are not *Cesar*'s Friends?* The Orator *Terentius*, how doth he accuse *Paul* before *Felix* the high Deputy? *We have found this man faultless in a perfect *Fellow*, and a *Liberty* of the Father, unto all the Jews in the whole world.* &c. But I pray you were these men, as they were called, Seditious persons? Christ, *Paul* and the Prophets? God forbid. But they were of false men falsely accused. And therefore I pray you? but because they reprieved before the People their Lays, superstition, and decay. And when the theocratic could not bear it, and would gladly have had them taken out of the way, they accused them as Seditious persons, and troubles of the Common-wealth, that being by this means made hateful to the People and Princes, they might the more easily be snatched up to the torment, and put to death. But how far they were from all Sedition, their whole doctrine, life and conversation doth well declare. For that which was objected last of all, that he cannot be a faithful subject to his Prince, which protesteth openly that he will not observe the Laws which

the Prince hath made; here I would with that I might have an indifferent Judge, and one that feareth God, to whose Judgment in this cause I promiss I will stand. I answer therefore, if man ought to obey his Prince, but in the Lord, and never against the Lord. For he that knowingly obeyeth his Prince against God, doth not obey to the Prince, but is a deceiver of the Prince, and an helper unto him to work his own destruction. He is also unjust, which giveth not to the Prince that is the Prince, and to God that is Gods. Here cometh to my remembrance, that notable saying of *Valentinianus* the Emperor for charging the Bishop of *Milvain*. Set him (saith he) in the Bishop's seat, to whom if we (as *Caesar* man) do offend at any time, we may fubmit our selves. *Polyarpus* the most constant Martyr, when he stood before the chief Rulers and was commanded to blaspheme Christ, and to swear by the fortune of *Cesar*, &c. he answered with a mild spirit; I were taught (saith he) to give honour unto Princes; and those powers which be of God; but such honour as is not contrary to Gods Religion.

Hitherto ye fee (good Father) how I have in words only made as it were a flourish before the fight, which I shortly look after, and how I have begun to prepare certain kinds of weapons to fight against the adversary of Christ, and to muse with my self how the darts of the old enemy may be born off, and after what sort I may finite him again with the Sword of the Spirit. I learn also hereby to be in ure with armour, and to assay how I can go armed. In *Tindal* where I was born, not far from the *Scottish* Borders, I have known my Country-men to watch night and day in their armors, such as they had, that is, in their Jacks, and their Spears in their hand (you call them *Northern-dogs*) especially when they had any privy warning of the coming of the *Scots*. And so doing, although at every such bickering some of them spent their lives, yet by such means, like pretty men, they defended their Country. And then I do find, I think that before God they died in a good quarrel, and their offspring and Progeny all the Country loved them the better for their Fathers sake. And in the quarrel of Christ our Saviour, in the defence of his own Divine Ordinances, by the which he giveth unto us life and immortality; yea, in the quarrel of Faith, and Christian Religion, wherein reareth our everlasting salvation, shall we not watch? Shall we not go always armed? ever looking when our Adversary (which like a roaring Lion seeketh whom he may devour) shall come upon us by reason of our slothfulness? yea, and we unto us, if he can oppress us unawares, which undoubtedly he will do, if he find us sleeping. Let us awake therefore. I say: Let us not suffer our hounds to be broken up. Refill the Devil, faith *Saint James*, and he will fly from you. Let us therefore resist him manfully, and taking the Cross upon our shoulders, let us follow our Captain Christ, who by his own Blood hath dedicated and hallowed the way which leadeth unto the Father, that is, to the light which no man can attain, the fountain of the everlasting joys. Let us follow, I say, whether he calleth and allureth us, to after these afflictions which last but for a moment, whereby he trieth our Faith, as gold by fire, that we may everlastingly reign and triumph with him in the glory of the Father, and that through the same our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ; to whom with the Father and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, now and for ever, Amen.

Good Father, forasmuch as I have determined with my self, to push forth with my cogitation into your bosom, here, me thinks, I see you. Suddenly lifting up your head towards heaven, after your manner, and then looking upon me with your Prophetic countenance, and speaking unto me, with these or like words; Trust not, my Son (I beseech you vouchsafe me the honour of this name; for in doing I shew forth my faith both in our Lord, and beloved of you.) Trust not, I say, my Son, to these word-wonders; for the Kingdom of God is not in words but in power. And remember always the words of the Lord. Do not imagine afterward, what and how

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of Ridley
Martyr.

not for my earthly countries sake, but for our heavenly Father's sake, and for Christ's sake, whom I heard say, he did stoutly in time of perill confesse, and yet also for our countries sake, and for all our Mothers sake; but I mean of the Kingdom of Heaven, and of heavenly Jerusalem, and because of the Spirit, which bringeth forth in him, in you, and in our company. Thus, blessed fruits of boldness in the Lords cause, of patience and constancy. The Lord which hath begun this work in you all, perform and perfect this his own deed, until his own day come. Amen.

And yet I perceive ye have not been baited, and the cause thereof God knoweth, which will let them do no more to us, than is his pleased will and pleasure. I beseech them to do for his own glory, and to the profit of them which be truly his. For the Father, which doth guide them that be Christs to Christ, is more mighty than all they, and no man is able to pull them out of the Fathers hands: except, I say, it please our Father, it please our Master Christ to suffer them, they shall not first suffer of your heads.

My Brother P., the bearer hereof, and Master Hoopers Letters: would that we should say what we think good concerning your mind: that is, not to answer, except ye might have somewhat indifferent Judgments. We are (as ye know) separated, and one of us cannot in any thing consult with another, and much less watching of the Bayliffs is about us, that there be no privacy conference amongst us. And yet, as we hear, the Scholars bear us more heavily than the Townsmen. A wonderful thing, as much to many, never yet Scholar offered any of us (so far as I know) any manner of favour, either for or in Christs cause.

Now as concerning your demand of your Council, for my part I do not mislike that I perceive ye are minded to do. For I look for none other, but if ye answer before the same Commissioners that we did, ye shall be served and handled as we were, though ye were as well. Learned as ever was either Peter or Paul. And yet further I think, the occasion afterward may be given you, and the consideration of the profit of your auditory may perchance move you to do otherwise.

Finally, determinately to say what shall be best, I am not able; but I trust he, whose cause ye have in hand, shall put you in mind to do that which shall be most for his glory, the profit of his flock, and your own salvation. This Letter must be common to you and Master Hooper, in whom and in his prison-fellow good Father C. I bless God, even from the bottom of my heart; for I doubt not but they both do to our Master Christ, trust, acceptable, and honorable service, and profitable to his flock; the one with his pen, and the other with his fatherly example of patience and constancy, and all manner of true goodliness. But what shall I need to say to you? Let this be common among your Brethren, among whom (I dare say) it is with you as it is with us, to whom all things here are common, meat, money, and whatsoever we have of us, that can or may do another good. Although I bid the Bayliffs and our hostels hardly watch us, that we have no conference or intelligence of any thing abroad, yet hath God provided for every one of us instead of our servants, faithful fellows, which will be content to hear and see, and to do for us whatsoever they can. It is Gods word freely, blessed be God for his unpeakeable goodness. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ and the love of God, and the communion of the Holy Ghost be with you all, Amen, Amen.

As far as London is from Oxford, yet these we have received of late, both meat, money, and thence, not only from such as are of our acquaintance, but of some (whom this bearer can tell) with whom I had never to my knowledge any acquaintance. I know for whose sake they do it; to him therefore be all honour, glory, and due thanks.

And yet I pray you to do much as to them, that we have received their benevolence, (and God be blessed) have plenty of all such things. This I desire you to do for I know they be of Master Hoopers and your familiar acquaintance. Master Latimer was crused; but I hear now (thanks be to God) that he amendeth again.

Nicholas Ridley.

Another Letter of M. Ridley unto Master Bradford.

O Hear Brother, seeing the time is now come, wherein it is pleased the heavenly Father for Christ our Saviour his sake to call upon you to bid you to come, happy are you that even yet were born, due to be found awake at the Lords calling. *Ergo, fave bone & felix, quia super pauca fuisse fidelis, super multa te confitemur, et intrabis in gaudium Domini.* Well done good and faithful servant, because thou hast been truly in small matters, he shall fit thee over great things, and thou shalt enter into the joy of thy Lord.

O dear Brother, what meaneth this, that you are sent into your own native Country? The wisdom and policy of the World may mean what they will, but I trust God will so order the matter finally by his fatherly providence, that some great occasion of Gods gracious goodness shall be plentifully poured abroad amongst his, our dear Brethren in that Country, by this your Martyrdom, where the Martyrs for Christs sake shed their Blood, and lost their lives. Oh what wondrous things hath Christ afterward wrought to his glory, and confirmation of the Doctrine? If it be not the place that sanctified the man, but the holy man doth by Christ sanctify the place. Brother Bradford, then happy and holy shall be that place where in thou shalt suffer, and shall be with thy ashes in Christs cause sprinkled over all. With all this Country may rejoice of thee, that it ever brought forth such a one, which would render his life again in his cause of whom he had received it. Brother Bradford, so long as I shall understand thou art in thy journey, by Gods grace I shall call upon our heavenly Father for Christs sake, to let thee safely home: and then, good Brother, speak up, and pray for the remnant which are to suffer for Christs sake, according to that thou then shalt know more clearly.

We do look now every day when we shall be called on, blessed be God. I mean I am the weakest many ways of our company; and yet I thank our Lord God and heavenly Father by Christ, that once I heard of our dear Brother Rogers departing, and stout confession of Christ and his truth even unto the death, my heart (blessed be God) rejoiced of it, that since that time (I say) I never felt any lumpish heaviness in my heart, as I could grant I have felt sometimes before. Oh good Brother, blessed be God in thee, and blessed be the time that ever I knew thee. Farewell, farewell.

Your Brother in Christ, Nicholas Ridley; Brother farewell.

To the Brethren remaining in captivity of the flesh, and dispersed abroad in sundry prisons, but knit together in Unity of Spirit and Holy Religions in the bowels of the Lord Jesus.

Race, peace, and mercy be multiplied among you. What worthy thanks can we render unto the Lord for you, my Brethren, namely, for the great consolation which through you we have received in the Lords word, notwithstanding the rage of Satan, that groweth about us in all manner of subtle means to beguile the World, and so busily labourer to restore and set up his Kingdom again, and that of late begun to decay and fall to ruin; ye remain yet still unmovable, as men fully grounded upon a strong rock. And now, albeit that Satan by his tools and wicked ministers, daily (as we hear) driveth numbers unto him, so that it is said of him, that he plucketh into some men the fear of death, and loss of all their goods, and heweth and offereth to other men the pleasant baits of the World: namely, riches, wealth, and all kind of delights and pleasures, fair houses, great revenues, fair benefices, and what he will, and all to the intent they should fall down and worship, not the Lord, but the Dragon, the old Serpent, which is the Devil, that great Beast and his Image, and should be inticed to commit fornication with the Strumpet of Babelyn, together with the Kings of the earth, with the lesser Beast and with the false Prophets; and so to rejoice and to pleasure with her, and to be drunken with the wine of her fornication;

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fornication;

And as for the darkness that Satan now bringeth upon the Church of England, who neither yet knoweth the Cause, nor the Remedy, but the People, and Teachers, stand in the Temple in the People of England in the English Tongue, so that they might be understood plainly, and without any hardness, of the goodly and such as sought for heavenly knowledge in matters, which of necessity of heavenly pertained to the obtaining of eternal life; but now those things, which once were written of them for the edifying of the Congregation, are read in a strange Tongue without interpretation, manifestly against St. Paul's commandments, so that there is no man able to understand them, which hath not learned the strange and unknown Tongue.

Of late days these heavenly Myſteries, whereby Christ hath revealed us into his Body, and hath united us one to another, whereby also being regenerate, and born anew into God, he hath manifested, increased and brought home us, whereby moreover, either he hath taught and set forth an order amongst them which are visible, or else to the sick in Soul, hath given, as it were, whatsoever medicines and remedies, which (I say) we all plainly fit needs to the People in their own language; so that what great and exceeding good things every man had received of God, what duty every one owed to another by Gods Ordinance, what every one had professed in his vocation, and was bound to observe, what remedy was to be had for the wicked and feeble, he to whom God hath given a deaf and willing heart to understand these things, might soon perceive and understand. But now all these things are taught and set forth in such sort, that the People redeemed with Christ's Blood, and for whose sake they were by Christ himself ordained, can have no manner of understanding thereof at all.

For of late (forasmuch as we know not how to pray, as we ought) our Lord Jesus Christ in his Prayer, whereby he might have our Lord Jesus Christ, in and also the Holy Ghost in the Psalm, Hymns, and spiritual Songs which are set forth in the Bible, did teach and instruct all the people of England in the English Tongue, that they might sing such things as are according to the will of the Father, and might join their hearts and lips in Prayer together; but now all these things are commanded to be hid and shut up from them in a strange Tongue, whereby it must needs follow, that the People can neither tell how to pray, nor what to pray for; and how can they join their hearts and voices together, when they understand no more what the voice signifies, than a brute Beast?

Finally, I hear say, that the Catechism which was lately set forth in the English Tongue, now in every Paul's pit condemned. Ob despiteful malice, and most pitifully injurious to the salvation of Mankind purchased by Jesus Christ! Indeed Satan could not longer suffer that so great light should be spread abroad in the world; he saw well enough that nothing was able to overthrow his Kingdom so much, as if Children being godly instructed in Religion, should learn to know Christ whilst they are yet young; whereby not only Children, but the Elder sort also and aged folk, that before were not taught to know Christ in their Childhood, should now even with Children and Babies be forced to learn to know him. Now therefore he roareth, now he rageth. But what else do they (Brethren) which serve Satan, and become his ministers and slaves in maintaining of his vanity, but even the same which they did, to whom Christ our Saviour threatened this Curse in the Gospel; Woe unto you which shut up the Kingdom of Heaven before men, and take away the Key of knowledge from them: your Kingdoms have not entered in, neither have ye suffered them that would enter, to come in.

And from whence thus say (Brethren) that this horrible and nefarious darkness proceedeth, which is now brought upon the world? From whence, I pray you, but even from the smoke of the great furnace of the bottomless Pit, so that the Sun and the Air are now darkened by the smoke of the Pit? Now, even now (out of doubt Brethren) the Pit is entered against us, and the Leeches beguile us, and Absolution now reigneth.

To therefore my Brethren, which pertain unto Christ, and have the Seal of God marked in your Fore-

heads: that is to wit, are Sealed with the earnest of the Spirit to be a peculiar People of God, can ye forget 1555. than he which is in the World; and ye know that all Arcanum that is born of God overcometh the World, and this is our victory that overcometh the World, even our Faith. Let us then the World rest, let it rage never so much, he it never so cruel, cruel, and bloody, yet be ye sure that no man can take us out of the Father's hand, for he is greater than all; who hath not spared his own Son, but hath given him to death for us all; and therefore how shall he not with him give us all things also; Who shall say any thing to the charge of God's elect? It is Christ that justifieth, who then hath condemned? It is Christ that is dead, yet we never without him, yet again, who also is at the right hand of God, and maketh request also for us. Who shall separate us from the love of Christ? Shall tribulation, or anguish, or persecution, or famine, or nakedness, or peril, or sword? All these things ye know, Brethren. We are certainly persuaded with St. Paul, by the grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, that no kind of thing shall be able to separate us from the love of God which is in Christ Jesus our Lord. Which thing, that we may come to pass by the grace and mercy of our Lord Jesus Christ, to the comfort both of you and of us, I pray for you, as I pray for all Brethren in the Lord, with all earnest and hearty prayer, even in the bowels of our Lord Jesus Christ, that ye will not cease to pray for us. Fare ye well dear Brethren. The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ be with you all evermore. Amen.

A Letter of Bishop Ridley, answering to a certain Letter of one Mr. Weſt sometime his Chaplain.

I With you grace in God, and love of the Truth, with which the which truly established in mine hearts by the Lord's mighty hand of the Almighty God, is more precious to me, than to stand by the Truth in Christ in time of trouble, than even to be at the ease of the world, and to be in the world, I know this, that I am (blessed be God) persuaded that this World is but transitory, and as (St. John) faith: The World passeth away, and the lust thereof: I am persuaded, that Christ's word to be true; whoever faith hath confided me before him, him will I confess also before my Father which is in heaven: And I believe that no earthly Creature shall be feared, whom the Redeemer and Son of our Father of the World shall before his Father deny. This I believe, that it may be so glorified, established, and fixed in my heart, that neither things present nor to come, high or low, life nor death, be able to remove thence. It is it a goodly wish, that you wish me deeply to consider the things pertaining unto God's glory; but if you had wished otherwise, neither fear of death, nor hope of worldly prosperity should let me to maintain Gods word and his Truth, which is his glory and true honour, it would have liked me well. You desire me for Gods sake to remember my self. Indeed Sir, now is time for me to do so; for as far as I can perceive, it standeth me upon no less danger, than it does the left both of Body and Soul; and I now think it time for a man to consider, if any thing will awake him. He that will not fear him that threatneth to cast both Body and Soul into everlasting fire, whom our God will be feared? With this fear, O Lord, fasten then together our Faith, which, that whenever we were from the Law, we have made many mistakes. For Sir, God's Word shall be true, and I desire you, that you have a better heart often, and after your judgment have thought it worthy godly, serving only for the Sacrament, which thing all godly, though it was of me recently handled, and a great deal

deal better than of the rest (as you say) yet in the Adversary you write warily, and in this World Wilfully; and as I have thought all founding now well. Sir, but that I see so many changes in this world, and so much alteration, else at this your saying I would not a little marvel. I have taken you for my Friend, and as a man whom I should fear for plainness and faithfulness, as much I assure you, as for your learning; and have you kept this so close in your heart from me into this day? Sir, I consider more things than one, and will not say all that I think. But what need you care what I think, for any thing I shall be able to do unto you, either good or harm? You give me good Lessons to find in nothing against my learning, and to beware of vain-glory. Truly Sir, I herein like your counsel very well, and by Gods grace I intend to follow it unto my latest end.

To write unto those whom you name, I cannot see what it will avoide me. For this I would have you know, that I esteem nothing available for me, which also will not further the glory of God. And now, because I perceive you have an entire zeal and desire of my deliverance out of this captivity and worldly misery, if I should not bear you a good heart in God again, I think I write him. Sir, how much I am of my dissatisfaction, and departure out of this world is at hand, I cannot tell: the Lords will be fulfilled how soon ever it shall come. I know the Lords words must be verified on me that I shall appear before the incorrupt Judge, and be accountable to him of all my former life. And although the hope of his mercies is my Shoo-anchor of eternal salvation, yet am I persuaded, that whatsoever I negligently neglect, and regard not to clear his Conscience, he cannot have peace with God, nor a lively faith in his mercy. Conscience therefore moveth me, considering you were one of my Family, and one of my household, of whom I think I had a special Care, and of all them which were within my house, which in deed ought to have been an example of godliness to all the rest of my Care, not only of good life, but also in promoting of Gods Word to the uttermost of their powers, (but alas, now when the trial day shall separate the Chaff from the Corn, how small a trial day, I God knoweth, which the wind both not blow away) this Conscience (I say) doth move me to fear, lest the lightness of my Family shall be laid to my charge for lack of more earnest and diligent instruction, which should have been done. But blessed be God which hath given me grace to see this my default and to lament it from the bottom of my heart, before my departing hence.

This Conscience doth move me also now to require both of me and my Friend Dr. Harvey, to remember your protestation to me in time past, of the pure setting forth and Preaching of Gods Word and his Truth. These promises, although you shall not need to fear to be charged with them of me hereafter before the world, yet look for none other (I exhort you my Friends) but to be charged with them at Gods hand. This Conscience and the love that I bear unto you, biddeth me now say unto you, both in Gods Name, Fear God, and love me the world; for God is able to cast both Body and Soul into Hell-fire. When his wrath shall suddenly be kindled, blessed are all they that put their trust in him. And the saying of St. John is true. All that is in the world, as the lust of the flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but of the world, and the world passeth away and the lust thereof, but he that doth the will of God abideth for ever. If this gift of grace (which undoubtedly it necessarily required unto eternal salvation) were truly and unfeignedly grafted and firmly established in mens hearts, they would not be so light, so suddenly to shrink from the maintenance and possession of the Truth as is now (alas) seen so manifestly of so many in these days. But here peradventure you would know of me, what is the Truth. Sir, Gods Word is the Truth, as St. John faith, and that even the same that was bereft from. For albeit man's duty vary and change as the Moon, yet Gods Word is stable, and abideth for ever: and of Christ it is truly said, Christ yesterday and to day, and the same is also for ever.

When I was in office, all that were esteemed learned in Gods Word, agreed this to be a Truth in Gods Word written, that the Common Prayer of the Church should

be had in the Common Tongue. You know I have conferred with many, and I can say you never found me so far as I do remember, neither did I ever know any man Papist of what judgment sever he was, in this thing to be of a contrary opinion. If it were a Truth of Gods Word, that which the alteration of the world can make it an untruth? If it cannot, why then do so many men shrink from the confession and maintenance of this Truth received once of us all? For what is it, I pray you, else to confess or deny Christ in this world, but to maintain the Truth taught in Gods Word, or for any worldly respect to shrink from the same? This one thing I would bring for an example; other things he is like as, which now particularly I need not rehearse. For he that will forsake willingly, either for fear of the gain of the world, any one open Truth of Gods Word, will be constrained, he will assuredly forsake God and all his Truths; rather than he will endanger himself to life and to leave that he loveth better indeed, than he doth God and the Truth of his Word.

I like very well your plain speaking, wherein you say, I must either agree or die, and I think that you mean of the bodily death, which is Common both to good and bad. Sir, I know I must die, whether I agree or no. But when fully were it then to make such an Agreement, by which I could never escape the death which is common to all, and also incur the guilt of death and eternal damnation? I grant, that I am utterly above and deep in this damnable agreement so long as I live. And because (I dare say) you would of friendship unto me, my short career advertisement, and I think very willingly me to live and, as to die, therefore bearing in your heart no less love in God, than you do me in the world, I say unto you in the Word of the Lord (and that I say to you, I say to all my Friends and lovers of us in God) that if you do not confess and maintain to your power and knowledge that which is grounded upon Gods Word, but will yet after fear of gain of the world, keep and play the Apostates, indeed you shall die the death, you know what I mean. And I beseech you all true Friends and lovers in God, remember what I say, for this may be the last time peradventure that ever I shall write to the mine-ute.

From Beccles in Oxford the 8. day of April, 1555.

Master Grindal now Archbishop of Canterbury, being in the time of exile in the City of Frankford, wrote to Dr. Ridley then Prisoner a certain Epistle, wherein first he lamenteth his captivity, exhorting him withal to be constant. Secondly, he certifies him of the state of the Church and English Exiles being dispersed in Germany, and of the singular providence of God in stirring up the favour of the Magistrates and Rulers there towards them. Thirdly, he writes to know his mind and will concerning the printing of his Book against Transubstantiation, and of certain other Treatises and his disputation. Whereunto Bishop Ridley answereth again in order, as followeth

The Answer of Dr. Ridley to the Letter above said.

Blessed be God our heavenly Father, which inclined of your heart to have this desire to write unto me, and blessed be he again which hath heard your request, and hath brought your Letters safe unto my hands; and over all this I bless him through our Lord Jesus Christ, for the great comfort I have received by the knowledge of your steadfastness of other our dearly beloved Brethren and Country-men in those parts beyond the Sea.

Dearer beloved Brother Grindal, I say to you and all the rest of our Brethren in Christ with you, rejoice in the Lord, as you love me, and the other my Reverend Fathers and Conspirators, (which undoubtedly are Gloria Christi) lament not our Rate, but I beseech you and them all to give to our heavenly Father for his boundless mercies and unpardonable benefits even in the midst of all our troubles given unto us, most hearty thanks. For Know ye, that as the weight of his Cross hath increased upon us, he hath not nor doth not cease to multiply his mercies to strengthen us; and I trust, yet by his grace

Excuses
blowed in
Cambridge
Mr. Latimer

shaker thereof he raised up his impious Imps to molest and trouble him.

Amongst these there was an *Angustine* Prier who took occasion upon certain Sermons that Mr. Latimer made about Christmas 1529, as well in the Church of St. Ed. wards, as also in St. *Augustine's*, within the University of Cambridge to every against him, for that Mr. Latimer in the said Sermons (alluding to the common usage of the season) gave the People certain Cards out of his 5, 6, 7. Chapters of S. *Matthew's*; whereupon they might not only then, but always ely, occupy their time. For the chief spaling that they should ferve God withal, whereby he quite overthrow all hypocritical and external Ceremonies, not tending to the necessary furtherance of Gods holy Word and Sacraments. For the better attaining hereto, he willed the Scriptures to be in *English*, whereby the Common People might the better learn their duties, as well to God as their neighbours.

The handling of this matter was so apt for the time, and so pleasantly applied of him, that not only it declared a singular towardsness of wit in the Preacher, but also wrought in the hearers much fruits, to the overthrow of Popish superstition, and setting up of perfect Religion. Of this was upon the Sunday before Christmas day, on which day coming to the Church, and causing the bell to be tolled to a Sermon, he entered into the Pulpit, taking for his text the words of the Gospel aforesaid, read in the Church that day; *Tu quis es?* In describing the Heart to be triumph, exhorting and envying all men thereby to ferve the Lord with inward Heart and true affection, and not with outward Ceremonies: adding moreover to the praise of that triumph, that though it were never so final, yet it would take up the bell Coat of Clubs, &c. meaning thereby how the Lord would be worshipped and ferved in simplicity of Heart and verity, wherein consisteth true Christian Religion, and not in the outward deeds of the letter only, or in the glittering show of mans Traditions, or Customs, or Pillages, Ceremonies, Vows, Devotions, voluntary Worships, and works of Supererogation, Foundations, Oblations, the Popes Supremacy, &c. so that all these either were needles, where the other is present; or else were of small estimation, in comparison of the other.

The tenor and effect of these his Sermons, so far as they come to our hands, here follow.

The tenor and effect of certain Sermons made by Master Latimer in Cambridge, about the Year of our Lord, 1529.

TU quis es? Which words are as much to say in *English*, *Who art thou?* These be the words of the *Pharisees*, which were said by the *Jews* unto St. *John Baptist* in the Wilderness, to have knowledge of him, who he was; which words they spake unto him of an evil intent, thinking that he would have taken on him to be Christ, and so they would have had him done with their good will, because they knew that he was more carnal, and given to their Laws than Christ indeed should be, as they perceived by their old Prophecies: and also, because they marvelled much of his great Doctrine, Preaching and Baptizing, they were in doubt whether he was Christ or not: wherefore they laid unto him, *Who art thou?* Then answered S. *John*, and confessed that he was not Christ. Now here is to be noted, the great and prudent answer of S. *John Baptist* unto the *Pharisees*, that when they required of him who he was, he would not directly answer of himself, what he was himself; but he said he was not Christ, by way of their false opinion, and belief towards him, in that they would have had him to receive the office of Christ, and so declared further unto them of Christ, saying, *He is in the midst of you, and amongst you, whom ye know not, whose father of his flesh is not worthy to untie his shoe, or make.* By this you may perceive that S. *John Baptist* much in the last and praise of Christ his Master, professing himself to be in no wise like unto him. So like-

wise it shall be necessary unto all men and women of this Anno 1555, not to ascribe unto themselves any gooddeeds of themselves, but all unto our Lord God, as shall appear hereafter, when this question aforesaid (*Who art thou?*) shall be moved unto them: not as the *Pharisees* did unto S. *John*, of an evil purpose, but of a good and simple mind, as may appear hereafter.

Now then, according to the Preachers mind, let every Man and Woman, of a good and simple mind, contrary to the *Pharisees* intents, ask this question (*Who art thou?*). This question must be moved to themselves, what they be of themselves, on this fashion, What art thou of thy only and natural generation between Father and Mother, when thou camest into the world? What substance, what virtue, what gooddeeds art thou of by thyself? Which question if thou rehearse oftentimes unto thyself, thou shalt well perceive and understand, how thou shalt make answer unto it: which must be made on this wise; I am of my self, and by my self, coming from my natural Father and Mother, the Child of the love and indignation of God, the true inheritance of his love, of his inward working nothing of myself, but all towards Hell, except I have better help of another, than I have of my self. Now we may see in what state we enter into this world, that we be of our felvates true and just inheritors of Hell, the Children of the ice and indignation of Christ, working all towards Hell, whereby we deserve of our felvs perpetual damnation, by the right judgment of God; and the true claim of our felvs: which unchristly state that we be born unto is come unto us for our own defects, as proveth well this example following.

Let it be admitted for the probation of this, that it might please the Kings Grace now being, to accept on his favour a mean man, of simple degree and birth, not born to any possession, whom the Kings Grace favour, not because this person hath of himself deserved any such favour, but that the King casteth his favour unto him of his own mere motion and fantasie; because the Kings Grace will never declare his favour, but he give it unto this said man a thousand pounds in Lands to him and his heirs, on this condition; that he shall take upon him to be the chief Captain and Defender of his Town of Calice, and to be true and faithful to him in the custody of the same, against the *French-men* especially, above all other enemies.

This man taketh on him this charge, promising his fidelity therunto; so he chanceth in process of time, that by the singular acquaintance and frequent familiarity of this Captain with the *French-men*, these *French-men* give unto the said Captain of Calice a great sum of money, so that he will be both content and agreeable, that money may enter into the said Town of Calice by force of arms, and so thereby possess the same unto the Crown of France: upon this agreement the *French-men* do invade the said Town of Calice, alone by the negligence of this Captain.

Now the Kings Grace hearing of this invasion, cometh with a great puissance to defend this his said Town, and so by good policy of war overcometh the said *French-men*, and entrench again into his Town of Calice. Then he being desirous to know how their Enemies of his came thither, he maketh profound search and inquiry, by whom this Treason was conspired; by this inquiry was known and found his own Captain to be the very author and the beginner of the betraying of it. The King, seeing the great infidelity of this Person, discharge him from his Office, and taketh from him and his heirs this thousand pounds possessions. Think you not that the King doth use justice unto him, and all his posterity and his heirs? Yes truly: the said Captain cannot deny himself, but that he had true justice, considering how unfaithfully he behaved himself to his Prince, contrary to his own fidelity and promise: So likewise it was of our first Father *Adam*. He had given unto him the spirit and sentence of knowledge, to work all gooddeeds therewith, and all his heirs and posterity. He had also delivered him into this said spirit was not given alone unto him, but unto the Town of Calice; that is to say, Paradise in earth; the most strong and fairest Town in the world, to be in his custody: He nevertheless by the infidelity of these *French-men*, i.e. the temptation of the Fiend, did obey unto their devil,

and so he brake his promise and fidelity, the commandment of the everliving King his Master, in eating of the Apple by him inhibited.

Now then, the King seeing this great treason in his Captain, deposited him of the thousand pounds of possessions, that is to say, from everlasting life in glory, and all his heirs and posterity: for likewise as he had the spirit of science and knowledge, for him and his heirs, so in like manner when he lost the same, his heirs also lost it by him, and in him. So now, this example proveth, that by our Father *Adam* we had once in him the very inducement of everlasting joy; by him, and in him again we lost the same.

The Heirs of the Captain of Calice, could not but by any manner of claim ask of the King the right and title of their Father, in the thousand pounds possessions, by reason the King might answer, and say unto them, that although their Father deserved not of himself to enjoy so great possessions, yet he deserved by himself to lose them, and greater, committing so high treason, as he did against his Princes commandments; whereby he had no wrong to lose his title, but was unworthy to have the same; and had therein true justice; let not you think which be his heirs, that if he had justice to lose his possessions, you have wrong to lose the same: In the same manner it may be answered unto all men and women now living, as if it be our Father *Adam* had true justice to be excluded from his possession of everlasting glory in Paradise, let us not think the contrary that he has; but that we have no wrong in losing also the same; yea, we have true justice and right. Then in what miserable estate we be, that of the right and just title of our own felvs have lost the everlasting joy and claim of our felvs to be true inheritors of Hell? For he that committeth deadly sin willingly, bindeth himself to be an inheritor of everlasting pain; and so did our Forefather *Adam* willingly eat of the Apple forbidden. Wherefore he was cast out of the everlasting joy in Paradise into this corrupt world amongst all felvs, whereby of himself he was not worthy to do any thing laudable or pleasant to God, evermore bound to corrupt affections and beastly appetites, transformed into the uncleanest and variablest nature that was made under heaven, of whose feed and disposition all the world is legally defended, inasmuch that this evil Nature is so diffused and freed from unto another, that at this day there is no man nor woman living, that can of themselves walk away this abominable felvies: and so we must needs grant of our felvs to be in like displeasure unto God, as our Father *Adam* was; by reason hereof, I bid we be of our felvs the very Children of the indignation and vengeance of God, the true inheritors of Hell and working all towards Hell, which is the answer to this question, made to every man and woman by themselves, *Who art thou?*

And now the world standing in this damnable state, cometh in the occasion of the Incarnation of Christ; the Father in Heaven providing the frail nature of man, that he by himself and of himself could do nothing for himself, by his prudent wisdom sent down the second person in Trinity, his Son Jesus Christ, to declare unto man his pleasure and commandment: and so at the Fathers will Christ took on him humane Nature, being willing to deliver man out of this miserable way, and was content to suffer cruel passion in fleshing his blood for all mankind, and so left behind for our felvs Laws and Ordinances, to keep us always in the right path unto everlasting life, as the Evangelists, the Sacraments, the Commandments, and so forth: which if we do keep and observe according to our profession, we shall answer better unto this question, (*Who art thou?*) than we did before: for before thou didst enter into the Sacrament of Baptism, thou wert but a natural Man, a natural Woman; as I might say, A man, a woman. But after thou takest on thee Christs Religion, thou hast a longer name: for then thou art a Christian man, a Christian woman. Now then, seeing thou art a Christian man, what shall be the answer of this question, *Who art thou?*

The answer of this Question is, when I ask it to myself, I must say that I am a Christian man, a Christian woman, the Child of everlasting joy, through the merits of the bitter Passion of Christ. This is a joyful an-

swer. Here we may see how much we be bound, and in danger unto God, that hath revived us from death to life, and lived to us that were damned: which great benefit we cannot well consider, unless we do remember what we were of our felvs before we meddled with him or his Laws: and the more we know our feeble nature, and let us by us, the more we shall conceive and know in our hearts, what God hath done for us; and the more we know what God hath done for us, the less we shall be of our felvs; and the more we shall love and please God, that in no condition we shall either know our felvs or God, except we do utterly conceive our felvs to be mere felvies and corruption. Well, now it is come unto this point, that we be Christian men, Christian women; I pray you what doth Christ require of a Christian man, or of a Christian woman? Christ requirith nothing else of a Christian man or woman, but that he will observe his Rule. For likewise as he is a good *Angustine* Prier that keepeth well St. *Augustine's* Rule, so is he a good Christian man that keepeth well Christs Rule.

Now then what is Christs Rule? Christs Rule consisteth in many things, as in the Commandments, and the works of Mercy, and so forth. And because I cannot declare Christs Rule unto you at one time, it ought to be done, I will apply my self according to your custom at this time of Christmas, I will as I said declare unto you Christs Rule, but that shall be in Christs Cards. And where you are wont to celebrate Christmas in playing at Cards, I intend by Gods grace to deal unto you Christs Cards, wherein you shall perceive Christs Rule. The game that we will play at shall be called the Triumph, which if it be well played at, he that dealeth shall win; the Players shall likewise understand the finders and lookers upon the game; inasmuch that there is no man that is willing to play at this Triumph with these Cards, but they shall be all winners, and no losers.

Let therefore every Christian man and woman play at these Cards, that they may have and obtain the Triumph; which must be this, that the Triumph must apply to fetch home unto him all the other Cards, whatsoever felvs they be of. Now then take ye this first Card, which must appear and be shewed unto you as follows. You have heard what was spoken to men of the old Law, *Thou shalt not kill*; whosoever shall kill shall be in danger of Judgment. But I lay unto you of the new Law, faith Christ, that whosoever is angry with his neighbour, shall be in danger of Judgment, and whosoever shall lay unto his neighbour, *Rachabath* is to say, Brainless, for any other like word of rebuking, shall be in danger of a Council; and whosoever shall lay unto his neighbour, *Fool*, shall be in danger of Hell-fire. This Card was made and spoken by Christ, as appeareth in the 23rd Chapter of S. *Matthew's*.

Now it must be noted, that whosoever shall play with this Card, must first before they play with it, know the strength and virtue of the same; wherefore you must well note and mark them how they be spoken, and to what purpose: Let us therefore read it once or twice, that we may be the better acquainted with it.

Now behold and see, this Card is divided into four parts: The first part is one of the Commandments that was given unto *Moses* in the old Law, before the coming of Christ, which Commandment was of the new Law be bound to observe and keep; and it is one of our Commandments. The other three parts spoken by Christ, nothing else but explications unto the first part of this Commandment: for in every effect of all these four parts be but one Commandment, that is to say, *Thou shalt not kill*; yet nevertheless these last three do shew unto thee how many ways thou shalt kill thy neighbour contrary to this Commandment: yet for all Christs explication, in the three last parts of this Card, the terms be not open enough to thee, that doth read and hear them spoken. So I desire the *Jews* understand Christ well enough when he spake to them these three last sentences, for he spake unto them in their own natural terms and tongue: wherefore seeing that these terms were natural terms of the *Jews*, it shall be necessary to expound them, and compare them unto some like terms of our natural speech, that we in like manner may understand Christ as well as the *Jews* did. We will begin first with the first part of this Card, and then after with the other three parts: you must therefore

To build a Church in honour of our Lady, or any other Saint, is in vain, they cannot help thee, they be not thy friends. 18.

All Flesh is in Bondage of Sin, and cannot avoid to Sin continually. 25.

Thou canst not be damned without Christ be damned, nor Christ be saved without thou be saved. 27.

The Commandments be given us, not to do them, but to know our Damnation, and call for mercy to God. 28.

Fasting is only to avoid surfeit, and to tame the Body: all other purposes be naughty. 26.

To bid the poor Man pray for me, is only to remember him to do his duty, not that I have any trust in his Prayer. 38.

Though thou give me a thousand pound to pray for thee, I am no more bound now, then I was before. 40.

A good deed done and not of fervent charity, as Christs was. Sin. 40.

The veriest Turk living hath as much right to my goods at his need, as mine own household, or mine own self. 42.

Alms do serveth no need. 42.

There is no work better then another to please God, to make Water, to wash dishes, to be a Souter and to be an Apotic, to wash dishes and to Preach, all others to please God. 44.

Ceremonies of the Church hath brought the World from God. 45.

Beware of good intents: they are damned of God. 46.

See thou do nothing, but that God biddeth thee. 46.

Churches are for Preaching only, and not as they be used now. 47.

To Worship God otherwise, then to believe that he is just and true in his promise, is to make God an Idol. 47.

Pharaoh had not power to let the people depart at Gods pleasure. 61.

Our Prelates in Sin faith they have power. 61. We be in captive of the Devil, and he holdeth our will in his power, that we cannot consent to Gods Law, and his will is impossible for us.

Every Man is Lord of another Mans good. 66. I am bound to love the Turk with the very bottom of my heart. 49.

Heresies and errors contained in the Book called, the obedience of a Christian Man.

Dicit quod tenemur satisficere proximo, sed non Deo, fol. 7. page 1.

Dicit quod fidei nec debent, nec possunt contrahere matrimonium aliqui conjugum parium, fol. 49. page 1.

Dicit quod vota sunt contra ordinationem divinam, fol. 29. page 1.

Non licet Christiano resistere principi Infidel. & Ethnicis, tota libertas arbitrii, fol. 26. page 1.

Whatever is done before the Spirit of God commeth, and giveth us light, is damnable Sin, contra moralis etiam virtutes, fol. 36. page 2.

He reproveh Men that make holy Saints his Advocates to God, and there he sayeth, that Saints were not rewarded in Heaven for their holy works, 37. page 1.

God moved the Egyptians to hate the people, likewise he moved Kings, &c. fol. 45. page 1.

Paul was of higher authority then Peter, fol. 62. page 2. fol. 58. page 1, and 2.

Qui intendit satisficere Deo, infidelis est, & non tenemur satisficere Deo, sed proximo, fol. 70. page 2. in fine.

Oponeit Presbiterum ducere uxorem ob duas causas, fol. 71. page 2.

Impudens confisioem anticlericalem, fol. 83. page 1, and 2.

Every Man is a Priest, and we need no other Priest to be a mean, &c. fol. 91. page 1.

Defensio Sacramenta matrimonii & ordinis, fol. 9. and 91.

He sayeth that Purgatory is of the Popes invention, and therefore he may do whatsoever he will, fol. 101. page 1.

Saints be saved, not by their merits, but only by the merits of Christs, fol. 103. page 2.

He sayeth that no Man may be hired to pray, fol. Anno 1555.

Why should I trust in Pauls Prayer or Holiness: if Saint Paul were alive, he would compare himself to Saint Paul, and be as good as he.

He faith that Saints which be dead be buy our hirings, and that there Prayer doth not profit us, fol. 119. page 1.

He sayeth, that all that be Baptized, become Christ himself, fol. 113. page 2.

He sayeth that the Children of faith be under no Law, fol. 124. page 1.

There is no deed so good, but that Law doth condemn us, fol. 113. page 1.

To ask of God more then he had promised cometh of false faith and is plain Idolatry, fol. 139. page 1.

Our pain taking in keeping the Commandments doth nothing but purge the Sin that remaineth in the flesh, but to look for any other reward or promotion in Heaven, then God hath promised for Christs sake, is abominable in the sight of God, fol. 139. page 1, and 2.

He denieth Purgatory, fol. 142.

The Pope hath no other authority but to Preach only, fol. 142. page 2.

If thou bind thy self to chastity to obtain that which Christ purchased for thee surely to art thou an infidel, fol. 145. page 2.

He denieth, rebuketh, and denieth miracles, 147.

In Prayer he faith, that no Man should serve God with good intent or zeal, for it is plain Idolatry, 149. and 150.

Errors, Blasphemies, and Heresies, noted in the Book of the Revelation of Antichrist, and the Epistle going before.

To bind a Man perpetually to any vow of Religion is without doubt an error, fol. 159. page 2.

To fain the Constitutions of Religion are good, because Holy Men did ordain them as Augustine, Benedict, Francis, Dominick, and such other, that is to leave the Faith, and to follow such examples of Fathers in some things, He est in istis rebus, is erring, fol. 159. page 1, and 2.

Whoever ordained Universities be it at Alexandria, Hales, Saint Thomas, or any other, he was a Star that fell from Heaven to Earth, they are brought in moral virtues for faith, and opinions for truth, fol. 22. page 2.

The Universities are the very confuted and opened gate of Hell, and this cloak of all other is most noisome, and doth most hurt and damage, fol. 31. page 1.

All moral Divines have a Wicked Conscience full of scrupulosity, fol. 37. page 1.

In the whole new Law is no urgent precept nor grievance, but only exhortations to observe things necessary for Souls health, fol. 63. page 1.

Moral virtues are just; temperance, strength, chastity described by natural reason maketh a Synagogue, and corrupteth Christs faith, fol. 64. page 2.

Christ took away all Law, and maketh us free, and at liberty, and most of all, he suppresseth all Ceremonies, &c.

If they would make all the Observations of the Ceremonies, as Lent, Fasting, Holy-days, Confession, Holy Communion, Mass, Matins, and Reliques, &c. free and indifferent, he should not be Antichrist, but now because he commandeth it in the Name of Christ, he doth utterly commandeth the Church, suppress the faith and advance Sin, fol. 67. page 2.

Faith only justifieth, fol. 63. page 2.

To believe in Christ maketh free inheritors with Iudas Christ, fol. 1. page 1.

If a Man say, when shall we no good works do, I answer as Christ did, this is the work of God, fol. 3. page 1.

God bindeth us to that, which is impossible for us to accomplish, fol. 3. page 1.

Christ offered up our iniquities, as a Sacrifice to his Father, fol. 4. page 1.

Sin cannot condemn us, for our satisfaction is made in Christ, which died for us, fol. 4. page 1.

I will shew you an evident Argument and reason, that thou maist know without doubt, who is Antichrist, &c.

Antio All they, that do purifie are Antichrists, the Pope, Bishops, Cardinals, and their adherents do purifie: Therefore, the Pope, Bishops, and Cardinals, and their adherents are Antichrists. I wene our Sillogismus be well made, fol. 9. page 2.

I think verily, that long as the successeurs of the Apostles were persecuted and martyred, there were good Christian Men and no longer, fol. 10. page 1.

It is impossible, that the word of the Cross should be without Affliction and Persecution, fol. 10. page 1.

That the Apostles did curse every man that truly we cannot read in Scriptures, for Christ commanded that we should bless those that cursed them, fol. 11. page 1.

They are ignorant and evil that do apply Antichrist untoe person, for he calleth Antichrist the whole Body and multitude of wicked Men, fol. 13. page 2.

By works, superstitions and Ceremonies, we decay from the faith, which alone doth truly justifie and make holy, fol. 15. page 1.

If our most Holy Father had these Laws, Matins, Prayers, and other free and according to the Gospel (God left us all equal) we should have had none of these innumerable sins, for where is no Law there is no transgression, fol. 28. page 2.

The abolition of the Mass, with all his solemnities, with vigiles, year minds, foundations, burials, and all the business that is done for the dead, is but a Face, and a Cloak of Godliness, and deceit of the people, they were good works, rather for the dead, then for the quick, fol. 24. page 1, and 2.

To keep and observe one day to fast, and another to abstain, to forbear such a meat upon the fasting day to deserve Heaven thereby is a wicked, face and cloak, and against Paul, fol. 29. page 2.

The multiplication of Holy days, of Feasts of Corpus Christi, of Visitation, and of our Lady, &c. is a wicked face and colour, and indeed foolish, unprofitable and vain, fol. 30. page 1.

Keeping of virginity and chastity of Religion is a devilish thing, fol. 30. page 1.

Worshipping of reliques is a proper thing and a cloak of advantage against the precept of God, and nothing but the affliction of Men, fol. 30. page 2, and 31. page 1.

The first vow that the Church hath received of the Pope, with help of Saint Thomas in Universities, defence of free will, moral virtues, and natural philosophy called the headed Cerberus, fol. 35. page 2.

There is but one special office, that pertaineth to thine orders and that is to Preach the Word of God, 36. page 1.

The Temple of God is not stones and wood, neither in the time of Paul was there any house which was called the Temple of God, 37. page 2.

He that fasteth no day, that sayeth no Matins and doth none of the precepts of the Pope fineth, not, if he think that he doth not Sin, 43. page 2.

Christ ordained the Sacrament of the Altar, only to nourish faith of them that live, but the Pope maketh it a good work, and a Sacrifice to be applied both to quick and dead, fol. 48. page 2.

These signs (loquuntur de miraculis in peregrinationibus & dissolutionibus) are set to the encrease of the Faith and Gospel: for they are rather against the Faith and Gospel, and they are the operation of Satan and lying liques, fol. 49. page 1.

The people of Christ doth nothing, because it is commanded, but because it is pleasant and acceptable unto them, fol. 63. page 1.

All things necessary are declared in the new Testament, but no Man is compelled, but according to their own will; Therefore Christ teacheth Matthew 16. That a Rebellion should not be killed but avoided, 63. page 1, and 2, and 66.

Contrarium ritus & ceremonias in Missa plerumque infans, 68. page 1.

Christ ordained that there should be no Sin, but unbelief, infidelity, no justice but faith, 69. page 1.

No labour is now a days more tedious then saying of Mass and Matins, &c. which before God are nothing but grievous Sins, 70. page 1, and 2.

The Sins of Manasses and other wicked Kings Sacrificing their own Children are but light and childish offences to thee: The cursed Sacrifice of Genesis may not be compared to ours, we are seven times worse gentiles then we were before we knew Christs, 70. page 2.

It was better to receive neither of the parties of the Sacrament of the Altar, then the one alone, 73. page 1.

The Law of the Pope that commandeth every Man to communicate together upon one day, is a most cruel Law, confirming Men to their own destruction, 73. page 2.

The New Testament of Christ will not suffer any Law of compulsion, but only of counsel and exhortation, 74. page 2.

The most spiritual Man of all, if he confess his Sin to a Priest fineth: for he shall confess against his will. For this sentence standeth firm and stable, he that doth a thing against his will, doth it not, and compelled service pleaseth not God, 75. page 1.

The Spirit would, that nothing should be done, but that which is expressly rehearsed in Scriptures, 81. page 1.

I doubt not, that Saint Bernard, French, Dominican, and many other Holy Men and Women erred, as concerning Masses, Matins, &c. fol. 82. page 2.

Saint Thomas de Aquino fauoreth nothing of the Spirit of God, 83. page 1.

The Pope did condemn the truth of the Word of God openly, at Constance in John Hus, persecuting unto this day in the same stubbornness, 86. page 2.

The errors and Heresies contained in the Book called, The Sum of the Scriptures.

The Water of the font hath no more vertue in it then hath any other Water.

The Water of Baptism lyeth not in hallowed Water, or in other outward thing, but only in faith. 6. page 1.

Men should not seek their health in good works, but all only in Faith and Grace, page 6.

The Water of Baptism is nothing but a sign that we must be under the standard of the Cross, 12. page 2.

God-Fathers and God-Mothers be bound to help them, that they be put to School, that they may understand the Gospel, and the Epistles of Saint Paul, 15. page 2.

We be all equally bound to know the gospel and Epistles of Paul, 15. page 2.

We think that when we believe that God is God, and can say our Creed, that we have the Faith that a Christian Man is bound to have: but so doth the Devil believe, 17. page 2.

To believe that the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost be one God, is not the principal that we must believe: our Faith doth not lye principally in that: for so believeth the Devil, 18. page 1.

We have as much right and as great to Heaven as Christ, 19. page 1.

If we believe that God hath promised us Everlasting Life: it is impossible that we should perish, 20. page 1, and 2.

If thou canst surely and steadfastly believe in God he will hold his promise, for he hath bound himself to us, and by his promise he oweth us Heaven in case that we believe him, 21. page 2.

A lively and dead faith and trust in God may bring us to Heaven, 22. page 1.

All they err that thinketh they shall be saved when they have done many good works, 23. page 2. All Chriftly Glory iours, 27. page 1.

We need not labour for to be Christs Heirs, and Sons of God, and to have Heaven, for we have all the things that already, 28. page 1.

We need not to labour by our good works to get Everlasting Life: for we have it already, we be all justified, we be all the Children of God, 28. page 2.

By Faith Men are sure to be saved, but if God had said, whosoever do such or such works shall be saved, we should ever have been uncertain, 33. page 2, 36. page 1.

All that thinketh that the good works helpeth any thing, or profit any thing to get the gift of Salvation they Blaspheme against God, and rob God of his honour, 28. page 2.

If we be circumcised, that is to say, if we put any trull in works Christ shall not help us. *ibidem*.

We deserve nothing of God. 36. page 2.
We deserve not everlasting life by our good works: for God hath promised it unto us before that we began to do good. 40. page 2.

We must love death and more desire to dye then to fear death. 36. page 1.

All Theologians are abused, that faith that hope proceedeth out of good works. 40. page 2.

To serve God in a righteousness, or for fear of hell, or for the joyes of Heaven, is but shadowes of good works, and such service doth not please God. 41. page 1.

Every Christian man must keep Gods Commandments by love, and not by hope to get for his service everlasting life. 42. page 1.

The Jews kept the Commandments, and the Law of God, yet they could not come to Heaven. 43. page 2.

If works might have saved Abraham, Isaac and Jacob, David have been saved before the Nativity of Christ. 44. page 1.

God made Men his Children and his Heirs, while we were his Enemies. 44. page 2.

A Man must do his diligence to keep his heritage of God, and labour to entertain it. *ibidem*.

A Christian Man perceiving his own Sins should think and say to God: I am certain that thou wilt not damn me, and yet thou must do it righteously. 46. page 1.

Men trusting in their good works, are like to the thief on the left side, and are such Men as cometh to the Church daily, keepeth holy-days and fasting days, and heareth Masses, and these people be fowls-damned, and this is one of the greatest errors in Christendom, and that which his good works shall help to his salvation. 47. page 1.

It is better never to have done good works, and ask mercy therefore, than to do good works, and think that for them God is bound to a Man by promise. 48. page 1.

We can shew no more honour to God, then faith and trust in him. 48. page 2.

When we Sin, we must not the glory of God. *ibidem*.

All the danger in our Sins, is the evil example that we give to our Neighbour. *ibidem*.

Our Lord demandeth nothing but the Heart. 49. page 1.

When our Lord hath our heart, he regardeth not whether we weep, pray, hear Mass, or whether we wear blew habit or gray. *ibidem*.

All outward things are indifferent before God. 49. page 2.

When our Hearts be ruled in God, according to the gospel, all is one, what thing soever we do. *ibidem*.

Faith without good works is no little, nor no feable faith, but it is no faith. 50. page 1.

Every Man doth as much as he believeth. 50. page 2.

We cannot be without motions of evil desires: but we must mortifie them in resisting them. 52. page 2.

God commandeth us to exercise works of mercy: all other works in the Church be founded by avarice not commanded by God. &c. *ibidem*.

All very Christians lieth in love of our neighbours for God and not in fasting, keeping of holy days, watching, praying, and fasting, long prayers daily, and all day hearing Mass, moving in pilgrimage. &c. 52. page 1. & 2.

Many Doctors in Theologia, and not only common people, but a part of a Christian Faith to believe that Jesus Christ hath lived here in Earth. 53. page 2. 54. page 1.

He that doth good against his will he doth evil. 56. page 1. 2.

No Man is righteous but that fulfillth the Commandments with joyful Heart. 57. page 1.

No Man doth more therein bound to do, and there fore no Man may make other partakers of their good works. 59. page 1.

Christ hath gotten Heaven by his passion, but that right hath he no need of, but hath granted it to all them that believe in his promises. 59. page 1.

If God had promised us Heaven for all good works, we should ever be free of our Salvation. 59. page 1.

Be our Sins never so great, that it seemeth impossible to us to be saved, yet without any doubt we shall believe to be saved. *ibidem*.

The salvation of a Christian Man lyeth not in this

Life, but rather endeth: for we cannot be saved but by Anno death, and in this Life is no profit. 60. page 1.

It is but folly and infidelity to weep for death of our friends. 61. page 2.

It is a great Sin before God to ordain where thou wilt be buried, for what thou wilt have on thy Tomb, all it is one before God, to be buried in the Church, or in any other place. 61. page 2.

In times passed, all that lived after the Gospel were Monks, and gave them to that life. 62. page 2.

First Monks were *Hellus, Hüllens*, the Sons of *Jemadab*. 63. page 1.

The Monks after our Saviours ascension unto S. Benedict and Gregorius days made no vows nor profession: they might eat, drink, fast, pray, when they list. They had no certain Masses, nor howers to sing, daily. 63. page 2.

What is now the Life of Religion, but a superstitious subjection unto certain vain Ceremonies? 66. page 1.

If a Man vow to live chaste, and in poverty in a Monastery, then if he perceive that in the Monastery he liveth worse then he did before, as in fornication and theft, then he may leave the Cloyster and break his vow without Sin. 71. page 1.

Saint Augustine holdeth them for Hereticks, that faith that Religious Men should not labour with their hands. 81. page 1.

Bodily labour is commanded to all persons. *ibidem*.

It is abominable to make sumptuous Monasteries, Chapels, Altar-clothes. 81. page 2.

If thou love thy Wife because she is thy Wife, that is no love before God: but thou shalt love her, because she is thy Sister in God. 83. page 2.

It is nothing but all incredulity to run with pilgrimage, and seek God in one certain place, which is like mighty in all places. 87. page 1.

Men should fee that their Children come to Church to hear the Sermon. 89. page 1.

Four manner of people, or four parts of people liveth and are fed by one part, that is to say, by Citizens, Artificers and Husbandmen, which labour and get their own expenses, and the expenses of the other 4 parties, of Priests, Monks, of Lord Councillors, old People, and Children, of Men of War, Theeves, Murthurers, Ruffians, common people, and that getteth nothing, but spendeth all. 92. page 2.

Thou shalt not count at night how much Money thou hast gained. 97. page 2.

Thou shalt not vex or grieve by Justice, or otherwise the poor that oweth unto thee: for thou shalt not do it without Sin. 97. page 2.

The good Christian shall not defend themselves by justice in no manner for any manner of wrong that they suffer, but recommend all to the good will of God. 98. page 1.

He that is rich, and liveth of his rents may not use to over-pend his goods as he will, but thy goods belong as well unto the poor as to thee. 68. page 2.

God hath not given Riches to Rich Men for to boast and brag therewith. Nor to make great cheer, neither to be servants unto all the World. 101. page 1.

It is not true that a Rich Man doth gain his goods, nor that he is Lord of his own goods, nor that he may not use them at his pleasure. 101. page 1.

A Man shall be reproved for nothing thing at the day of Judgement, but for forgetting of the poor. 101. page 2.

Making of Churches, and foundations of Masses, Chauntries and Chapels, are rather invented by covetous mind of Men, then otherwise. 101. page 2.

There be two sorts of people: one is the Kingdom of God, to which belongeth all true Christian people, and in this Kingdom Christ is King and Lord, and it is impossible in this Kingdom, that is to say among very true Christian people, that the Sword of Justice temporal should have ought to do. 104. page 1. & 2.

There is another sort of people belongeth to the World, they are the unrighteous, and they had need of the sword of temporal Justice. 105. page 1.

No Man is under the secular power, but they that be of the Christian Estate, & out of Gods Kingdom. 106. page 1. & 2.

Jesus Christ hath not ordained in his spiritual Kingdom, which is all true Christians, any sword: for he himself is their King and Governor, without sword, or without outward Law. 108. page 2.

Christian Men amongst themselves have ought to do with the sword nor with the Law, for that is to them neither needful or profitable. The secular sword belongeth not to Christs Kingdom, for in it is none but good and just. 109. page 2.

The Gospel maketh all true Christian men servants to all the World. 101. page 1.

Christ faith that no Man shall resist evil, nor sue any Man at the Law. 110. page 2.

The Gospel is written for all Persons, Estates, Prince, Duke, Pope, Emperor. 112. page 2.

When Judges hath hope that an evil doer will amend, they must be always merciful, as Christ was to the Woman taken in adultery. The temporal Law must obey the Gospel, and them that we may amend by warning, we shall not correct them by justice. 113. page 2.

A true Christian Man never plaineth to the injury that men do unto him. 114. page 1.

By the Gospel Christian Men ought not to have fight and parties among them. 114. page 2.

The obedience of a Christian Man to temporal power, as is Christ was obedient to temporal puissance, and payed tribute Money, not because that he ought it, but because he would not offend: so must a Christian Man do: but when Lords ask nought, thou oughtest them nought before God. 115. page 2.

Men of War are not allowed by the Gospel, the Gospel knoweth Peace and not War. 117. page 1.

Doctors that say that War is a thing reasonable or good, understandeth not the Words of the Gospel, for of Saint John. *ibidem*.

Saint John saith not War by his word, but rather forbids it, as teacheth all the Gospel. 118. page 1.

Some Texts of Canon-Law suffereth War, but the teaching of Christ forbiddeth all Wars. Nevertheless, when a City is beleiged, or a Country invaded, the Lord of the Country is bound to put his Liege in jeopardy for his subjects mind.

So a Lord may use horrible War charitably and christianly. 119. page 1.

A Servant should not be sorry that his Master will not suffer him to hear Mass, nor come to the Church, for God careth not what thing we do, nor in what place. 121. page 2.

Out of the Book of Beggars.

There be many Men of great Literature and Judgment, that for the love they have unto the Church, and unto the Commonwealth, have not feared to put themselves into the greatest infamy that may be in the objection of the World, yea in the peril of death, to declare their opinion in this matter, which is that there is no Purgatory, but it is a thing invented by the covetousness of the Spirituality, only to translate all Kingdoms from other Princes unto them: and that there is not one word spoken of it in all Holy Scripture: God took Enoch away, that is to say, he translated him out of this World like other Men.

Primo meo curis nam legem deus addidit: nam ad Hebraeos unde legitur: *Et deus translatum est: non videret mortem* & non inveniebatur, quia translatum illum dominus eccelsis, Enoch placuit Deo & translatus est in Paradisum, ut dicitur Genesim 37. item.

Deus, good intent, and Matthews, in building the Temple, were sought: *Et quis est quid dicit 30 Reg. 2. quia cogitasti in corde tuo edificare domum nomine meo: insitibiles insitum mente pertraxisti: ob id illum proposui David, illud praeis a Deo tulisti: & ejus filii in regno ei succederent.*

Out of the Primer.

HE putteth in the Book of seven Psalms, but he leaveth out the whole Lerany, by which it appeareth his erroneous opinion against praying to Saints.

He hath left out all the Hymns and Anthems of our Lady, by which appeareth his erroneous opinions against praying to our Lady.

Anno 1555. Jesus Christ hath not ordained in his spiritual Kingdom, which is all true Christians, any sword: for he himself is their King and Governor, without sword, or without outward Law. 108. page 2.

Christian Men amongst themselves have ought to do with the sword nor with the Law, for that is to them neither needful or profitable. The secular sword belongeth not to Christs Kingdom, for in it is none but good and just. 109. page 2.

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A Servant should not be sorry that his Master will not suffer him to hear Mass, nor come to the Church, for God careth not what thing we do, nor in what place. 121. page 2.

The ungodly and erroneous saying contained in an English work, inscribed on an expiation upon the 7. Chap. of the first Epistle to the Corinthians.

Whoever in himself doth not feel this Godly thing, this gift of chastity, but doth feel incontinency, to him, I say, a commandment is given that he may be married. fol. 2.

Hereof doth follow that no person may make a vow or promise to live chaste or single, and that none is bound to keep any such vows, but rather to break them: And he that shall observe them, it is damnable, and by the Law of God already condemned, fol. edem.

The touching of Women, some persons have compassed much treighly, so that they dare not touch a Woman hand or skin, moreover they imagined many, both Statutes and Ceremonies to keep them from company of Women, as they thought that built Abbies, but how fortunately hath been to pass, what place thereby hath been given to Satan, it were horrible to be spoken of. *ibidem*.

He that is compelled outwardly to abstain from Women, and is inwardly full of lust is a defiler, and it is double lechery. fol. 3.

Mark what Soul-layers they that do provoke foolish youth to a vow of chastity, compelling them to nourish inwardly hidden malice, fol. edem.

All other evils may be suffered with a mean Conscience.

This cannot be endured, this can be holpen by no medicine, but by marriages.

It is good for a Man not to touch a Woman's hand, good is not understood of merit and deserving alone God, as though an unmarried Man were better alone him, then the married, like as Saint Jerome hath expounded this text; for it concerneth, only faith, and no deed or work, but it is spoken of temporal quietness of his Life, so that the virgin and maid hath much more joy and tranquillity, fol. 4.

Chastity is a good thing, if lust and incontinency make it not so common a thing as we have hitherto used to do, and yet do, but all unlit; but the Apostle will, that universally all Men be conjugal, but all the Bishops since his time hath deflected this godly Ordinance, when they babble and rail in Pulpits, changing this word *quique unto quidam*, fol. 6.

Men ought to stint of their statutes making, for a better statute can none be then this, that men without any respect of time use their Wife, not to exempt certain days as they have which we call Vigils, and Women conceived, fol. 8.

Fasting is a measurable usage of meats and drinks; Prayer is a crying, sigh, desire and mourning, fol. 9.

No Man ought to enforce and compel Men to fasting and prayer as they hitherto by Laws have done, fol. 11.

Before God, all things are like and equal, fol. 12.

Abominable they do Sin which make Nuns swell in pride, when they tabble, that their Religion is more precious then Matrimony, and then feign that they shall have a Crown or Garland of Gold, fo maketh them arrogant, wicked, unfaithful, Chastity is a gift of God, and therefore can no Man neither promise, nor vow, nor keep it, fol. 13.

The sects of all them that are called Religious, and of all manner of Shavelings, are falsely called the Spiritual Orders: for Matrimony like as in very deed, fo ought to be called the spiritual state before other orders worldly and secular, Matrimony is of all other the highest Religion and most spiritual estate.

Matrimony is as Gold, the spiritual estate as Dung; the Spirit and such spiritual estates have no more agreement then Christ and Belial, the Day and the Night, the Spirit and the Flesh, Faith and our Senses or Reason, fol. 17.

Their prayer, their longing after their spiritual works, for so much as they have not the very Word of God to confirm them, God cannot be pleased with them, fol. 18.

Dico autem non nuptis & viduis, &c. Of this we have gathered that Paul had a Wife, and here speaketh only of Widows, a Wife which either was dead, or for a time

1531, and the other set out *in 1546*. In the which Proclamations, being authorized by the King's name, were inhibited all English Books, either containing or tending to any matter of the Scripture. Where also we have exprefsed at large the whole Catalogue of all the Errors and Hereties, which the faid Bifhops fully have excepted, and maliciously imputed to goodly Writers, with their places and quotations above affixed to the place aforesaid. Now Mr. Latimer growing in fome favour with the King, and seeing the great decay of Christs Religion by reason of thefe Proclamations, and touched therefore with the zeal of Confidence, directly unto King Henry this Letter hereunder enfuing, thereby intending by all means poffible to perfuade the King's mind to fet open again the freedom of Gods holy Word amongst his Subjects. The Copy and tenour of this Letter here followeth.

The Letter of Mr. Latimer written to King HENRY, for the refping again of the free liberty of reading the holy Scriptures.

To the moft Mighty Prince, King of England, HENRY the Eighth, Grace, Mercy, and Peace from God the Father, by our Lord Jesus Chrift.

Another Letter of Mr. Latimer to King Henry, Aug. 1546, Cardinal, Chryft.

Mr. Latimer touched in Confidence to write to the King.

What is to be a tray to the King.

The title written and printed of the Phariſes.

The holy Doctor St. Augustine, in an Epistle which he wrote to *Cafalanni*, faith, that he which for fear of any Power hideth the Truth, provoketh the wrath of God to come upon him: for he feareth, they more than God. And according to the time, the holy man *St. John Chryſoſtom* faith, that he is not only a traytor to the Truth, which openly for truth teacheth a lye; but he alfo which doth not freely pronounce and shew the truth that he knoweth. These sentences (most redoubted King) I read now of late, and marked them carefully in the inward parts of mine heart, they made me fore afraid, troubled, and vexed me grievously in my Confidence, and at the last drove me to this illait, that either I must forth with things as I have read and learned in Scripture, or else be of that fort that provoke the wrath of God upon thee, as be traytors unto the Truth; the which thing rather than it should happen, I had rather suffer extreme punishment.

For what other thing it is to be a traytor unto the Truth, than to be a traytor and a *falsus* unto Chrift, which is the very truth, and cause of all truth: it is the which faith, that whosoever denieth him here before me, he will deny him before his Father in Heaven. The which denying ought more to be feared and dread, than the loss of all temporal goods, honour, promotion, fame, profits, flander, hurts, banishments, and all manner of torments and cruelties, yea, and death it self, be it never so shameful and painful. But alas, how little do men regard those sharp sayings of these two holy men? and how little do they fear the terrible judgment of Almighty God? and specially they count himself to be Guides and Captains unto other, and challenging unto themselves the knowledge of holy Scripture, yet will neither bear the Truth themselves (as they be bound) neither suffer them that would. See you now what he said, that which our Saviour Chrift said to the Phariſes, *Matt. 23. We be unto you Teachers and Phariſes, which put up the Kingdom of Heaven before men, and neither will you enter in. And they will, as much as in them lieth, depart not the Word of God, which David calleth, a light to direct, and bear every man down to order his actions and life*, according to the Commandments of God, but also by their filthy wilfulness they intrude, move, and provoke in a manner, all Kings in Christendom, and especially in this your Realm they have so blinded your Liege People and Subjects with their Laws, Customs, Ceremonies and Banbury Glosses, and punished them with Curfings, Excommunications, and other corruptions (corrections, I would say), and now at the last when they see that they cannot prevail against the open Truth (which the more it is persecuted, the more it increaseth by

their tyranny) they have made it treason to your noble Grace to have the Scripture in English.

Here I beseech your Grace to pardon me a while, and patiently to hear me a word or two; yea, though it is to be fo that, as concerning your high Majesty and Regal Power, whereunto Almighty God hath called your Grace, there is as great difference between you and me, as between God and Man: For you be here to me and to all your Subjects, in Gods stead, to defend, aid, and succour us in our right and so I should tremble and quake to speak to your Grace. But again, as concerning that you be a mortal man, in danger of life, having in you the corrupt nature of *Adam*, in the which all we be both conceived, and born: so have you no less need of the merits of Christ's passion for your salvation, than I and other of your Subjects have, which be all Members of the myſticall Body of Chrift. And though you be an higher Member, yet you must not disdain the lesser. For as St. Paul faith, *1 Cor. 12. The Members that be taken to be more vile, and had more lowly reputation, be as necessary as the other, for the perfecting and keeping of the body*. This, most gracious King, when I considered, and alfo your favourableness and gentle nature, I was bold to write this rudely, homely, and simple Letter unto your Grace, trusting that you will accept my true and faithful mind even as it is.

First, and before all things, I will exhort your Grace to mark the life and process of our Saviour Chrift, and his Apostles, in preaching and setting forth of the Gospel, and to note also the words of our Master Chrift, which he had to his Disciples when he sent them forth to preach his Gospel, and to these have ever in your mind the golden Rules of our Master Chrift: *Yea, this is known by the fruit*. For by the diligent marking of these, your Grace shall clearly know and perceive who be the true followers of Chrift, and teachers of his Gospel, and who be not. And concerning the first, alfo Scripture sheweth plainly that our Saviour Jesus Chrifts life was very poor.

Begin at his birth, and I beseech you, who ever heard of a poorer, and so poor as he was? It were too long to write how poor *Joseph* and the blessed Virgin *Mary* took their journey from *Nazareth* toward *Bethlem*, in the cold and frosty Winter, having no body to wait upon them, but both Master and Man, and the both *Mother and Maid*. How vilely, I think, your Grace were they intreated in the Inns and Lodgings by the way? and in how vile and abject place was this poor *Maid*, the Mother of our Saviour Jesus Chrift, brought to Bed, without company, light, or any other thing necessary for a woman in that plight? It was not here a poor beginning, as concerning this world? Yes truly. And according to this beginning was the process and end of his life in this world, and yet he might by his godly power have had all the goods and treasures of this world at his pleasure, when and where he would.

But this he did to shew us, that his Followers and *Vit.* the poor could as should not regard and sit by the riches and treasures of this world, but after the saying of David we ought to take them, which faith thus, *If riches, promotions, and dignities happen to a man, let him not let his affluence, or pleasure, trap, and bear upon them*. So that it is not in riches, dignity, or pleasure, which Chrift preacheth in the Gospel of St. *Matthew*, Chapter 9, to be rich, to be in the glory of dignity, and in honours, so that their hearts be not fixed in God upon them so much, that they neither care for be rich, nor good men. But they be enemies to this poverty, which they have never so little, that have greedy and covetous minds to the goods of this world, only because they would live after their own pleasure and lust. And they also be proud, because they have much of the world, which have professed, as they say, wilful poverty, and will not be called worldly men, and they have *Lords* and *Land*, and *Kings* Riches, yea, rather than they will lose one jot of that which they have, they will fit de between King and King, Realm and Realm, yet between the King and his Subjects, and cause Rebellion against the Temporal Power, to the which our Saviour Chrift himself obeyed, and paid Tribute, as the Gospel declareth; unto whom the holy Apostle *St. Paul* teacheth every Christian man to obey. Yea, and beside all this, they will curse and ban, as much as in them lieth, even to the

And the deep pit of hell, all that gain-say their appetite, whereby they think their goods, promotions, or dignities should decay.

Your Grace may see what means and craft the spirituality (as they will be called) imagine, to break out with the *Acts* which were made in your Graces last Parliament against their superfluities. Wherefore they that thus do, your Grace may know not to be true followers of Chrift. And although I named the spirituality to be corrupt with this untruthy ambition; yet I mean not all to be faulty therein, for there be some good of them. Neither will I that your Grace should take away the goods due to the Church, but take away all evil persons from the goods, and fit better in their stead.

I name nor appoint no person nor persons, but remit your Grace to the rule of our Saviour Chrift, as in *Matthew* the seventh Chapter, where the *fruits* you shall know them. As touching the words that our Saviour Chrift spake to his Disciples when he sent them to preach his Gospel, they be read in *Matthew* the fifteenth Chapter, where he sheweth, that here they shall be hated and despised of all men worldly, and brought before Kings and Rulers, and that all should be laid by them, for their preaching (he), but he exhorted them to take patiently such persecution by his own example, saying, *It becometh not the servant to be above the Master. And seeing they called me Belzebub, what marvel is it, if they call you devils perſons and Hereticks*. Read the fourteenth Chapter of St. *Matthews* Gospel, and there your Grace shall see that he promised to the true Preacher, Worldly promotions or dignity, but perfection and all kinds of punishment, and that they should be betrayed even by their own Brethren and Children. In *John* also he faith, *In the world ye shall have oppression and the world shall love you: but in me ye shall have peace*. And in the tenth Chapter of St. *Johns* Gospel, faith our Saviour Chrift also, *Lo I and ye abide in the world, and ye shall have peace*. So that the true Preachers go like Sheep harmless, and persecuted, and yet they revenge not their wrongs, but remit all to God; so far is it off that they will persecute any other but with the Word of God only, which is their weapon. And so this is the most evident token that our Saviour Jesus Chrift would that his Gospel, and the Preachers of it should be known by that it should be despised among those Worldly wilfulness, and that they should repute it but foolishness, and deceivable Doctrine, and the true Preachers should be persecuted and hated, and driven from Town to Town, yea, and at the last lose both goods and life.

And yet they did this despiteful persecution, should think that they did well, and a great pleasure to God. And the Apostles remembering this lesson of our Saviour Chrift, were content to suffer such persecutions, as you may read in the *Acts* of the Apostles and the Epistles. But we never read that they ever persecuted any man. The Holy Apostle *Saint Paul* faith, *That every man that will live justly in this world, shall suffer persecution*. And alfo he faith further in the Epistle written to the *Philippians* in the first Chapter, *That it is not only given to you to believe in the Lord, but also to suffer persecution for his sake*.

Wherefore take this as a declaration, that there, where the Word of God is truly preached, there is persecution, as well of the hearers, as of the teachers: and whereas is quietness and rest in Worldly pleasure, there is not peace. For the World loveth all that are of the World, and hateth all things that are contrary to it. And to be born, St. *Paul* calleth the Gospel, the word of the Cross, the word of punishment. And the Holy Scriptures doth promise nothing to the favourers and followers of it in this World, but trouble, vexation, and persecution, which the Worldly men cannot suffer nor away without. Therefore please it your good Grace, to return to this golden rule of our Master and Saviour Jesus Chrift, which is this, *By your fruits ye shall know them*. For where there is persecution, there is the Gospel, and there is the truth; and that they do persecute, be void and without all truth; not caring for the clear light, which as our Saviour Jesus Chrift faith in the third Chapter of *St. Johns* Gospel, *Ye shall see the light, and which shall utter and show forth every mans works*. And they whose works be naughty, dare not come to this light, but go about to stop it and

hinder it, letting as much as they may, that the Holy Scripture should not be read in our Mother tongue, saying that it would cause Herefie and infurrection, and so they perfwade; at the least way they would find perfwade your Grace to keep it back. But here mark their thame: let boldness, which be not ashamed contrary to Chrifts Doctrine, to other signs of thorns, and grapes of busses, and to call light darkness, and darkness light, fwee fowre and fowre fweet, good evil, and evil good, and to say, that that which teacheth all obedience, should cause dissention and strife; but such is their belly wilfulness, where with they judged measure every thing to hold and keep still this wicked Mammon, the goods of this World, which is their God, and hath so blinded the eyes of their hearts, that they cannot fee the clear light of the faced Scripture, though they bable never so much of it.

But concerning this matter, other men have shewed your Grace their minds, how necesse it is to have the Scripture in English. The which thing alfo your Grace hath promised by your last Proclamation: the which promise I pray GOD that your gracious Highness may shortly perform, even to day before to let the Scripture be read in English. Nor let the wickedness of these Worldly men detain you from your bodily purpose, to remember the fable Worldly wife Counsellors of *Hammon* the Sone of *Nat*, King of the *Ammonites*, which when David had sent his Servants to comfort the young King for the death of his Father, by crafty imaginations counselled *Hammon*, not only not to receive them gently, but to entreat them most shamefully and cruelly, saying, *That they came not to comfort him, but to epe and search his lands, so that afterwards they bringing David word how every thing good, David might come and conquer it*. And they caused the young King to hear their heads, and to cut their cheeks by the points, and sent them away like fools; whom he ought rather to have made much of, and to have entreated them gently, and have given them great thanks and rewards. O wicked Counsellors! But see what followed of this cruel and Worldly wisdom. Truly nothing but destruction of all the whole Realm, and alfo of all them that took their parts.

Therefore good King, being that the right David, and that is you, our Saviour Chrift hath sent his Servants, that is to say, his true Preachers, and his own word also to comfort our weak and sick Souls, let not their Worldly men make your Grace believe that they will cause infurrections and Hereties, and such mischief as Chrifts they imagine of their own mad brains, left that he be avenged upon you, and your Realm, as was David upon the *Ammonites*, and as he hath ever been avenged upon them which have obstinately withstood and gained his word. But peradventure they will lay this as a objection gainst me, and say that experience doth shew, how that such men as call themselves followers of the Gospel regard not your Graces commandment, neither let by your Proclamation, and that was well proved by those persons which of late were punished in *London* for keeping such books as your Grace had prohibited by Proclamation: and so like as they regarded not this, I will not regard or heed them nor your Graces Laws, statutes, or ordinances. But this is a crafty perfwade, For your Grace knoweth that there is no man living, specially that loveth Worldly promotion, that is so foolish, to set forth, promote, or enhance his enemies, wherefore he should be let of his Worldly pleasures and fleshly desires: but rather he will seek all the way possible that he can, utterly to confound, defray, and put him out of the way. And so as concerning your last Proclamation, prohibiting such books, the very cause of it, and chiefly Counsellors (as men say), and of likehood it should be) were they, whose evil living and wicked cloaked hypocrite these books uttered and disclosed. And howbeit that there were three or four, that would have the Scripture to go forth in English, yet it happened there, as it is evermore, that the most part overcometh the better, and so it might be that these men did not take this Proclamation as yours, but as theirs which set forth in your name, as they have done many times more, which hath put your Realm in great hindrance and trouble, and brought it great penury: Authority:

Crifp writes of the Prelates to stop the reading of Holy Scripture.

Belly wife.

Perfwade to the Scripture as be read in English.

St. Chrift about Prince.

Wicked Prelates who sell his word to the world.

Objection presented, and answered to the Prelates, that they should be let of his Worldly pleasures and fleshly desires.

The cause of it, and chiefly Counsellors.

Objection presented, and answered to the Prelates, that they should be let of his Worldly pleasures and fleshly desires.

A practice of Prelates, who sell their own words under the Kings Name and Authority.

the meanness and more would have done, if GOD had not mercifully provided to bring your Grace to knowledge of the fullness and privacy thereof, which your head and Cape hath been above, and by you foretold without adherents, if the matter be fairly searched. For what marvel is it that they being so high of your Council, and so familiar with your Lords, should provoke both your Grace and them to prohibit these books, which before by their own Authority have forbidden the New Testament, under pain of excommunicating; for such is their manner, to find a thousand men to believe they find one to God, and yet a new Testament (and so I think by the other) was meekly offered to every man that would and could, to amend it, if there were any fault.

Moreover, I will ask the causes of all infections, which is that there be so many Extortors, Bribers, Murderers, and Theeves, which daily do not break only your Graces Laws, ordinances, and statutes, but also the laws and Commandments of Almighty God? I think they will not say these books, but rather their pardons which caused many a man to be in trust of them. And as for those malcontents which I now charged, you shall not find one amongst a hundred, but that they will cry out both of these books and also of them that have them, yea and will be glad to spend the good which he hath wrongfully gotten, upon Fagots to burn both the Books, and them that have them.

And touching these men that were lately punished for these books, there is no man, I hear say, that can lay any word or deed against them that should found to the breaking of any of your Graces Laws, this only except, if it be yours, and not rather theirs. And be it so that there come that have these books, that be evil, unrighteous, and self-willed persons, not regarding Gods Laws, nor Mans, yet these books be not the cause thereof, no more than was the bodily presence of Christ and his words the cause that Judas fell, but their own inward mind and carnal will, which should be amended by the virtuous example of living of their Curates, and by the true execution of the Scripture. If the Lay People had such Curates, that they should do their office, neither their books nor the Devil himself could hurt them to good of fame, so that the lack of good Curates is the destruction and cause of all mischief. Neither do I write these things because that I will either excuse them men lately punished, or to affirm all to be true written in these books, which I have not all read, but to show that they cannot find inconvenience follow of them, and specially of the Scripture as they would make men believe follow.

And though it be so that your Grace may by other books and namely by the Scripture itself know and perceive the hypocrite wolves clad in Sheeps cloathing, yet I think my self bound in Conscience to utter unto your Grace fullness as GOD put in my mind to write. And this I do (God to judge me) not for hate of any person or persons living, nor for that I think the Word of GOD should forth without perfection, if your Grace had commanded that every man within your Realm should have it in his Mothers tongue. For the Gospel must needs have perfection unto the time that it be preached throughout all the World, which is the last sign that Christ beareth to his Disciples should come before the day of Judgement: so that if your Grace had once commanded that the Scripture should be put forth, the Devil would set forth more vile or other to pervert the truth. But my purpose is for the love that I have to GOD principally, and the glory of his Name, which is only known by his Word, and for the true allegiance that I owe unto your Grace, and not to hide in the ground of my heart the talent given me of God, but to challenge it forth to other, that it may increase to the pleasure of GOD, to exhort your Grace to avoid and beware of these hypocrite flatterers, and their abominable ways and Counsels.

And take heed whose Counsels your Grace do take in this matter: for there be some that for fear of losing of their Worldly worship and honour, will not leave of their opinion, which rashly, and that to please men without by whom they had great promotion in they took upon them to

defend by writings, so that now they think that all their sentence, which is written in this book, that be the mark, and their wisdom not to greatly regarded, if that which they have to flatterously offered should be now put forth and allowed. But alas, let these men remember (Saint Paul, how fervent he was against the same truth) (and that of a good zeal) before he was called, he persecuted that which he thought before he defiled and called Heretic. And I am sure that their living is not more perfect than St. Pauls was, as concerning the outward works of the law, before he was converted.

Also the King and Prophet David was not ashamed to forsake his good intent in building of the Temple, for that the Prophet Nathan had heard him that he was not the pleasure of God that he should build him a House for him; and notwithstanding that Nathan had before allowed and praised the purpose of David, yet he was not ashamed to revoke and eat his words again, when he knew that they were not according to Gods will and pleasure.

Wherefore they be fore-drawn in Worldly Wisdom, by those that think that they worship to knowledge their Ignorance; whom I pray to God that your Grace may see, and take heed of their Worldly Wisdom, which will lack and be ashamed before God; that you may do that God commandeth, and not that temerity good in your own light without the Word of God; that your Grace may be found acceptable in his sight, and one of the members of his Church; and according to the office that he hath called your Grace unto, you may be found a faithful Minister of his gifts, and not a defender of his faith, for he will not have it defended by man or man power, but by his word only, by the which he hath evermore defended it, and that by a way far above mans power or reason, as all the stories of the Bible make mention.

Wherefore, gracious King, remember your self, have pitye upon your Soul, and think that the life is even at hand when you shall give account of your office, and of the Blood that hath been shed with your sword. In the which day that your Grace may stand fearfully, and not be ashamed, but be clear and redde in your reckoning, and to have (as they say) your Quoten off, sealed with the Blood of our Saviour Christ which only ferveth at that day, is my daily prayer to him that suffered death for us, which also praeth to his Father for grace for us continually. To whom be all honour and praise for ever. Amen. The Spirit of God preserve your Grace. Anno Domini 1530. 1. die Decembris.

In this Letter of Mr. Latimer to the King above printed, fixed, many things were to be considered: First, his good intention and Conscience to God, his good will to the King, the desire of a right Pastor unto truth, his tender care to the common wealth, and specially to the Church of Christ. Further, we have to consider the abuse of Princes Courts, how Kings many times be abused with flatterers and wicked Counsellors about them, and specially we may note the false practices of Prelates, in abusing the name and authority of Kings, to set forth their own malignant proceedings.

We may see moreover, and rather more than in any other part in this Letter, the good boldness and doing of Mr. Latimer in this man, who as yet being no Bishop, freely and plainly without all fear of Death, advertising his own life to discharge his Conscience, doth boldly to his own life, in such a dangerous case, against the Kings Law and Proclamation set out in such a terrible time take upon him to write, and to admonish, which is the Counsellors duty once speak unto him in defence of Christs Gospel. Who exemplify the Bishops and Prelates of this Realm, for their parts likewise in like cases of necessity would follow (as indeed they should) many things peradventure would not be so out of frame as they beard also for lack that the Officers of Gods Word do not their duty.

Finally, his modesty in the first Letter is to be noted, how boldly Almighty God wrought with his faithful Ministers and Servants bold adventure and wholehearted Counsel, though it did not prevail through the iniquity of the time, yet it was not without standing God wrought with his Servant in doing his duty, that no danger, nor yet duplicity nor to him thereby, but rather that good will of the Prince; for not long after the same he was advanced by

the King to the Bishoprick of Worcester, as is above declared.

Seeing Master Latimer was so bold and plain with the King (as is afore specified) no great marvel if he did use the like freedom and plainness toward other manner persons in adversity; yet a them of their more careful study if any such occasion were given, where truth and equity required his defence against injury and oppression. For example whereof we have another Letter of his, written to a certain Justice of the Peace in Warwickshire, who as he is long since departed, so he shall be here unnamed. The Letter although it may seem somewhat rough and tedious; yet I thought here to advertise the people for divers and sundry respects: First, that the virtue and faithful Conscience of this good Pastor may appear more at large; also for that all other Bishops and Pastors by this example may learn like boldness and stomach to discharge their duty and Conscience in reforming things amiss, and in plying with the Salt of Gods Word the fores of the People. Which thing if every Bishop for his part within his Diocess had done in King Edwards days, in redressing such corruption of that time with like diligence as this man did, verily I suppose that the perfection of Queen Marys was not so plagued the Realm as it did; but whereas never a man almost liveth in due order, and yet never a Bishop will stir to seek redress, what can become of the Realm? In another respect is because of the Justices and all other placed in room and office, which may take heed hereby, not to abuse their Authority to tread down truth, and bear down poor men with open wrong through extortion or partiality: And finally, that all injurious oppressors whatsoever, by the said Letter may take some fruit of wholesome admonition. What the argument and occasion was of this Letter, I shewed before. The tenor and purport thereof, as it was written to the Gentleman, is this as followeth.

A faithful Letter of Mr. Latimer, written to a certain Gentleman.

Right Worshipful, *Salutem in Domino.* And now, Sir I understand, that you be in great admiration at me, and take very grievously my manner of writing to you, adding therunto that you will not bear it at my hand, nor, not if I were the best Bishop in England, &c.

As Sir! I see well I may say as the common saying is, Well, I have fished and caught a Frog; brought little to pass with much ado. You will not bear it with me, you say. Why Sir? what will ye do with me? You will not fight with me, I trow. It may seem unseemly for a Justice of Peace to be a breaker of peace; I am glad the doing time of my foolish youth is gone and past. What will you then do with me, in that you say you will not bear it at my hand? What hath my hand offended you? Perchance you will consent me before some Judge, and call me into some Court. — *hinc oritur Equidem non recte judicium illud. Accusationem.* — *item, ut emendemus alio alium in nomine Domini. Fiat iustitia in judicio.* I bid at in the said Letter, the good boldness and doing of Mr. Latimer in this man, who as yet being no Bishop, freely and plainly without all fear of Death, advertising his own life to discharge his Conscience, doth boldly to his own life, in such a dangerous case, against the Kings Law and Proclamation set out in such a terrible time take upon him to write, and to admonish, which is the Counsellors duty once speak unto him in defence of Christs Gospel. Who exemplify the Bishops and Prelates of this Realm, for their parts likewise in like cases of necessity would follow (as indeed they should) many things peradventure would not be so out of frame as they beard also for lack that the Officers of Gods Word do not their duty.

Finally, his modesty in the first Letter is to be noted, how boldly Almighty God wrought with his faithful Ministers and Servants bold adventure and wholehearted Counsel, though it did not prevail through the iniquity of the time, yet it was not without standing God wrought with his Servant in doing his duty, that no danger, nor yet duplicity nor to him thereby, but rather that good will of the Prince; for not long after the same he was advanced by

dealing, and such like misbehavior. *O quam grave piaculum!* What a sore matter is this? And will ye not bear to much with me? Will ye not take fish a fiew of my good will towards you, and, toward the faving of your Soul at my hand? Oh Lord God, who would have thought that Mr. N. had been so impudent, that he would not be so godly anxious for the health of his Soul! I have in life to commit such trespasses many times in a year with your betters by two or three degrees, both Lords and Ladies, and the best of the Realm; yet hitherto I have not heard that any of them have said in their displeasure, that they will not bear it at my hand. Are you yet to be taught what is the office, liberty and privilege of a Preacher? What is it else, but even *arguere mundum de peccato, et* to rebuke the World of its sin, without respect of persons: *Quod quidem ipsum est spiritus Sancti peculiare in ecclesia ministerio officium, sed non nisi per Benedicentes legitime exsequendum.* Which thing undoubtedly is the peculiar office of the Holy Ghost in the Church of God, for that it be preached by lawful Preachers. You could not but hear (believe) to hear your fault openly reproved in the Pulpit, which cannot bear the fame in a secret sealed up Letter, written both friendly, charitably, and truly: *Nisi forte arriter reprehendere peccata, si iam omni charitate, amicitia, veritate carere.* I. Unless perhaps to rebuke him sharply, be new to lack all charity, friendship, and truth. But Master N. if you will give me leave to be plain with you, I fear me you be so plunged in Worldly purifications, and do drowned in the manifold dredges of this deceivable World, that when you have forgotten your Catechism. Read therefore again the opening of the first Commandment, and then tell me whether you of me, or I of you have just cause to complain, &c.

Item Sir, you said further, that I am wonderfully abused by my neighbour, &c. How so, good Mr. N? Wherein? Or how will you prove it to be true, and when? So you said, that he had abused you, and given you wrong information; but the contrary is found true by good testimony of M. Chamber, which heard as well as you what my neighbour said, and hath testified the same, both to you, and against you, full like himself. Mr. N, to forge and feign (which argueth an ill cause) that is one thing; but to prove what a man doth say, that is another thing. As though you were privileged to out-face poor men, and bear them in hand what you list, as may seem to make some maintenance for your naughty cause. Trust me, Mr. N. I was but a very little acquainted with my neighbour when this matter began; but now I have found him so conformable to honesty, upright in his dealings, and so true in his talk, that I esteem him better than I do some other whom I have perceived and found otherwise. For I will flatter no man, nor will I ever claw his back in his folly, but esteem all men as I findeth me. I find them, allowing what is good, and disallowing what is bad: *In omnibus hominibus five amicus five inimicus, iuxta praeceptum Paulinum, a filius iuxta sculis in pretio non habemus.* Sitis, idcirco inquit, prosequentes quod bonum est, adhaerentes autem ei quod bonum est: *Neque bonum malum, neque malum bonum in gratiam hominum afferimus unquam.* *id quod filii Iuxta sculis, cuius faciemus, est videtur mihi.* Among all men, either Friends or enemies, according to Pauls precept, not esteemed of the Children of this World; I hate you, faith he, that which is evil, and cleave to that which is good. And let us not any time for the favour of men, call good evil, and evil good, as the Children of this World are commonly wont to do, as it is every where to be seen. And now what manner of man do you make me, Master N. when you note me to be so much abused by so ignorant a man so simple, so plain, and so far without all wrinkles? Have I lived so long in this tottering World, and have I been so many ways turned and tossed up and down, and yet never to that enterprize be lifted at his pleasure? Well, I say not nay, but I may be abused. But why do you tell me how your Brother abused me?

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from us, acknowledge you to be none of us, to renounce you as no member of the Church, & to declare that you are *hinc perditionis*, a lost Child, and as you are a rotten member of the Church, so to cut you off from the Church, & so to commit you to the temporal Judges, permitting them to proceed against you, according to the tenor of their Laws.

Therefore M. Latimer, for Gods love consider your estate, remember you are a Learned man, you have taken degrees in the School, born the office of a Bishop; remember you are an old man, spare your body, accelerate not your death, and specially remember your Souls health, quiet of your Conscience; consider that if you should die in this state, you shall be a sinking sentence to God; for it is the cause that maketh the Martyr, and not the death; consider that if you die in this state, you die without grace, for without the Church can be no salvation. Let not vain-glory have the upper hand, humiliate your self, captivate your understanding, subdue your reason, submit your self to the determination of the Church: do not force us to do all that we may do, let us rest in that part which we most heartily desire, and I, for my part (then the Bishop put of his Cap) again with my heart exhort you.

After the Bishop had somewhat paused, then M. Latimer lift up his head (for before he leaped on his elbow) and asked whether his Lordship had said; and the Bishop answered, Yes.

Lat. Then will your Lordship give me leave to speak a word or two?

Line. Yes, Mr. Latimer, so that you use a modest kind of talk, without railing or taunts.

Lat. I beseech your Lordship, licence me to fit down.

Line. At your pleasure, Mr. Latimer, take as much ease as you will.

Lat. Your Lordship gently exhorted me in many words to come to the unity of the Church. I confess (my Lord) a Catholic Church, spread throughout all the world, in the which no man may err, without the which unity of the Church no man can err, without the which unity perfectly by Gods Word, that this Church is in all the world, and hath not his foundation in Rome only as you say; and me thought your Lordship brought a place out of the Scriptures to confirm the same, that there was a Jurisdiction given to Peter, in that Christ bade him *regere*, govern his People. Indeed, my Lord, St. Peter did well and truly his office, in that he was bid *regere*; but were indeed they ought *regere*, but how my Lord? *regere*. Indeed they ought *regere*, but how my Lord? he ledged in and ditched in. They must *regere*, but *secundum Verbum Dei*; they must rule, but according to the Word of God.

But the Bishops of Rome have turned *regere secundum Verbum Dei*, into *regere secundum voluntatem suam*; they have turned the Rule according to the Word of God, into the Rule according to their own pleasures, and as it pleaseth them best: as there is a Book set forth which hath divers points in it, and amongst other, this point is one, which your Lordship went about to prove by this word *regere*, and the Argument which he brings forth for the proof of that matter, is taken out of *Deuteronomy*, where it is said, If there arise any controversy among the People, the Priests, *Leviticus* generis, of the order of *Levi*, shall decide the matter *secundum Legem Dei*, according to the Law of God; so it must be taken. This Book perceiving this Authority to be given to the Priests of the old Law, taketh occasion to prove the same to be given to the Bishops and other the Clergy of the new Law: but in proving this matter, whereas it was said there, as the Priests of the order of *Levi* should determine the matter according to Gods Law; that (according to Gods Law) is left out, and only is recited, as the Priests of the order of *Levi* shall decide the matter, it ought to be taken of the People; a large Authority I enforce you. What gelding of Scripture is this? what clipping of Gods Word? With the which terms the Audience smiled. This is much like the *Reges* which your Lordship talked of. Nay, nay, my Lords, we may not give this Authority to the clergy, to rule all things as they will. Let them keep themselves

within their Commission. Now I trust, my Lord, I do Anno

not rail yet.

Line. No, Mr. Latimer, your talk is more like taunts than railing: but in that I have not read the Book which you blame so much, nor know not of any such, I can say nothing therein.

Lat. Yes, my Lord, the Book is open to be read, and is intitled to one which is Bishop of Gloucester, whom the

I never knew, neither did at any time see him to your knowledge. With that the People laughed, because the Bishop of Gloucester fate there in Commission.

Then the Bishop of Gloucester stood up, and said, it was his Book.

Lat. Was it yours, my Lord? indeed I knew not your Lordship, neither ever did I see you before, neither yet see you now, through the brightness of the Sun shining between you and me. Then the Audience laughed again; and Mr. Latimer spake unto them saying; Why, my Masters, this is no laughing matter. I answer upon life and death, *Vae vobis qui ridetis nunc, quoniam flebitis*.

The B. of Lincoln commanded silence; then said: Line. Mr. Latimer, if you had kept your self within your bounds, if you had not used such scoffs and taunts this had not been done.

After this the Bishop of Gloucester said in exulting of his Book.

Gloucester. Mr. Latimer, hereby every man may see what learning you have.

Then M. Latimer interrupted him saying: Lat. Lo you look for learning at my hands which have gone so long to the School of oblivion, making the bare walls my Library, keeping me, so long in Prison without Books, or pen and ink; and now you let me loose to come and answer to Articles. You deal with me as though two were appointed to fight for life and death and over night the one through friends and favour, is enriched, and hath good would give him how to encounter with his enemy. The other, for envy or lack of friends, all the whole night is set in the Stocks.

In the morning when they shall meet, the one is in his strength and lusty; the other is stark of his limbs, and almost dead for feebleness. Think you, that to run thus row this man with a spear is not a goodly victory?

But the Bishop of Gloucester interrupting his answer, proceeded, saying:

Glouc. I would not to recite any places of Scripture in that place of my Book; for then if I had not recited in this fashion, you might have had just occasion of reprehension: but I only in that place formed an Argument.

a majores, in this sense; that in the old Law the Priests had power to decide matters of Controversy, much more then ought the Authority to be given to the Clergy in the new Law; and I pray you in this point what avail their rehearsal, *secundum legem Dei*?

Lat. Yes, my Lord, very much. For I acknowledge Authority to be given to the Spirituality to decide matter of Religion, and as my Lord said even now, *regere*; but they must do it *secundum Verbum Dei*, and not *secundum voluntatem suam*, as was intimated by the Word and Law of God, and not after their own will, after their own imaginations and fantasies.

The Bishop of Gloucester would have spoken more, saying that the Bishop of Lincoln said, that they came not to dispute with Mr. Latimer, but to take his determinate answers to their Articles, and so began to propound the same Articles which were propounded to Mr. Ridley. But Mr. Latimer interrupted him, speaking to the Bishop of Gloucester; Well, my Lord, I could with more faithful dealing with Gods Word, not to leave out a part, and snatch a part here, and another there, but to rehearse the whole faithfully.

But the Bishop of Lincoln, not attending to this saying of Mr. Latimer, proceeded in the rehearsing the Articles in form and kind as I declared before in the examination of the Articles, propounded to Mr. Ridley, and required Mr. Latimer answer to the first. Then Master Latimer making his protestation, that notwithstanding thereby his answers it should not be taken that thereby he would acknowledge any Authority of the Bishop of Rome, saying, that he was the King and Queen of Romes Subjects, and not the Popes, neither could give

five two Masters at one time, except he should now renounce one of them; required the Notaries so to take his protestation, that whatsoever he should say or do, it should not be taken as though he had thereby agreed to any Authority that came from the Bishop of Rome.

Line. The Bishop of Lincoln said, that his Protestation should be so taken; but he required him to answer briefly, affirmatively; or negatively to the first Article, and so recited the same again: and Mr. Latimer answered as followeth.

Lat. I do not deny (my Lord) that in the Sacrament by spirit and grace is the very Body and Blood of Christ, because that every man, by receiving both that Bread and Wine, is spiritually received the Body and Blood of Christ, and is made partaker thereby of the merits of Christs Passion: but I deny that the Body and Blood of Christ is in such sort in the Sacrament, as you would have it.

Line. Then Master Latimer, you answer affirmatively.

Lat. Yes, if you mean of that gross and carnal being, which you do take.

The Notaries took his answer to be affirmatively.

Line. What say you M. Latimer to the second Article? and recited the same.

Lat. There is, my Lord, a change in the Bread and Wine, and such a change as no power, but the Omnipotence of God can make, in that that which before was Bread, should now have the dignity to exhibit Christs Body, and yet the Bread is still Bread; and the Wine still Wine: for the change is not in the nature, but in the dignity, because now that which was common Bread hath the dignity to exhibit Christs Body; for whereas it was common Bread, it is now no more common Bread, neither ought it to be so taken, but as holy Bread sanctified by Gods Word.

With that the Bishop of Lincoln smiled, saying: Line. Lo Master Latimer, see what fedfulness is in your Doctrine. That which you abhorred and despised most, you now most establish: for whereas you most railled at holy Bread, you now make your Communion holy Bread.

Lat. Truly, a rush for holy Bread. I lay the Bread in the Communion is an holy Bread indeed.

But the Bishop of Lincoln interrupted him, and said:

Line. O, ye make a difference between holy Bread and holy Bread, (with that the Audience laughed.) Well, Mr. Latimer, is not this your answer, that the substance of Bread and Wine remaineth after the words of Consecration?

Lat. Yes verily, it must needs be so. For Christ himself calleth it Bread, St. Paul calleth it Bread, the Doctors confess the same, the nature of a Sacrament confirmeth the same, and I call it holy Bread, not in that I make no difference between your holy Bread and this, but for the holy office which it beareth, that is, to be a figure of Christs Body, and not only a bare figure, but effectually to represent the same.

So the Notaries penned his answer to be affirmatively.

Line. What say you to the third question? and recited the same.

Lat. Nay, my Lord, Christ made one perfect sacrifice for all the whole world, neither can any man offer him again, neither can the Priest offer up Christ again for the sins of man, which he took away by offering himself once for all (as St. Paul faith) upon the Cross, neither is there any propitiation for our sins, saving his Crucifixion.

So the Notaries penned his answer to this Article also to be affirmatively.

Line. What say you to the fourth, Mr. Latimer? and recited it. After the recital whereof, when Mr. Latimer answered not, the Audience asked him whether he heard him or no?

Lat. Yes, but I do not understand what you mean thereby.

Line. Marry only this, that these your Assertions were condemned by Master Dr. Wosten as Heresies; is it not so Mr. Latimer?

Lat. Yes, I think they were condemned. But how unjustly, he that shall be judge of all, knoweth.

So the Notaries took his answer to this Article also to be affirmatively.

Line. What say you Mr. Latimer to the fifth Article? and recited it.

Lat. I know not what you mean by these terms: I am no Lawyer, I would you would propound the matter plainly.

Line. In that we proceed according to the Law, we must use their terms also. The meaning only is this, that these your Assertions are notorious, evil spoken of, and yet common and frequent in the mouths of the People.

Lat. I cannot tell how much; nor what men talk of them. I come not so much among them, in that I have been secluded a long time. What men report of them I know not, nor care not.

This answer taken, the Bishop of Lincoln said:

Line. Mr. Latimer, we mean not that these your Answers shall be prejudicial to you. To morrow you shall appear before us again, and then it shall be lawful for you to alter and change what you will. We give you respite till to morrow, trusting that after you have pondered well all things against to morrow, you will not be ashamed to confess the truth.

Lat. Now, my Lord, I pray you give me licence in three words, to declare the causes why I have refused the Authority of the Pope.

Line. Nay, Mr. Latimer, to morrow you shall have licence to speak 40 words.

Lat. Nay, my Lords, I beseech you to do with me now as it shall please your Lordships: I pray you let me not be troubled to morrow again.

Line. Yes, Mr. Latimer, you must needs appear again to morrow.

Lat. Truly, my Lord, as for my part I require no respite, for I am at the point; you shall give me respite in vain: therefore I pray you let me not trouble you to morrow.

Line. Yes, for we trust, God will work with you against to morrow. There is no remedy, you must needs appear again to morrow at eight of the Clock in Saint Maries Church. And forthwith the Bishop charged the Mayor with Mr. Latimer, and dismissed him, and then broke up their Session for that day, about one of the Clock at Afternoon.

Here followed the second Session.

The next day following (which was the first day of October) somewhat after eight of the Clock, the said Lords repaired to Saint Maries Church, and after they were set in a high Throne well trimmed with cloth of Tissue and Silks, then appeared Mr. Ridley, who was set at a framed Table a good space from the Bishops feet, which Table had a Shille-cloth cast over it, the which place partly for Gentleness, which required thither (for this was the Session-day also of Gods delivery) and heads of the University to sit, and partly to keep off the press of the Audience: for the whole Body, as well of the University as of the Town, came hither to see the end of these two Persons. After Mr. Ridley's appearance, and the silence of the Audience, the Bishop of Lincoln spake in manner following:

Line. Mr. Ridley, yesterday when that we challenged you for not uncovering your head, you excused your self, that thereof no man accused you, in saying you did not put on your Cap for any obsequy towards us, which as touching our own persons defined no such obedience of you, but only in respect of them whose persons we bear; neither (you said) for any contempt that you bear to this worshipful Audience, which although justly may yet in this case require no such humility of you; neither for any derogation of honor to my Lord Cardinal grace; in that he is defended from the Regal Blood, in that he is a man most Noble both for his excellent qualities and singular Learning; for as touching those points, you said, you with all humility would honor, reverence, and worship his Grace; but in that he is Legate to the

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For even of thy greatest Magistrates, some (the Kings Highness then, that innocents that godly-hearted and pious young Christian Prince excepted) evermore unkindly and ungenially, against thee that went about most busily, and most wholly to cure their fore Backs, spurned privity, and would not spare to speak evil of them; even unto the Prince himself, and yet would they towards the same Preachers outwardly bear a jolly countenance and a fair face.

I have heard that *Cramer*, and another whom I will not name, were both in high displeasure, the one for shewing his Conscience secretly, but plainly and fully in the Duke of Somerset's case; the other for not especially *Cramer* for repugning, as they might, against the late Policy of the Church gods, taken away only by commandment of the higher powers, without any Law or order of Justice, and without any request or consent of them to which they did belong. As for *Latimer*, *Lee*, *Bradford*, and *Knox*, their Tongues were so fiery, they ripped in to deep in their galled backs; to have purged them (no doubt) of that filthy matter that was sattered in their hearts of infatiable covetousness, of filthy carnality and voluptuousness, of intolerable ambition and pride, of ungodly lasciviousness, of heretic New Causes, and to hear Gods Word, that these Men, of all other, these Magistrates then could never abide. Other there were very goodly Men and well learned, that went about by the wholesome Pillaries of Gods Word, howbeit after a more soft manner of handling the matter; but (as I say) all spent alike. For all that could be done by all hands, their disease did not diminish, but daily did increase, which (no doubt) is no small occasion in that age of the heavy plague of God that is poured upon England at this day. As for the common sort of other inferior Magistrates, as Judges of the Laws, Justices of Peace, Sergeants, Common Lawyers, it may be truly said of them, as of the most part of the Clergy of Curates, Vicars, Parsons, Prelates, Doctors of the Law, Archdeacons, Deans, yeas, and I may say of Bishops also, for the most part, (although I doubt not but God had, and hath ever whom he will ever fire love and knoweth to be his) but for the most part, say they were never perished in their hearts, but from the teeth forward, and for the Kings sake, in the truth of Gods Word, and yet all these did diffemble, and bear a Copy of a countenance, as if they had been found within.

And this diffimulation Satan knew well enough, and therefore desired; and hath ever gone about, that the high Magistrates by any manner of means might be deceived in matters of Religion; for then he being of Counsel with the diffimulation in the World, knew well enough that he should bring to pass, and rule all even after his own will.

Hypocrite and Diffimulation *S. Heron* doth call well a double wickedness; for neither it loveth the truth (which is one great evil) and also falsely it pretends to deceive the simple for another thing. This Hypocrite and Diffimulation with God, in matters of Religion, no doubt, hath wholly also provoked the anger of God. And as for the common people, although there were many good, where they were well and diligently taught: yet (God knoweth) a great number received Gods true Word and high benefit without thankful hearts. For it was great pity, and a lamentable thing to have seen in many places the people so loathfully and unregardfully to come to the Holy Communion, and to receive it accordingly, and to the Common Prayers, and other divine Service, which were according to the true vein of Gods Holy Word, and in all points so godly and wholesome as yet forth, in comparison of that blind zeal, and uncorrect devotion which they had sometimes to those things, whereof they understood never one whit, nor could be edified by them any thing at all.

And again, as for our almshouses, which are taught in Gods Word, whereby we are certain that God is in them, and that time spent pleases him and doth and will require such hands, which are a part of true Religion as *S. James* faith, and such as he faith himself he feeds more by than by Sacrifices to provide for the Fatherless, Infants, and Orphans; for the lame, aged and impotent poor, needy folk, and to make publick provision that the poor that might

labour, should have wherewith to labour upon, and so Anno be kept from shameful beggary and starving in the streets. I say how wayward were many in comparison (I mean) of that great prodigality whereby in times past they spared not to spend upon flattering Priests, false parsons, painting and gauding of stocks and flocks, to be set up, and honoured in Churches, plainly against Gods Word? And yet because no place is to be defrauded of their just commendation, London, I must confess for such goodly works in Sir *Richard Dobs*, Knight, then Lord Mayor, his year began marvellous well: The Lord grant the same may so likewise persevere, continue, yet and increase, to the comfort and relief of the needy and helpless, that was so godly begun, Amen.

All these things do minister more matter of mourning and bewailing the miserable state that now is: for upon this it may be perceived, how England hath deserved this just plague of God. And also it is greatly to be feared, that those good things, whatsoever they were that had their beginning in the time when Gods word was so freely Preached, now with the exile and banishment of the same, will depart again.

But to return again to the consideration of this miserable state of Christs Church in England, and to leave farther and more exquisite searching of the causes thereof unto Gods fierce and unfeared judgments, let us use what is best now to be done for Christs little Flock. This is one maxim and principle in Christs Law, that deseth Christ before Men, him shall Christ say after his Father and all his Angels in Heaven. And therefore every one that looketh to have by Christ our Saviour Everlasting Life, let him prepare himself both he deny not his Master Christ, or else he himself but a calf-catch way, and a wretch, howsoever he be counted or taken here in the World.

Now then seeing the Doctrine of Antichrist is resumed again into this Realm, and the higher powers (as) are deceived and bewitched, that they are persuaded it to be true, and Christs true Doctrine to be error and heresy, and the Old Laws of Antichrist are allowed to return with the power of their Father again: what can hereafter be looked for, by reason to the Man of God, and true Christian, abiding in this Realm but extreme violence of death, or else to deny his Master? I grant the Hearts of Princes are in Gods hands, and whatsoever he will he can make them bow down, and all Christ-faith Princes in Old Time use a more gentle kind of punishment, even to them which were Heretics indeed, as degradation, and deposition out of their Rooms and Offices, Exile and Banishment out of their Dominions and Countries; and also (as it is read) the true Bishops of Christs Church were sometime intercessors for the Heretics unto Princes, that they would not kill them, as is read of *S. Augustine*. But as yet Antichrists kingdom was not so erected at that time, nor is now accustomed to order them that will not fall down and worship the Beast and his Image (but even so all the World knoweth) after the same manner that both *Jalen* and *Daniel* had prophesied before that, is, by violence of death, and *Daniel* declareth farther, that the kind of death accountably should be by Sword, Fire, and Imprisonment.

Therefore if now, O Man of God, doth purpose to abide in this Realm, prepare and arm thyself to die: for both by Antichrists accountable Laws, and their prophecies, there is no appearance or likelihood of any other thing, except thou wilt deny thy Master Christ, which is the loss at the last both of Body and Soul unto everlasting death. Therefore my good Brother or Sister, Christ, whatsoever thou be, to thee that canst and maistest do, that thou countest that I think is the best safeguard for thee, both for thy Body, and most surety for thy Souls health, that I shall thee thus hereafter. But first I warn thee to understand me to speak to him or hers, which be not in captivity, or called already to confess Christ, but are at liberty abiding.

My Counsel, I say, therefore is this, to fly from *Caesar* the plague, and get thee hence. I consider not only the great subtilties of Satan, and how he is able to deceive by his false persuasions (if it were possible) even the chosen of God, and also the great facility, which is offered more in a Man, than he doth know in himself, which

in the time of temptation then will utter it self: I do not only consider these things, I say, but that our Master Christ, whose Life was and is a perfect rule of the Christian Mans Life: that he himself avoided oftentimes the fury and madness of the Jews, by departing from the Country or place.

Paul likewise when he was sought in *Damascus*, and the gates of the City were laid in wait for him, was conveyed by night, being let down in a basket out of a Window over the wall; and *Edith* the Prophet bid the persecution of wicked *Yahel*: And Christ our Saviour faith in the Gospel: *When they persecute you in one City, fly into another*: and to do many great, great, learned, and virtuous Men of God, which were great and stout Champions nevertheless, and true confessors and maintainers of Christ and his truth, in due time and place. Of this was the great Clerk *Athanassi*. But this is to plain to be lawful by Gods Word, and Examples of holy Men, that I need not to stand in it.

Having this for my ground, I fly to thee, O Man of God, this fierceness to me to be the most sure way for thy safeguard to depart and flee far from the plague, and for thy safety also: for truly before GOD, I think, that the abomination that *Daniel* prophesied of so long before, is now set up in the holy place. For all the Doctrine of Antichrist, his Laws, Rites, and Religion contrary to Christ, and to the true believing and worshipping of God, I understand to be that abomination: Therefore now is the time in England for those words of Christ, *Time inquire qui in Judaea sunt, fugiant ad montes*. Then (saith he) mark this Christs (then) for truly I am persuaded, and I trust by the Spirit of God, that this (then) is commanded; *Then* (saith Christ) they that be in Jewry, let them flee into the Mountains, and he that is on the knave top, let him

not come down to take away any thing out of his house, and he that is abroad in the field, let him not go to take his mantle. We be to the great-bellied Women, and to them that give suck; but pray (saith Christ) that your fight be not in winter, or on the Sabbath day.

These words of Christ are mythical, and therefore had need of Interpretation. I understand all those to be in Jewry spiritually, which truly confess one true living God, and the whole truth of his Word, after the doctrine of the Gospel of Christ: Such as they whom Christ here biddeth, in the time of the Reign of Antichrists abominations to flee unto the Mountains; which figuratively places of safeguard, and all such things which are able to defend from the plague. That he biddeth him that is on the knave top, not to come down, and him that is in the field, not to return to take with him his cloaths; he meaneth that they should speed them to get them away beine, let in their tarrying and trifling about working provision, they be trapped in the snare ere they be aware, and caught by the back, and for gain of small worldly things, endanger and call themselves into great perils of more weighty matters. And where he faith, *We be to the great-bellied Women, and to them that give suck*; Women great with Child and to their lying down, and to be brought to bed, and not able to travel; and also those Women, which are brought to bed, and now give their babes suck: they therefore Christ figuratively understandeth all such to be in extreme danger, which this word *wo* figuratively call, I say, as to be led by any manner of means, that they no way be able to flee from the plague. And where Christ faith, *Pray you that your fight be not in the Winter, nor on the Sabbath day*: In Winter, the common course of the year teaches us, that the ways be full, and therefore it is a hard thing then to take a far journey for many incommodious reasons, the ways in that time of the year, and on the Sabbath day it was not lawful to journey, but a little way. Now Christ therefore meaning that we should have need, both to speed our journey quickly, which cannot be done in winter, for the incommodities of the ways, and also to pray, which cannot be done on the Sabbath day, he biddeth us therefore pray that our flight be not in the Winter, nor on the Sabbath day: that is to pray that we may flee in time and also far enough from the danger of the

plague. Now, the causes why we should flee, follow in the same place of *S. Matthew* Gospel, which I now pass over; thou maist read them there.

And in the sixteenth Chapter of the Revelation, the Angel is said to have cried mightily with a loud voice, *Fly my people out of Babylon, lest you be infected with her faults, and so be made partners of her plagues: for her offences and sins are grown so great, that they shall &c. are come down to the heavens*; certainly the time doth approach, and the Lords day is at hand. Here I beseech you all *Paul* that blessed Apostle, he plainly forbiddeth us, *Ducere jugum cum incredulis*, that is, *To join or couple our selves with the unfaithful: for what fellowship can there be, faith he, of righteousness with unrighteousness*; what company hath with darkness, what agreement hath Christ with Belial? or what part can the faithful have with the unfaithful? or how doth the Temple of God agree with Images or Idols? For you are the Temple of the living God: as God is said: *Idols*, I will walk and dwell in them, I will be their God, and they shall be my people: wherefore depart from amongst them, and get you from them, faith the Lord, and touch no unclean thing; and I will receive you, and be to you in the stead of your Father, and you shall be unto me my Sons and Daughters, faith the Almighty God.

This Counsel to depart the Realm, I do not marvel it doth seem to divers (even of them I mean that bear favour to God-ward) diversely. Many (I trust) that be learned shall think the counsel good. Others there be peradventure that will think it rather a thing to be more tolerable than that it may be feared by Gods Word, and I would by no means, rather than to be Counted to be done, for they will peradventure say, we should Counsel a Man always to do that, which is best of all of most perfection: but boldly in Christs cause to spend a Mans Life, is best of all, and of most perfection: and to flee may seem to be kind of cowardliness, in many things, that which is best of all sometimes, is not best for all at all times, and is not of most perfection, nor meet for a Child to cover to, before he can go. I will not make here a discourse in this matter, what might here be objected, and what might be answered again; I leave that to the witty and eloquent Men of the World.

This is my mind, which I would thou shouldst know, O Man of God, as I would with, and I do pray to Almighty GOD it may be that every true Christian, either Brother or Sister, after they be called and brought into the wrestling place, to strive in Christs cause for the best game; that is to confess the truth of the Gospel of the Christian Faith, in hope of Everlasting Life (which should not think, nor relent one inch, nor give back, whatsoever shall befall, but to stand to their tackle, and stick by it even unto death, as they will Christ fall stick by them at the latter day: so likewise dare we without counsel any, either Brother or Sister, of their own free willings, to fling into the fire, or to call themselves either before, or farther in danger than time and need shall require: for undoubtedly when God feels his time, and his pleasure is that his Glory shall be for forth, and his Church edited by thy death and confession, means shall be found by his faithfully universal providence, that thou without thine own, presumptuous provocation shalt be lawfully called to do thy feat, and to play thy part. The miserable end of one *Quintus* came unto, may be a warning, and a fearful example for all Men to beware of presumption, and rashness in such things (as *Enochian* writeth in *Ecclesiasticus*) for evermore.

But a third sort of Men there be, which also will be counted favourers of Gods Word, and are (I fear) in number far more, and worse to be perished, than to which the Godly mean. I mean of such as will peradventure say or think, that my former Counsel, which was to flee the infection of the Antichristian doctrine by departing out of the Realm, more than needeth other ways and means may be found, both to abide, and also to flee, to be clear out of danger of the forehead plague. If so that could be found both to abide, and also to be clear out of danger of the forehead plague, truly agreeable to Gods Word, I would be as glad to hear it. God is my witness, as whois the other. Yet peradventure will some

Letters, and this is their mouth; and do they, and to speak to against the Sacrament, it is the most marvelous matter that ever I saw or heard of. I would with therefore that there were a day and an order in this, and that there might be but one order or rule; for as the Pope faith, (I may say the Verbe of a Pope well enough, far to dash Paul of the great Poet)

Quia verbum dei non potest non verum esse.

And let no man of his own head begin matters, nor go before the King. They call it going before the King, and such make themselves Kings. Well, what millicent me else?

By Gardner
milkent
the book
ing of a
view of
Chadley.

It millicent me that Priests, and men that vowed chastity, should openly marry; and avow it openly, which is a thing that since the beginning of the Church hath not been seen at any time, that men that have been admitted to any Ecclesiastical Administration should marry. We read of married Priests, that is to say, of married men designed to maintain the marriage of Priests, being chosen to be Priests and Ministers in the Church, and in Epistolian we read, that some of them for necessity were visited at. But that men being Priests already should marry, was never yet seen in Christs Church from the beginning of the Apostles time. I have written in it, and shewed forth; and the very same places that are therein designed to maintain the marriage of Priests, being diligently read, shall plainly confound them that maintain your Priests to marry, or at the farthest within two lines after.

By Gardner
against
marriage
of Priests.

Thus have I followed my opinion in order, proceeding from the Inferiours, and in order proceeding from the higher Powers. And thus I have (as I truly) professed declared my self, without any covering or countenancing. And I beseech your most excellent Majesty to attend and take me as I am, and not to be slandered in me; for I have told you the plain truth as it is, and I have opened my Conscience unto you. I have never played the Poet with you, to carry truth in my Letters, and lies in my Mouth: for I would not for all the world make a lie in this place; but I have disclosed the plain truth as it lies in my mind. And thus I commit your most excellent Majesty, and all your most honourable Councils, with the rest of the devout audience here present, unto God. To whom be all honour, laud, and glory, world without end.

By Gardner
agencing
to reformation
of Religion,
how far
and when.

Thus having composed the sum and chief purpose of his Sermon, with other full matter above shewed, wherein in may appear the double-dash doings of this Bishop in matters of Religion: now for the more fortification of that which hath been said; if any shall deny this fore-faid Sermon, or any part thereof to be true, to confirm therein the lines, and yet to addjoy certain brief notes and specialties in manner of a summary Table, collected as well out of the Testimonies and Depositions of his own Priests and Servants, and other which were sworn truly to declare their knowledge in this behalf, as also out of his own Writings and Works agreeing with the same. In all which fore-faid Allegations it may remain notorious and famous to all men, how, in what points, and how far the said Bishop of Winchester agreed with the Reformation of Religion received, not only in King Henry, but also in King Edward days. And because it would be long, and a double labour to repeat all the words and testimoniall sayings of every witness particularly, the same being expedited sufficiently in our first impression before it shall therefore suffice by quotations (so far) to assign the place to the Reader, where he may find all those Points of Reformation, whereas the said Bishop of Winchester fully agreed with the Doctrine now recd., and in full willing the Popes Supremacy, as is hereunder noted.

The Popes Supremacy impugned by Bishop Gardiner.

Places by S.
Gardner
books and
Sermons
expressed,
where he
impugned
the Popes
Supremacy.

1. In the touching the Confession and Judgment of St. John Gardiner against the Supremacy of the Bishop of Rome, read in his Book *De vera Obedientia*, fol. 6.

Item, Concerning the Diffutations and Definitions of Bishop Gardiner at *Leuven*, against the Popes Supremacy.

By, read in our first impression, page 80. also in this present Volume.

Item, How the said Bishop Gardiner in his Sermons and Proceedings, as where he expounded the place (7th of Peter) touching all to make for the Authority of the Romish Bishop, marvelling how the Pope could usurp so much to take up that place to build upon, when Christ had taken it up before to build his Church, read in the old Books, page 845. col. 1. p. 847. col. 1. and the Depositions of Dr. Radman, page 853. col. 1.

Item, How the Confession of Peter was the Confession of all the Apostles, like the Blessing given to Peter obtained as well to all the Apostles as to Peter, read in page 847. col. 1.

Item, That the place, *Pape vero meum*, was not special to Peter alone, but general to all the Apostles. Also that the Greek Church did never receive the said Bishop of Rome for their Universal Head, read in the same Book, page 847. col. 1. p. 836. col. 2.

Item, That the Authority of the Bishop of Rome was not received of the most part of Christian men, read the Depositions of Sir Thomas Smith, page 827. col. 2.

Item, How the said Bishop Gardiner would not grant that the said Authority was received generally, did page 827. col. 2.

Item, That the Church was builded upon Christ's faith, and not upon Peter, read the Depositions of Robert Walsington, page 836. col. 2.

And though Peter was called *Princeps Apostolorum*, the Head, that was nothing else, but like to be in an Enque, where the Fore-man is not to be called, because he is best or chiefest of that Company, but because he speaketh first, read in the Deposition of Mr. Balles, page 850. col. 2. p. 836. col. 2.

Item, That when the Keys were given, they were given generally to all the Apostles, read the Deposition of Robert Walsington, page 836. col. 2.

Item, How the said Bishop take away all such Scriptures, as *Super banc Petram, Pape vices meum, Princeps Apostolorum*, &c. proving that they serve nothing for the Authority, read likewise in the same Book in the Depositions of Mr. Balles, his own Servant, page 850. col. 2.

Item, How the said Bishop in his Book *De vera Obedientia*, did not only write against the Popes Supremacy, but also did defend the same at *Leuven*, p. 802. And moreover, in his Sermons did allege and preach the same, p. 847. col. 2, and that also vehemently, p. 850. col. 2. h. 5. p. 845. col. 1. p. 836. col. 2.

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Concerning Images being by King Edwards unjustly abolished, how the said Bishop exhorted the people in his Sermons to be contented therewith, read the depositions of Dr. Looking, page 840. col. 1.

Monks and Friars he callest flustering knaves read the depositions of Sir Thomas Smith, page 827. col. 2. Friars he counted ill in all his life, page 827. col. 2. Monks he never liked nor belied. Ibid. page 827. col. 2.

The going about of S. Nicholas, S. Katherine, and St. Clement, is affirmed to be Childrens toys. Ibid. page 827. col. 2.

The taking away or transposing of Chantry Obits, he reverently to the ordinance of the pollicit Rulers, granting that they did disserve them, it might well be done. Read the depositions of Master Balles, his own servant, page 850. col. 2.

Item, He willeth them to be committed to a better use, and that Monasteries were fully taken away. Read the depositions of George Bullock, page 847. col. 1.

The observing of days, hours, number, time, and place, if they be orderly and publicly commanded by the Rulers, it is but to let the Church in an outward and private order; but if a Man inwardly and privately be added to the same, thinking his prayer otherwise not available, but by observing thereof, it is an error. Read the depositions of Doctor Radman, page 853. col. 2. page 854.

The Communion fit out by King Edward he liketh well. Ibid. page 823. col. 2. p. 854.

The Book of Common Service he was content both to keep himself, and cause it to be kept of others. Read the depositions of the Duke of Somerset, page 818. col. 2.

For the homilies he exhorted the people in his Preaching to come to the Church to hear them. Read the deposition of Mr. Peinger, his own servant, page 845. col. 1.

In sum, to all Injunctions, Statutes, and Proclamations he for by the King and Superiour powers, he yielded and granted. Read in the depositions of George Bullock, page 847. col. 2.

Item, Cardinal Pool coming to the French King, to let him up against England, Winchester called him to be expelled out of France. Witness Cuthbert B. of Durham, page 818. col. 2.

Item, The said Winchester sworn against the Pope by express clause in his own servant, read the depositions of John Cook, Regit. pag. 165. col. 1. Item 13.

Now (great Reader) lay these writings, preachings, and doings of this Bishop in the days of King Henry and King Edward, with his doings in Queen Marys time, and thou shalt see how variable he was, how inconsistent and contrary to himself, how perjured and false, and far differing from that which he was reported to be in a certain English Book set out in Queen Marys time, which faith that there were three only in England, whose conscience had been diffused in Religion: of whom he fairly faith, the fore-faid Bishop of Winchester was one.

Although Bishop Gardiner in granting to these points of Religion (as ye have heard) and other some again denying, could not therefore defend the name and fame of a perfect Christian; yet notwithstanding, he had content in his judgment, and been content in himself, he might have won more commendation both with God and Men. But as soon as the time began to alter, he likewise altering with the time, was so far changed from that he feared, that neither he agreed with other Papists, nor yet with himself, as Doctor Ridley in certain Treatises hath noted well of him: wherein as in a glass may be seen the manifest contrariety and repugnance in him, not only from the truth of Gods Blessed Word, but also how far the said Bishop standing so much in singularity by his own mind, neither agreed with other his fellow writers in his time, nor yet fully accorded with him.

Read in certain cases of the Sacrament, as the fore-faid Doctor Ridley in examining his words and works, hath wellet out in this table hereunder ensuing.

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Concerning matter wherein Step Gardiner, Bishop of Winchester varieth from other Papists, touching the Sacrament of the Lords Supper.

Other Catholics say, that the Body of Christ is made of Bread. *Winch. vult, ex pan, non de pan, parte tritus, q. 7. art. 4. Winch. faith, that the Body of Christ is not made of the matter of Bread, nor ever was so taught, but is made preform of Bread, page 89. in 8. p. 228. l. 44.*

Confutation of Winch. against Cramer.

1. Winch. faith, that Christ called Bread his Body, This Confutation he said, This is my Body, p. 293. l. 19. And in the Devils Supplie, fol. 27. Other way contrary. And here allegat in Smith, fol. 53. *Marc. eum, vult, 13. l. 40.*

Winch. faith, that Bread is my Body, as is much to say as Bread is made my Body. And so he taketh (off) for (fit) page 333. l. 25. p. 120. l. 23. 28. 30.

Confutation. Other way that (off) is taken there substantively, that is to say, only for 2, and not for is made. *Marc. Anton. fol. 171. l. 36.*

Winch. faith, that Christ is present in the Sacrament carnally and corporally, after the same figuration that is in Heaven, page 161. l. 6. Confutation.

2. Winch. faith, that when we speak of Christs Body, we must understand a true Body, which hath both form and quantity, page 81. l. 5. *Marc. Ant. ob. nro, vult, 77. Smith faith, that Christs Body in the Sacrament hath not his proper form and quantity, fol. 106.*

And the contrary he said, fol. 105. *Cledij in diffinitione cum Petro Marc. fol. 162.*

4. Winch. faith, we believe imply that Christ is naturally and corporally in the Sacrament without drawing away his accidents, or adding, page 367. l. 41. Smith faith, we say that Christs Body is in the Sacrament against nature, with all his qualities and accidents, fol. 105.

5. Winch. faith, that Gods works are all semeliter without confusion, although he cannot locally distinguish Christs Head from his Feet, nor his Legs from his Arms, page 70. line 13, 14, page 69. line 34. Confutation.

Other way, that Christs Head and Feet and other parts be not indeed locally diffused in the Sacrament, but be so confounded, that wherefore one is there be all the rest, *ter. parte sum p. 76. art. 3. Immo. ter. lib. 48.*

Winch. faith, that Christs Body is in the Sacrament sensibly, naturally, carnally and corporally, page 18. l. 13, 22, &c. Confutation. Other way contrary, Smith fol. 59.

7. Other way that Christs Feet in the Sacrament be there where his head is, Winch. faith, that whoever faith so, may be called mad, p. 70. l. 13, 14. Confutation.

8. Other way, that Corporal growth into the Mouth or Stomach, and no further, *Beneventura. Hugo. immo. 13. lib. 4. cap. 15. Glos. de consecrat. dist. 2. cap. 1. ubi. in glo. non esse Thom. parte 3. quaest. 80. art. 3. Tamen manet dom est in digestione. Smith, fol. 64. Faith contrary, p. 59. l. 30. and p. 60. l. 3, 12. Confutation.*

Winch. faith, that Christ dwelleth corporally in him that receiveth the Sacrament worthily, so long as he remaineth a member of Christ, p. 64. l. 22. Confutation. Other way contrary, Smith, fol. 64. &c. as before in the seventh line above.

10. Winch. faith, that no Creature can eat the Body of Christ, but only Man, page 75. l. 24. Confutation. Other way clean contrary, Thomas part. 3. q. 8. art. 3. *hoc derogat (inquit) veritati corporis Christi. Perin in his Sermon of the Sacrament. What inconvenience it is though the impassible Body lie in the Mouth or Maw of the man eat, see At. Sententiarum. Item dicit corpus Christi non posse a more manducari et a bruio est condemnatum.*

11. Winch. faith, that an unrepentant sinner receiving the Sacrament, hath not Christs Body nor Spirit within him, p. 256. l. 18, 25, 26. Smith faith, that he hath it, *Smith. Body and Spirit within him, fol. 106.*

12. Winch. faith, that of the figure it may not be adored, Adore it, worship it; and that it is not to be adored which the Bodily Eye fees, p. 202. l. 38, 27, 26. *Marc. Anton. fol. 175. fac. 2. Doctores populus non adorare vult oculos corporis. Smith faith contrary, fol. 145. &c.*

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the Kings favour towards him, than it was indeed, was therein far deceived, and brought into a fools paradise; whereof read both in the old book before, and also in this present volume.

To describe and paint out the unfeble mortality of this Bishop aforesaid, albeit here need no more to be added besides that which is already declared: yet notwithstanding, (seeing the matter is not long, it shall not be out of the way) to annex vithal unto the premises, a piece of *Dr. Driandri's* Letter written to one *Crispine* Physician in *Oxford*, sent from *Dover*, concerning the doings of this Bishop of *Winchester*, whose story we have now in hand. The Copy of which *Dr. Driandri's* Letter, written to the said *Crispine* his Friend, beginneth thus.

Delissimum viro Edmundo Crispino, amico integerrimo Oxonia.

ANte meam ex *Lutetia* professionem, amici literas ad te per *Anglium* illum communem amicum nostrum, &c.

The English whereof, as much as to the present purpose pertains, here followeth translated.

BEFORE my departure from the City of *Paris*, I wrote unto you by our Friend the Englishman, &c. Now you shall be contented only with the narration of your Bishop of *Winchester*, who (as appeared to the Ambassador of so noble a Prince) came to *Louvain* with a great bravery, and was there received at one *Ferme's* house, and most honourably entertained, where the Faculty of Divines, for honours sake, presented him Wine in the name of the whole University. But our famous Doctors, and learned Masters, for that they would more deeply search and understand the learning and excellency of the Prelate, perused and scanned a certain Oration made by him, and now extant, intitled *de vera Obsequia*, in the which his Oration he did inquire the Supremacy of the Bishop of *Rome*, and preferred his Lords and Kings Authority before the Holy Apostolic See (as they term it) which being read and considered by them, they did not only repent them for giving him such honour, but also recounted that which they had done: and did not to much honour him, as before, but now they were as earnest and as spiteful against him.

Richard Lathoum, Interpreter of terms, with the favours of that fraternity, and other Champions of the falling Church, did dispute with him concerning the Popes Supremacy. This Bishop stoutly defended his Oration. The Divines contrary lively maintained their opinion, and divers times openly with exclamations, called the said Bishop an excommunicate person, and a Schismatick, to no little reproach and injury of the English Nation. The Bishop not long after minding to say Mass in *Saint Peters* Church, they denyed unto him, as to an Excommunicate Person, the Ornaments and Vestments meet for the same; whereupon he being highly offended, suddenly halted his Journey from thence. The Deem the next day after made an eloquent Oration, wherein he openly degraded and defamed him. You have heard now a true story, for our Doctor was a beholder of the whole Tragedy, &c.

And this now being sufficient for *Gardiners* story, to leave him to his Judge, and to let him go, we shall return and proceed (by the grace and leave of the Lord) as the course of these doleful days shall lead us, to prosecute the residue of Christs Martyrs, as now in order followeth.

The burning of John Webbe Gentleman, George Roper and Gregory Parke at Canterbury, as followeth.

NEXT after the Death and constant Martyrdom of the two most worthy Champions and standard-bearers of Christs Army, *Doctor Nicholas Ridley*, and *Master Hugh Latimer*, (of whom we have heard at large) followed three other stout and bold Soldiers, that is to say, *John Webbe* Gentleman, *George Roper*, and *Gregory Parke*.

This *John Webbe* was brought before the Bishop of *Dover*, and *Nicholas Harpsfield*, or some other depuied in their room, long before the other two, *videlicet*, the 16 day of September, and there had pronounced unto him such Ordinary Articles as (it seemeth) were commonly ministered by *Boner* to those of his Jurisdiction being willed for that present to depart, and to deliberate with himself upon the matters against the next time of his appearance, he made answer that he would no otherwise say (by Gods grace) than he had already said, which was thus: As touching the Sacrament of Christs Body, do believe (quoth he) to be left unto his Church (with thanksgiving) in commemoration of his death and passion, until his coming again. So that it is left in remembrance of his Body, and not by the words of Consecration to be made his body, really, substantially, and the same body that was born of the Virgin *Mary*: I utterly deny that.

After this (besides sundry other times) the third day of October, the said *John Webbe*, and *George Roper*, and *Gregory Parke*, were brought all three together before the said Judges: who there and then agreeing, and steadfastly allowing the former answer made before by *Master Webbe*, were by the Bloody Prelates adjudged Hereticks, and therefore about the end of the same month of October, or else a little before, in the latter end of November, they together were taken and brought out of prison to the place of Martyrdom. Who by the way going towards the stake, said certain Psalms mournfully.

Roper was a younger man of a fresh colour, courage, and complexion, the other two were fonder than more dourly, all going in white linen, with their gowns up to their knees, for that they were to be burnt. *Roper*, at his coming to the stake putting off his gown, fet a great leap. So soon as the flame was kindled, the said *Roper* put out both his arms from his body, like a Roost, and to blood testifying, continuing in that manner, not plucking his arms in, till the fire had consumed them, and burnt them off.

And thus these aforesaid Martyrs of Christs being brought (as I said) to the stake, and there compassed about with a chain, were burnt and consumed all three together in one first *Canterbury*, shewing most patiently their torments, and counting themselves happy and blessed of the Lord, that they were made worthy to suffer for Christs Gospel sake.

William Wilson.

THE 13. of December in the *Lallard* Tower did *William Wilson*, a Clothworker of *London*, where he was in prison and bonds for the Gospel and Word of God: How, and whereupon he deceased, it is not fully certain. Some thought that either through famish, or ill handling of some murdering Pupils, he was made away. By reason whereof the *Convent*, named *John Gibber*, Gentleman, with an allowance of twelve men, were fain to sit upon him, who although to the outward appearance were said to find nothing in him else but only Gods visitation, yet what other privie faults there might be of his death, the Lord knoweth, I have not to say.

After the said *William* was departed (as is said) in the *Tower*, the Holy Catholic Church men call him out into the fields, commanding that no man should bury him, according to his devout manner is to do with all such as die in like sort, whom they account as prophane, and worthy of no burial, but to be cast to Dogs and Birds, *videlicet* *Wilson*, as the Pope faith. And yet all this their merciless commandment notwithstanding, some good *Doctores* there were, which buried him in the evening as commonly they did all the rest, thrown out in like sort, whom they were wont privily by night to cover, and many times the Archers in the Fields standing by, and singing together Psalms at their burial.

James Gore.

IN the same month, about the 7. day of December, did also *James Gore* in the prison at *Canterbury* lay there in bonds for the right and Truth of Gods Word.

The order and manner of burying in the fields, such as died in prison, and namely, *Will Wilson*.



The Process and History of Master John Philpot, examined, condemned, and martyred for the maintenance and defence of the Gospel's Cause, against the Antichristian See of Rome.

NEXT followeth the constant Martyrdom of Master *John Philpot*, of whom partly ye heard before in the beginning of *Queen Maries* time, in prosecuting the diffinition of the convocation-house. He was of a worshipful house, a Knights Son, born in *Hamphire*, brought up in the New College in *Oxford*, where he studied the Civil Law the space of 6. or 7. years, besides the study of other liberal Arts, especially of the Tongues, wherein very forwardly he professed, namely, in the knowledge of the Hebrew Tongue, &c. In wit he was pregnant and happy, of a singular courage, in spirit fervent, in Religion zealous, and also well practised and excelled in the same (which is no small matter in a true Divine) of nature and condition plain and open, far from all flattery, farther from all hypocrisy and deceitful dissimulation. What his learning was, his own examinations penned of his own hand can declare.

From *Oxford*, desirous to see other Countries as occasion served thereunto, he went over into *Italy*, and places therabouts, where he coming upon a time from *Venice* to *Adria*, was in danger through a certain *Franciscan* Friar, accompanying him in his journey, who coming to *Padua*, sought to accuse him of Heresie. At length returning into *England* his Country again, at the time ministered more boldness to him in the days of King *Edward*, he had divers conflicts with *Gardiner* the Bishop in the City of *Winchester*, as appeareth by divers of *Winchesters* Letters, and his Examinations. Whereof read before.

After that, having an advowson by the said Bishop, he was made *Archdeacon* of *Winchester*, under *Dr. Finner*, who then succeeded *Gardiner* in that Bishoprick. Thus during the time of King *Edward*, he continued to no small profit of those parts therabout. When that *Infelicit* King was taken away and *Mary* his Sister came in place, whose study was wisely bent to alter the State of Religion in the world Realm of *England*, first she caused a Convocation of the Prelates and learned men to be congregated to the accomplishment of her desire.

In the which Convocation, *Mr. Philpot* being present according to his room and degree, with a few other ful-

tained the cause of the Gospel manfully against the adversary part (as is above recited) for the which could notwithstanding the liberty of the house promised before, he was called to account before Bishop *Gardiner* the Chancellor, then being his Ordinary, by whom he was first examined, although that Examination came not yet to our hands. From thence again he was removed to *Boner* and other Commissioners, with whom he had divers and sundry conflicts, as in his Examinations here following may appear.

The first Examination of Master John Philpot before the Queens Commissioners, Master Cholmley, Mr. Roper and Dr. Story, and one of the Scribes of the Articles, at Newgate Sessions-Hall, October 2. 1555.

DOUR Story, before I was called into an inner Parlor where they fate, came out into the Hall before I was, to view me among other that there were, and passing by me said: Ha, Mr. Philpot, and in returning immediately again, flung against me, beholding me, and saying that I was well fedded.

Phil. If I be fat, and in good liking (Mr. Doctor) it is no marvel, since I have been stalled up in Prison these twelve months and a half, in a close corner. I am come to know your pleasure wherefore you have sent for me.

Story. We hear that thou art a suspect person, and of heretical Opinions, and therefore we have sent for thee.

Phil. I have been in Prison thus long, only upon the occasion of diffinition made in the Convocation-house, and upon suspicion of setting forth the report there of.

Story. If thou wilt revoke the same, and become an honest man, thou shalt be set at liberty, and do right well; or else thou shalt be committed to the Bishop of *London*. How shalt thou, wilt thou revoke it or no?

Phil. I have already answered in this behalf to mine Ordinary.

Story. If thou answerest thus when thou comest before us anon, thou shalt bear more of our minds, and with that he went into the Parlor, and I within a little while after was called in.

The Scribe. Sir, what is your name?

Phil. My name is *John Philpot*. And so he intitled my name.

Q. 2

Story.

who offered me a Bed for that night. To whom I gave thanks, saying, That it should be a grief to me to live well one night, and the next worse: wherefore I will begin (said I) as I am like to continue to take such part as my fellows do. And with that we were brought through Pateranger-Row to my Lord of London's Cole-house;

unto the which is joined a little blind Houfe, with a great pair of Stocks, appointed beds for hand and foot. But thanks be to God we have not played of those Organs yet, although some before us have tried them, and this godly Minister of *Elles*, a married Priest, a man was of godly zeal, with one other poor Man. And this whole day following.

Master Philpots being in the Cole-house where he found Thomas Whittle Prigly sitting in the Stocks.



Minister (at my coming) desired to speak with me, and did greatly lament his own infirmity, for that through extremity of Imprisonment he was constrained by writing, to yield to the Bishop of London: whereupon he was once set at liberty, and afterward felt such a Hell in his Conscience, that he could scarce refrain from destroying himself, and never could be at quiet until he had gone unto the Bishops Register, desiring to see his Bill against the which as soon as he had received, he tore it in pieces; and after he was as joyful as any man might be. Of the which when my Lord of London had understanding, he sent for him, and fell upon him like a Lion, and like a manly Bishop buffeted him well, so that he made his Face black and blew, and plucked away a great piece of his Beard: but now, thanks be to God, he is as joyful under the Cross as any of us, and very sorry of his former infirmity. I write this, because I would all men to take heed how they do contrary to their Conscience; which is, to fall into the pains of Hell. And here an end.

The manner of my calling first before the Bishop of London, the second Night of mine Imprisonment in his Cole-house.

The sixth evening of my being in the Stocks, I was brought to my Lord of London's Cole-house, where he sent for me, and fell upon him like a Lion, and like a manly Bishop buffeted him well, so that he made his Face black and blew, and plucked away a great piece of his Beard: but now, thanks be to God, he is as joyful under the Cross as any of us, and very sorry of his former infirmity. I write this, because I would all men to take heed how they do contrary to their Conscience; which is, to fall into the pains of Hell. And here an end.

I thanked God for my Lords Charity, that it pleased him to remember poor Prisoners, desiring Almighty God to increase the fame in him and in all others; and therefore I would not refuse his Beneficence, and therewith took the fame unto my Brethren, praying God for his Providence towards his afflicted flock, that he thirred our Adversities up to help the same in their necessity.

Johnes. My Lord would know the cause of your sending hither (for he knoweth nothing thereof) and wondered that he should be troubled with Prisoners of other Diocets than his own.

Philpot. I declared unto him the whole cause, after the which he said, My Lords will was that I should have my friendship I would desire, and so departed.

Within a while after, one of my Lords Gentlemen cometh for me. And I was brought into his presence, where he sat at a Table alone, with three or four of his Chaplains waiting up on him, and his Register.

Boner. My Philpots, you are welcome; give me your hand.

Phil. With that, because he so gently put forth his hand, I to render courtesy for courtesy, kissed my hand and gave him the same.

Boner. I am right sorry for your trouble, and I promise you before it was within these two hours, I knew not of your being here. I pray you tell me what was the cause of your sending hither; for I promise you I know nothing thereof as yet, neither would I you should think, that I was the cause thereof; and I marvel that other men will trouble me with their matters; but I must be obedient to my Betters, and I fear men speak otherwise of me than I deserve.

Phil. I shewed him the sum of the matter; that is to say, for the disparagement in the Convocation-house, for which I was against all right mocked.

Boner. I marvel that you should be troubled therefore, if there was none other cause but this. But peradventure you have maintained the same since, and some of your Friends of late have asked whether you do stand to the same, and you have said, Yes; and for this you might be committed to Prison.

Phil. If it shall please your Lordship, I am burdened none otherwise than I have told you, by the Commissioners, who sent me hither, because I would not recant the same.

Boner. A man may speak in the Parliament-house, though it be a place of free speech, so as he may be imprisoned for it, as in case he speak words of High Treason against the King or Queen; and it is might be that you speak otherwise than it became you of the Church of Christ.

Phil.

Phil. I spoke nothing which was out of the Articles which were called in question, and agreed upon to be disputed by the whole House, and by the Queens petition and the Council.

Boner. Why, may we dispute of our Faith?

Phil. Yes, that we may.

Boner. Nay, I know not, by the Law. Phil. Induced by the Civil Law. I know it is not lawful, but by Gods Law we may reason thereof. For St. Peter faith, Be ye ready to render account unto all men of that hope which is in you, that demand you of the same. Bon. Indeed St. Peter faith so. Why, then I ask of you what your judgement is of the Sacrament of the Altar;

Phil. My Lord, St. Ambrose faith, that the disposition of Faith ought to bein the Congregation, in the hearing of the People; and that I am not bound to render account thereof to every man privately, unless it be to edification. But now I cannot leave you my mind, but I must run upon the pikes in danger of my life therefore. Wherefore as the said Doctor fid unto Valentinian the Emperor, so say I to your Lordship; tolle legem & fiet certamen; Take away the Law, and I shall reason with you. And yet I come in open judgement, where I am bound by the Law to answer, I trust I shall utter my Confidence as freely as any that hath come before you.

Bon. I perceive you are learned, I would have such as you be about me. But you must come and be of the Church; for there is but one Church.

Phil. God forbid I should be out of the Church, I am sure I am within the same: for I know as I am taught by the Scripture, that there is but one Catholick Church, Una Columba, una Sponsa, una Dilecta; one Dove, one Spouse, one beloved Congregation, out of the which there is no salvation.

Bon. How chanceth it then, that you go out of the same, and walk not with us?

Phil. My Lord, I am sure I am within the bounds of the Church whereupon the is builded, which is the Word of God.

Bon. What age are ye of?

Phil. I am four and forty.

Bon. You are not now of the same Faith your God-fathers and God-mothers promised for you, in the which you were baptized.

Phil. Yes, I thank God I am: for I was baptized into the Faith of Christ which I now hold.

Bon. How can that be? there is but one Faith.

Phil. I am assured of that by St. Paul, saying; There is but one God, one Faith, and one Baptism, of the which I am.

Bon. You were twenty years ago of another Faith than you be now.

Phil. Indeed my Lord, to tell you plain I was then *not* of the same Faith, a neuter, a wicked liver, neither hot nor cold.

Bon. Why, do you not think that we have now the true Faith?

Phil. I define your Lordship to hold me excused for answering at this time. I am sure that Gods Word thoroughly with the Primitive Church, and all the ancient Writers do agree with this Faith I am of.

Bon. Well, I promise you I mean you no more hurt than to mine own purpose: I will not therefore burthen you with your Confidence as now; I marvel that you are so merry in Prison as you be, singing and rejoicing, as the Pope faith, *Exultant in rebus pœnitis*, Rejoicing in your necessities. Me thinketh you do not well therein; you should rather lament and be sorry.

Phil. My Lord, the mirth that we make is but in singing certain Psalms, according as we are commanded by St. Paul, willing us to be merry in the Lord, singing psalms, or Hymns and psalms: And I trust your Lordship cannot be displeased with that.

Bon. We may say unto you as Christ said in the Gospel, *Thui exultamus in vobis, & non planctis*.

Phil. Here my Lord humbled, and could not bring forth the Text, and required his Chaplains to help and put him in remembrance of the Text better; but they were mum: and I recited out the Text unto him, which made nothing to his purpose, unless he would have used

moons, because they, if they laugh, sing full forthwith things unto us, threatening fagots and fire.

We are my Lord, in a dark comforted place, and therefore it behoveth us to be merry, like as Solomon faith, *fortitudines eat up our heart*. Therefore I trust your Lordship will not be angry for our singing of Psalms, since St. Paul faith; *If any man be of an upright mind, let him sing*. And we therefore, to tell that we are of an upright mind to God, (though we be in misery) do sing.

Bon. I will trouble you no further as now. If I can do you any good, I will be glad to do it for you. God be with you, good Mr. Philpots, and give you good night. Have him to the Cellar and let him drink a Cup of Wine.

Thus I departed, and by my Lords Register I brought him to his Collar door, where I drank a good Cup of Wine. And my Lords Chaplain M. Cowin followed me, taking acquaintance, saying, that I was welcome, and wished that I would not be singular.

Phil. I am well taught the contrary by Solomon, saying, *Vae soli*, Wo be to him that is alone. After this I was carried to my Lords Cole-house again, where I with my six fellows do route together in straw as cheerfully (we thank God) as others do in their beds of Down.

Thus for the third Fit.

The fourth Examination of Mr. Philpot in the Archdeacon's house of London, the said month of October, before the Bishops of London, Baile, Worcester, and Gloucester.

Boner. Mr. Philpot, it hath pleased my Lords to take pains here to day, to dine with my poor Archdeacon, and in the dinner time chanced us to have communication of you, and you were pitied here of many that knew you in the New Colledge in Oxford: and I also do pity your case, because you seem unto me by the talk I had with you the other night, to be learned: and therefore now I have sent for you to come before them, that it might not be laid hereafter, that I had so many learned Bishops at my house, and yet would not vouchsafe them to talk with you, and at my request (I thank them) they are contented to do. Now therefore utter your mind freely, and you shall with all favour be satisfied. I am sorry to see you live in so evil a case as you do, and would fain you should do better, as any favour if you list.

Bon. My Lords here have not sent for you to come upon you, but for Charles sake to exhort you to fawn into the right Catholick way of the Church.

Wor. Before he beginneth to speak, it is best that he call to God for grace, and to pray that it might please God to open his heart, that he may conceive the Truth.

Phil. With that I fell down upon my knees before them, and made my Prayer on this manner:

Almighty God, which art the giver of all wisdom, and understanding, I beseech thee of thine infinite goodness and mercy in Jesus Christ, to give me (most willing in thyself), the Spirit of wisdom to speak and make answer to thy cause, that it may be to the contentation of the hearers, before whom I stand, and also to my better understanding, if I be deceived in any thing.

Bon. Nay, my Lord of Worcester, you did not well to exhort him to make any Prayer. For this is the thing they have a figure praying, that they can often make their vain prayers, in the which they glory much. For in this point they are much like to certain arrant Heretics, of whom Pliny maketh mention, that did daily sing *Anticlausus Hymnos*, Praise unto God before dawning of the day.

Phil. My Lord, God make me and all you here present such heretics as those were that sung those morning hymns: for they were right Christians, with whom the Tyrants of the World were offended for their well doing.

Bon. Proceed to that he hath to say. He hath prayed I cannot tell for what.

Bon.

Phil. I say not that *Hierome* wrote any book to instruct but I say, that in the Epistle by me alleged, he makes mention of the Ecclesiastical regiment.

D. Saver. I wonder you will stand to that in your error to your own destruction.

false slander

Phil. I am sure we are in error, by the promise of Christ made to the faithful ones, which is, that he will give to his true Church such a Spirit of Wisdom, that the Adversaries thereof should never be able to refut. And by this I know we are of the truth, for that neither by reasoning, neither by writings, your Synagogue of Rome is able to answer. Where is there one of you all that ever hath been able to answer any of the godly learned Ministers of Germany, who have disclaimed your Counterfeit Religion? Which of you all (at this day) is able to answer *Calvins* Institutions, which is Minister of Geneva.

false slander

D. Saver. A godly Minister indeed of receipt of cursings, and Runagate Traitor. And of late I can tell you, there is such contention fallen between him and his own, that he was fain to flee the Town, about predication. I tell you truth, for I came by Geneva himself.

D. Saver.

Phil. I am sure you blaspheme that godly man, that godly Church where he is Minister, as it is your Churches condition, when you cannot answer men by learning, to oppose him with Blasphemies and false reports. For in the matter of predication he is in none other opinion than all the Doctors of the Church be, according to the Scriptures.

D. Saver.

Saver. Men be able to answer him if they list. And I pray you which of you have answered Bishop *Ebers* book, had you been able to see what hath been written against him.

D. Saver.

Phil. Yes (Master Doctor) that book is answered and answered again, if you list to seek what hath been written against him.

D. Saver.

And after this Doctor *Stacy* came in. To whom I said, *Mr. Doctor*, you have done me great injury, and without law have falsely imprisoned me, more like a dog than a man. And besides this you have not kept promise with me, for you promised that I should be judged the next day after.

D. Saver.

Stacy. I am come now to keep promise with thee. Was there ever such a fantastical man as this is? Nay, he is no man, he is a beast, yea, these Heretics be worse than brute beasts: for they will upon a vain singularitie take upon them to be wiser than all men, being indeed very fools and idle heads, not able to maintain that which of an ordinary dullness they do find.

D. Saver.

Phil. Master Doctor, I am content to abide your railing judgment of me now. Say what you will, I am content, for I am under your feet to be trodden on as you list. God forgive it to you; yet I am no Heretic. Neither you nor any other shall be able to prove that I hold any jot against the Word of God otherwise than a Christian man ought.

D. Saver.

Stacy. The Word of God? Forsooth the Word of God? It is but a folly to reason with these Heretics, for they are incurable and desperate. But yet I may reason with them, that I have any hope to win them; whom with thou appoint to judge of the word whereto thou standest?

D. Saver.

Phil. Verily the word it self.

D. Saver.

Stacy. Do you not see the Ignorance of this beastly Heretic? He willeth the word to be judged of the word.

D. Saver.

Can the word speak?

D. Saver.

Phil. If I cannot prove that which I have said by good Authority, I will be content to be counted an Heretic and an Ignorant person, and further what you please.

D. Saver.

Stacy. Let us hear what wife Authority thou canst bring in.

D. Saver.

Phil. It is the saying of Christ in *S. John*, *Verbum quod locutus sum iudicabit in novissimo die*, The word which I have spoken, faith Christ, shall judge in the last day. If the word shall judge in the last day, much more is it ought to judge our doings now. And I am fain to have in my judge on my side, who shall abide and justify me in my judge on my side. However now I shall plead you by Authority unjustly to judge of me and others, here by another World to judge you.

D. Saver.

Stacy. What? you purpose to be a thinking Martyr, and to sit in judgment with Christ at the last day to judge the twelve tribes of Israel?

Phil. Yea Sir, I doubt not thereof, having the promise of Christ, if I die for righteous sake, which you have begun to persecute in me.

Stacy. I told you it was but vain to argue with this Heretic; he is deceived in his Heretics without all learning.

Phil. Sir I have brought you, for that I have said good Authority out of Gods book, to the which you answer nothing, but go about still to give railing judgment against me without any cause.

Stacy. I will come to you by and by. When as the judge in Westminster Hall giveth Sentence, doth the word give Sentence, or the judge? tell me.

Phil. Civil matters be subject to Civil men, and they have Authority by the word to be judges of them. But the Word of Gods is not subject to mans judgment, but ought to judge all the World, thoughts and doings of men, and therefore your comparison disproveth nothing that I have said, neither answereth any what thereof.

Stacy. Will thou not allow the interpretation of the Church upon the Scriptures?

Phil. Yes, if it be according to the Word of the True Church; and this I say to you, as I have said before, that if ye can prove the Church of Rome (whereof ye are to be the True Catholic Church) which I ought to follow, I will be as ready to yield to hereto (as long as it can be so proved) as you may desire me.

Stacy. What a fellow is this? he will believe nothing but what he list himself. Are we not in possession of the Church? have not our forefathers there many hundred years taken this Church for the Catholic Church whereto this, it were sufficient; for the prescription of time maketh a good title in the Law.

Phil. You do well, Mr. Doctor, to allege prescription of many years, for it is all that you have to show for your selves. But you must understand, *De divinis malis accipiuntur*, that prescription hath no place in matters befalling unto God, as I am able to prove by the testimony of many Doctors.

Stacy. Well Sir, you are like to go after your Father *Laumer* the Sophister, and *Ridley*, who had nothing to allege for himself, but that he had learned his Heretic of *Crammer*. When I came to him with a poor Batchelor of Arts, he trembled as though he had had the palls, as these Heretics have always come token of fear whereby a man may know them, as you may see this mans eyes do tremble in his head. But I dispatched them; and I tell thee that there hath been yet never a cause of his dispatch spoken with me, and have been a cause of his dispatch.

Phil. You have them more to answer for, Mr. Doctor, as you shall feel in another World, how much sower you do now Triumph of your proceedings.

Stacy. I tell thee I will never be confuted thereof. And I because I cannot now tarry to speak with my Lord, I pray one of you tell my Lord, that my coming was to signify to his Lordship, that he must out of hand rid this Heretic out of the way. And going away he said to me, certify thee that thou must thank none other man but me, certify thee that thou must thank none other man but me, certify thee that thou must thank none other man but me.

Phil. I thank you therefore with all mine heart, and God forgive it to you.

Stacy. What? dost thou thank me? If I had thee in my study half an hour, think I should make you sing another song.

Phil. No, Mr. Doctor, I stand upon too free a ground to be overthrown by you now. And thus they departed all away from me one after another, until I was left all alone. And afterwards with my Keeper going to my College, as I went, I met with my Lord of *London*, who spake unto me gently, as he hath hitherto in words saying;

London. *Philpot*, if there be any pleasure I may show you in my books, I pray you require it, and you shall have it.

Phil. My Lord, The pleasure that I will require of you is to be taken in my judgment which is committed unto you, and to dispatch me. For of this miserable World, unto my eternal rest. And for all this fair life, I cannot attain hitherto this fortnights space, neither for candle, neither yet good lodging. But it is good for man to be brought low in this World, and to be contented

ted amongst the vilest, that he may in times of reward receive exaltation and glory. Therefore praise be to God, that he humbled me, and given me grace with gladness to be content therewithal. Let all that love the truth say Amen.

Thus ended the fifth Tragedy.

The sixth Examination of John Philpot, had before the right honourable Lords, the Lord Chamberlain to the Queens Majesty, the Viscount Hereford, commonly called Lord Ferras, the Lord Rich, the Lord S. John, the Lord Windlores, the Lord Standish, Sir John Bridges, Lieutenant of the Tower, and two other more whose names I know not, upon the Bishop of London and Doctor Chedley the first day of November. Anno 1555.

Phil. Before that I was called afore the Lords, and whilst they were in sitting down, the Bishop of London came aside to me and whispered in mine ears, willing me to use my self before the Lords of the Queens Majesties Council prudently, and to take heed what I said, and thus pretended to give me Counsel because he willed me to do well, as I might now do if I list. And after the Lords and other worshipful Gentlemen of the Queens Majesties Servants were set, my Lord of London placed himself at the end of the table, and called me to him, and by the Lords I was placed at the upper end against him; where I kneeling down the Lords commanded me to stand up, and after in this manner the Bishop began to speak.

London. *Philpot*, I have heretofore both privately my self, and openly before the Lords of the Clergy, more times then once caused you to be talked with to reform you of your errors, but I have not found you yet tractable as I would with: Wherefore now I have desired these honourable Lords of the temporality and of the Queens Majesties Council, who have taken pains with me this day, I charge them therefore, to hear you what you can say, that they may be judges whether I have fought all means to do you good or no: and I dare be bold to say in their behalf, that if you show your self conformable to the Queens Majesties proceedings, you shall stand in much favour and reverence, as you can wish. I speak not this to flatter you, but to bring you home into the Church. Now let them hear what you can say.

Phil. My Lord, I thank God of this day, that I have had an honourable audience to declare my mind before. And I cannot but commend your Lordships equity in this behalf, which agreeth with the order of the primitive Church, which was, if any body had been suspected of Heresy, as I am now, he should be called first before the Archbishop or B. of the Diocese where he was suspected; secondly in the presence of others his fellow Bishops and learned elders; and thirdly in hearing of the laity: where after the judgment of Gods Word declared, and with the assent of our Bishops and consent of the People, he was condemned for an Heretic, or absolved. And the second point of that good order I have found at your Lordships hands already in being called before you and your fellow Bishops, and now have the third sort of men, at whose hands I trust to find more righteousness in my cause than I have found with my Lords of the Clergy. God grant I may have at last the judgment of Gods Word concerning the same.

London. *Philpot*, I pray you are you any further, tell my Lords here plainly whether you were by me or by my procurement committed to prison or not, and whether I have shewed you any cruelty therein ye have been committed to my prison.

Phil. If it shall please your Lordship to give me leave to declare forth my matter, I will touch that afterward.

Rich. Answer first of all to my Lords two questions, and then proceed forth to the matter. How say you were you imprisoned by my Lord or no? can you find any fault therein with his cruel using of you?

Phil. I cannot say to my Lords charge the cause of my imprisonment, neither may I say that he hath used me cruelly, but rather for my part I may say that I have found more gentleness at his Lordships hands, then I did at mine own Ordinaries, for the time I have been within his prison, for that he hath called me three or four times to mine answer, to the which I was not called in a twelvemonth and a half before.

Rich. Well, now go to your matter.

Phil. The matter is that I am imprisoned for the detentions had by me in the Convocation house against the Sacrament of the Altar, which matter was not moved principally by me, but by the prolocutor, with the consent of the Queens Majesty and of the whole house; and that house being a member of the Parliament house, ought to be a place of free speech for all men of the house by the ancient and laudable custom of this Realm. Wherefore I think my self to have sustained hitherto great injury for speaking my Conscience freely in such a place as I might lawfully do it: and I desire your honourable Lordships judgment which be of the Parliament House, whether it right ought to be impeached therefore, and furnish the loss of my living, (as I have done) and moreover of my life, as it is ought.

Rich. You are deceived herein; for the Convocation House is no part of the Parliament House.

Phil. My Lords, I have always understood the contrary by such as are more expert men in things of this Realm than I: and again, the title of every Act leadeth me to think otherwise, which allegeth the agreement of the spiritual and temporal assented together.

Rich. Yes, that is meant of the spiritual Lords of the upper house.

Wind. Indeed the Convocation House is called together by one writ of the Summons of the Parliament of an old custom; notwithstanding that house is no part of the Parliament House.

Phil. My Lords, I must be contented to abide your judgments in this behalf.

Rich. We have told you the truth. Mary yet will not that you should be troubled for any thing that these words have spoken, so that you having spoken amiss do declare now that you are sorry therefore.

London. My Lord, he hath spoken there manifestly heresy, yea, and there forth maintained the same against the bidden Sacrament of the Altar (and with that he put off his caps, that all the Lords might reverence and hail their bonnet at that idol as he did) and would not allow the real presence of the body and Blood of Christ in the same. My Lords God forbid that I should go about to thrust him extreme for so doing, in case he will repent and revoke his wicked sayings, and if in faith he will so do, with your Lordships consent he shall be released by and by: if he will not that he shall have the extremity of the law, that shortly.

Cham. My Lord of London speaketh reasonably upon this case: take it whilst it is offered you.

Rich. How say you? Will you acknowledge the real presence of the body and Blood of Christ as all the learned men of this Realm do, in the Mass, and as I do, and will believe as long as I live, I do protest it?

Phil. My Lord, I do acknowledge in the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ such a presence, as the Word of God doth allow and teach me.

Rich. That shall be no otherwise than you list. **London.** A Sacrament is the sign of a holy thing; so that there is both the sign which the accident is, the whiteness, roundness, and shape of Bread; and there is also the thing it self, as very Christ both God and Man, which the Heretics will have sacrament to be but bare signs. How say you declare unto my Lords here whether you do allow the thing it self in the Sacrament or no?

Phil. I do confess that in the Lords Supper there is in due respects both the sign and the thing signified, when it is duly Ministered after the institution of Christ.

London. You may see how he goeth about the bush (as he hath done before) with my Lords of the Clergy, and dare not utter his mind plainly.

Rich. Show us what manner of presence you allow in the Sacrament.

Phil. If it please you, my Lord of London, to give me leave to proceed orderly thereto, and to let me declare my mind without interruption, I will throughly open my mind therein.

L. Shand. I pray you my Lord, let him speak his mind.

Phil. My Lords, that at the first I have not plainly declared my judgment unto you the reason is this, because I cannot speak hereof without the danger of my life.

Rich. There is none of us here that shall hurt his own means to take any advantage of that thou shalt speak.

1611. 13.

Phil. As concerning the Omnipotency of God, I say that God is able to do the Prophet David's faith what he will; but he will not do that which is not agreeable to his Word; as that is blasphemy which I Lord of London hath spoken, that God may become a Carpenter. For as I have learned of ancient Writers, Non *propter Deum facere nos fuit natura, sed contra.* That is, it is contrary to the nature of God to be a Carpenter. A Creature; and God is the Creator; and the Creator cannot be the Creature: wherefore unless you can declare by the word, that Christ is otherwise present with us than spiritually and sacramentally by grace, as he hath taught us, you pretend the Omnipotency of God in vain.

Lord. Why? Will thou not say that Christ is really present in the Sacrament? Or do you deny it?

Phil. I deny not that Christ is really in the Sacrament to the receiver thereof according to Christ's institution.

Lord. What mean you by really present?

Phil. I mean by really present, present indeed.

Lord. Is God really present every where?

Phil. He is so.

Lord. How prove you that?

Phil. The Prophet *Elijah* faith, *That God fills all places*; and whosoever there be two or three gathered together in Christ's name, there is he in the midst of them.

Lord. What? his humanity?

Phil. No my Lord, I mean the Deity, according to that you demanded.

Rich. My Lord of London, I pray you let Mr. Doctor Chedley reason with him, and let us see how he can answer him, for I tell thee he is a learned man indeed, and one that I do credit before a great many of you, whose Doctrine the Queens Majesty and the whole Realm doth well allow, therefore hear him.

Lord. My Lords I pray you, will it please you to drink? you have talked a great while, and must talk a little.

Phil. I will leave Mr. Doctor and him reasoning together a while, with your leave, and will come to you by and by again. He went (as I suppose) to make room for more drink, after the Lords had drunk.

Rich. My Lord Rich said to the Lords, I pray you let the poor man drink, for he is thirsty, and with that he called for a Cup of drink, and gave it me, and I drank before them all: God require it from me, for I was a little indeed. Afterwards Dr. Chedley began in this wise, making a great protest, of the which this is the chief.

Ched. Mr. Philpot faith full with the Convocation house before your Lordships, that he hath lain thus long in Prison, and that he had there a dozen Arguments, whereof he could not be suffered to prosecute one throughly, which is not for I for he had leave to say what he could, and was answered to as much as he was able to bring, and when he had nothing else to say he left to weeping.

Phil. It was a great profit and can testify thereof; albeit there is a Book abroad of the report of the disputation to the contrary, in the which there is never a true word.

And whereas you require to be satisfied of the Sacrament, I will then show you the Truth thereof, both by the Scriptures, and by the Doctors.

Phil. It is a shrewd likelihood that you will not conclude with any Truth, since you have begun with so many untruths, as to say that I was answered while I had anything to say, and that I went for lack of matter that the Book of the report of the disputation is nothing true. God be praised, there were a good many of Noblemen, Gentlemen, and worthie men that heard and saw the doing thereof, which can testify that you have made an unjust report before these honorable Lords. And that I wept was not for lack of matter, as you slander me; for I thank God, I have more matter than the bell of you all shall ever be able to matter, as I have, but my weeping was, as Christ was upon Jerusalem, seeing the defilement that should fall upon her: and I foretelling then the defilement which you through violence and unrighteousness which you there declared) would work against the true Church of Christ and her faithful Members in this day, bearing witness, was compelled to weep in remembrance of that which I with infinity more have said and said.

All these words I did then speak out, being interrupted by my Lord Rich, saying that I should suffer him to proceed in this matter, and afterwards I should have leave to answer him in every Article. But he promised more than he could perform, and the end well known, for he had not the consent of the Spirituality to his promise, which now Rule the rolf. God shorten their cruel days, for his Elch's sake. And therefore I add this, which I had purposed to have spoken when I might have been suffered, let that perfectly know our shewings done in the Convocation-house, and now laid to my charge, if they should not be answered by me, might reckon Dr. Chedley's sayings to be true. And as concerning the Book of the report of the disputation, I write the same, and it is true in every Argument, as Mr. Dean of Rochester, and Mr. Chelmsley Archdeacon of Hereford (yet being alive, and within the Realm) can testify.

Ched. You have of Scriptures the four Evangelists for the probation of Christ's real presence to be in the Sacrament after the words of Consecration, with St. Paul to the Corinthians; which all say, *His corpus meum, This is my Body.* They say not as you would have me to believe, this is not the Body. But specially the 6. of *John* which proveth the same most manifestly, where Christ promised to give his Body, which he performed in his last Supper, as it appears by these words, *Panem quem ego dabo, carnes est, quem ego dabo pro mundi vita. The Bread which I will give is my flesh, which I will give for the life of the world.*

Phil. My Lord Rich, with your leave, I must needs interrupt him a little, because he speaketh out blasphemy against the death of Christ: for that promise brought in by St. John, was performed by Christ in his last Supper, then needed he not to have died after he had given the Sacrament.

Rich. Let Mr. Doctor make an end of his Arguments, and afterward object to him what you can.

Ched. You must note that there is twice *Dabo* in this saying of St. John, and the first is referred to the Sacrament of the Altar; and the second to the Sacrifice upon the Cross; and besides these manifest Scriptures, there is a great many ancient Doctors proving the same, as *Jerome*, *Trenus*, and *S. Cyprian*, whose Authority he recited at large, which I do omit because I was not permitted to answer the same.

Rich. Now answer, and object to him what you can, and you shall be heard.

Phil. My Lord, the chiefest ground whereon he with the rest of his side do ground themselves against us, be these words, *This is my Body*, with a false pretence of the Omnipotency of God. And before I will come to particular answers of all that he hath alleged, for that your Lordships may be better understood me, what I mean, and whereupon I stand, I will first require Mr. Doctor to answer me one question. But first of all I do protest to your Honors that I think as reverence of the Sacrament, as a Christian man ought to do, and that I acknowledge the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, ministered after Christ's institution, to be one of the greatest treasures and comforts that he left us on the Earth; and contrarywise it is most discomfort and abominable, not being ministered it ought to be, as it is used now a days.

And my question, which is this: whether these words only *Haec corpus meum, This is my Body*, spoken by a Priest over the Bread and Wine, may make the Body and Blood of Christ, as you suppose or no?

Ched. Staggering what he might say at all, he said these words alone, pronounced by the Priest, be sufficient to make the Bread and the Wine due very Body and Blood of Christ really.

Phil. That is blasphemous to say, and against all the Scriptures and Doctors, who affirm that the form and faith which is in the Sacrament must be observed which is in the word used and did institute, as *S. Cyprian* faith, *In faciente quod Christus fecit, non nisi Christus sequens: In faciente faciente, quod Christus fecit, non nisi Christus sequens: In faciente faciente, quod Christus fecit, non nisi Christus sequens.* And by the Law it is forbidden to add or take away from the words of Christ.

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be three as substantial parts of the Sacrament, as *This is my Body*, he is highly deceived.

Therefore St. Augustine faith, Accedat verbum ad elementum & fit Sacramentum: Let the word be joined to the element, and it becomes a Sacrament: So that if the true words of Christ's institutions be not observed in the ministrations of a Sacrament, is no Sacrament, as the sacrifices which the Ten tribes did offer at *Bethel* to the Lord, were not acceptable, because they were not in all points done according to Gods Word. Wherefore except the blessing be made after the Word (which is a due thanksgiving for our redemption in Christ) and also a flowing forth of the Lords death in such wise as the Congregation may be edified: and moreover a taking and eating after Christ's Commandment? except (I say) these three parts be first performed (which is not done in the Mass) these words *This is my Body*, which are laid placed in the institution of the Lords Supper, cannot be verified. For Christ commanded as well, *Take ye, Eat ye, as This is my Body.*

Christ faith, Take, Eat, this is my Body, and not, take ye, Eat ye.

Phil. No did, Master Doctor? Be not these the words of Christ *Accipite, manducate*? and do not these words in the plural number signify, *Take ye, Eat ye, and not take thou, Eat thou, as you would suppose?*

Ched. I grant it is so, say you.

Phil. Likewise of consequence, you (M.D.C.C.) must needs deny, which you have said, that these words, *This is my Body*, being only spoken, be sufficient to make the Body and Blood of Christ in the Sacrament, as you have unjustly said.

Lord. Then came in the Bishop again and said, what is it that you would have M. Doctor deny?

Phil. My Lord, M. Doctor hath affirmed that these words, *This is my Body*, spoken by the Priest, only do make the Sacrament.

Lord. Indeed if M. Bridges should speak these words over the Bread and Wine, they would not be sufficient, but if a Priest speak them after a due manner, they are effectual, and make a real Body.

Phil. M. Doctor hath said otherwise.

Lord. I think you mistake him; for he meant of the words duly pronounced.

Phil. Let him revoke that he hath granted, and then will I begin again with that which before was said; that, *This is my Body*, hath no place, except, *Bliss, take, and Eat, duly go before.* And therefore because the same words do go before, *This is my Body*, but prepositely follow in your Sacrament of the Mass, it is not the Sacrament of Christ, neither hath Christ in it present.

Ched. If, *This is my Body* only do not make the Sacrament, no more do, *Bliss, take, and Eat.*

Phil. I grant that the one without the other cannot make the Sacrament. And it can be no Sacrament unless the whole action of Christ doth concur together according to the first institution.

Ched. Why, then you would not have it to be the Body of Christ, unless it be received?

Phil. No verily, it is not the very Body of Christ to any other, but such as condignly receive the same after his institution.

Lord. It is not a Loaf a Loaf, being set on the Table though no Body eat thereof?

Phil. It is not like my Lord for a Loaf is a Loaf before it be set on the Table: but so it is not the Sacrament a perfect Sacrament before it be duly ministered at the Table of the Lords.

Lord. I pray you, what is it in the mean while, before it is received?

Phil. It is, my Lord, the sign begun of a holy thing, and yet a perfect Sacrament until it be received. For in the Sacrament there be two things to be considered, the thing itself, and the thing it signifies, which is Christ and his whole person; and it is to that none but to such as worthily receive the holy signs of Bread and Wine, according to Christ's institution.

Wind. There were never any that denied the words of Christ as you do. Did not he say, *This is my Body*?

Phil. My Lord, I pray you be not deceived. We do deny the words of Christ: but we say, these words

be of none effect, being spoken otherwise than Christ did institute them in his last Supper. For an example; Christ bled the Church to baptize in the name of the Father, of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost; if a Bishop say, baptize, these words over the water, and there be no Child to be baptized, these words only pronounced do not make a Baptism. And again, Baptism is only Baptism to such as be baptized, and to none other standing by.

L. Ched. I pray you, my Lord, let me ask him one question. What kind of presence in the Sacrament (duly ministered according to Christ's Ordinance) do you allow? If any come worthily to receive, then do I con- of his Fullness into the faith worthy Receiver, by the Spirit of God, that Christ is thereby joined to him and he to Christ.

L. Ched. I am answered.

Lord. My Lords, take heed of him, for he goeth about to deceive you. His similitude that he bringeth in is that of Baptism, nothing like to the Sacrament of the Altar. For if I should say to Sir *John Bridges* bring with me to Supper, having a fat Capon, Take, eat, this is of a fat Capon, although he eat not thereof, is it not a Capon Wine; if I say, Drink, this is a Cup of Wine, is it not, because he drinketh not thereof?

Phil. My Lords, your similitudes be too gross for so high mysteries as we have in hand, as if I were your equal I could more plainly declare, and there is much more difference between common meats and drinks; than there is between Baptism and the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ. Like must be compared to like, and spiritual things with spiritual, and not spiritual things with corporal things. And meats and drinks be of their own natures good or evil, and your words be of their own recommending, do but declare what you mean, and the Sacraments be to be considered according to the word which Christ spake of them, of the which, *Take ye, and Eat ye*, be finite of the chief, concurrent to the making of the same, without the which there can be no Sacraments; and therefore in Greek, the Sacrament is called *Body*, and Blood of Christ is called *word*, *Communion*, and likewise in the Gospel Christ commanded, saying, *Deicide inter eos, I divide it among you.*

Ched. St. Paul calleth it a Communion.

Phil. That doth more expressly show, that there must be a participation of the Sacrament together.

Lord. My Lords, I am sorry I have troubled you so long with this ultimate man, with whom we can do no good; I will trouble you no longer now; and with that the Lords rose up, none of them saying any evil word unto me, half amazed, in my judgment, God work it to good. Thus endeth the sixth part of this Tragedy: The seventh look for with joy.

The seventh Examination of John Philpot, had the nineteenth of November, before the Bishops of London and Rochester, the Chancellor of Lichfield, and D. Chedley.

London. Sirrah, come hither. How chance you come no longer? It is well done of you to make Mr. Chancellor and me to tarry for you this hour? By the Faith of my body, half an hour before Mass, and half an hour even at Mass, looking for your coming.

Phil. My Lord, it is not unknown to you that I am a Prisoner, and that the doors be shut upon me, and I cannot come when I list; but as soon as the doors of my Prison were open, I came immediately.

Lord. We went for thee to the intent thou shouldst have come to Mass. How say you, would you have come to Mass or no, if the doors had sooner been opened?

Phil. My Lord, that is another manner of question.

Lord. Lo, Mr. Chancellor, I told you we would have a froward fellow of him, he will answer directly to nothing. I have had him before both the Spiritual Lords and Temporal, and thus he saith still; yet he reckons himself better learned than all the Realm. You, before the Temporal Lords, the other day, he was so foolish to challenge the bell: he would make himself learned, and was learned.

Phil. I reckon, answered your Lordship before the Lords plain enough.

Lord.

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Lord.

Good come
for given
to B. Boner.

J. Philpot
conveyed
into a close
Tower
by night to
Philpot
Church.

Mr. Philpot
forbade to
write.

The Copy
of his Exam-
ination
by the
great work-
ing of the
pen.

The eighth
Examination
of Mr.
Philpot.

you are in. You that have Learning should know better how to rule. And seeing God hath reformed you to your dignity and living again, use the time to Gods glory and to the fitting forth of his true Religion: otherwise it will not continue, do what you can. With this saying he was appeased, and said as length:

Lord. That good man was punished for such as thou art. Where is the Keeper? Come let him have him to the place that is provided for him. Go your way home to be fore.

Phil. And he followed me, calling the Keeper aside, commanding to keep all men from me, and narrowly to search me (as the fouled did declare), and brought me to his privy door that goeth into the Church, and commanded two of his men to accompany the Keeper, and to see me placed.

And afterwards I passed through *Pauls* up to *Lords* Tower, and after that turned along all the West-side of *Pauls* through the Walland passing through five or seven Doors, came to my lodging through many fraies: where I called to remembrance, that fraies the way to Heaven. And it is in a Tower tight on the other side of *Lords* Tower, and is built as the battlements of *Pauls*, four of breadth and 13. of length, and almost over the Prison where I was before, having a window opening toward the East, by the which I may look over the tops of a Book in his sight, and thrust again, and caused the other to put their hands on the Book, and took their Oath: and would them to refer to his Register to make their Depositions when they might be left at leisure; and afterwards he turned to me and said, Now Sir, you shall answer but two words, whether you will answer to these Articles which I have laid unto you, directly, yea or nay?

Phil. My Lord, you have told a long Tale against my person, containing many lying Blasphemies, which cannot be answered in two words: besides this, you promised me at the beginning, that I should say what I could for my defence, and now will you not give me leave to speak? What Law is this?

Lord. Speak, yea or nay, for you shall say no more at this time.

The cause was, as I guess, that he saw so many there gathered to hear.

Phil. Then my two words you would have, methinks shall be, that I have appealed from you, and take you not for my sufficient judge.

Lord. Indeed, Mr. *Mordant*, he hath appealed to the King and to the Queen; but I will be so bold wither Majesty, to say that appeal in mine own hands.

Phil. You will do what you list, my Lord, you have the Law in your hands.

Lord. Wilt thou answer or no?

Philpot. I will not answer otherwise then I have said.

Lord. Register, note his answer that he maketh.

Phil. Knock me on the head with an hatchet, or set up a stake and burn me out of hand, without further Law; as well you may do so, as do that you do, for an old Law is without order of Law: such tyranny was never seen as you use now a days; God of his mercy destroy your cruel Kingdom. And whilst I spake this, the Bishop went away in haste.

St. David. Mr. *Philpot*, I pray you be quiet, and have patience with you.

Phil. My Lord, I thank God I have patience to bear and abide all your cruel intents against me: notwithstanding I speak this earnestly, being moved thereto justly, to notify your unjust and cruel dealing with men in Courts, without all due order of Law.

Lord. Sir, here I object and lay unto you in the presence of my Lord of *St. Davids*, and of Mr. *Mordant*, and of these worshipful men, these Articles here in this Libel contained, and openly he read them.

To whom when I would particularly have answered to some of his Blasphemies, he would not permit me, but I said, I should have leisure enough to say what I would, when he had said: And unto there here I add another Schedule. Also I require thee to answer to the Catechism first forth in the Scholastical time of *K. Edward*. Also I will thee to answer to certain Conclusions agreed upon both in *Oxford* and *Cambridge*. And I here do bring forth thy Writings against thee in thine own presence, namely thy *Lord of St. Davids*, Mr. *Mordant*, and Mr. *Harpfield*, with as many of you as were present in the Disputation he made in the Convocation-house; willing you to testify, of your Oaths taken upon a Book, his flubborn and unrevient behaviour he did there use against the blessed Sacrament of the Altar. Give me a Book, and receiving once he opened the same saying, I will teach him here one trick in our Law which he knoweth not; that is, my Lord of *St. Davids*, because you are a Bishop, you have this privilege, that you may swear, *Injunctio Evangelistis*, & non talis; by looking on the Gospel Book, without touching of the same. And so he opened the Book in his sight, and thrust again, and caused the other to put their hands on the Book, and took their Oath: and would them to refer to his Register to make their Depositions when they might be left at leisure; and afterwards he turned to me and said, Now Sir, you shall answer but two words, whether you will answer to these Articles which I have laid unto you, directly, yea or nay?

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After this that night I was conducted again by three or four into the Cole-house.

The ninth Examination of Mr. Philpot before Bishop Boner and his Chaplains

[N] the morning the next day I was called down betime the next day by my keepers, and brought again into the Wardrobe, where I remained until the Bishop had heard his Mass, and afterwards he sent for me into his private Parlour, and there he called for a Chair to sit down, and brought his infamous Libel of his forged Articles in his hand, and laid it down, willing me to draw near unto him, and said:

Lord. I am this day appointed to tarry at home from the Parliament House, to examine you and your Fellows upon these Articles, and you stand dallying with me, and will not answer to nor for. I wis all your Exceptions will not serve you. Will it not be a fair honesty for you, think ye, that when thou comest before my Lord Mayor and the Sheriff, and other worshipful Audiences, when I shall say before them all, that I have had these many times before me, and before so many learned men, and that thou couldst say nothing for that standest in, for all thy brags of learning, neither wouldst answer directly to any thing?

Phil. My Lord, I have told you my mind plain enough, but yet I do not intend to let this privilege the Law giveth me, the which is free choice to answer where I am not bound, and this privilege will I cleave unto, unless it be compelled otherwise.

Lord. Well, I perceive you will play the obdurate fool. Lay thine Appellation when thou comest in Judgment, and answer in the mean while to these Articles.

Phil. No, my Lord, by your leave I will not answer to them, until my lawful Appeal be tried.

Lord. Well, thou shalt hear them, and with that he began to read them.

Phil. I thank back unto the windows, and looked on a Book, after he had read them over he laid unto me:

Lord. I have read them over, although it hath not pleased you to hear me. I marvel in good faith, what thou meanest to be so willful and flubborn, seeing thou maist do well enough if thou wilt. It is but a singularity; dost thou not see all the Reason against thee?

Phil. My Lord, I stand up in the witness of God, before whom I speak, that I am neither wedded to mine own will, neither stand upon mine own flubbornness or singularity, but upon your Confidence instructed by Gods Word; and if your Lordship can show better evidence than I have for a good Faith, I will follow the same.

Lord. What thou wilt not, so, for all that, Well! that is put half be forgotten; and be thou conformable unto us. I wis thou mightst find as much favour as thou wouldst desire.

Phil. Then I perceiving that he frowned so much upon me, thought it good to give him some comfort of my revelling, to the intent I might give him and his hypocritical Generation openy a further foil, perceiving that they dare openy upon none, but with such as are unlearned and lack of knowledge not able to answer, or else with such as they have a hope, that for fear or love of the world will recant: I said, my Lord, it is not unknown to you, that I have openy, in the audience of a great number, stood to the maintenance of these Opinions I am in, and by learning did offer to defend them; therefore, my Lord, I might openy appear to the world that I am on by learning, or else what will they say, but that other for fear, or love of the world, I am without any ground from the Truth; and if I hear any kind of learning openy shewed, I shall be as conformable as you may require me.

Lord. Yea marry, now ye speak somewhat like a reasonable man. I wis you might have had a great deal more favour in my house, and liberty, when you have had; and you shall lack nothing that is within my house; call for what you shall have. And what is that you would openy by learning somewhat be satisfied in? tell me.

Phil. My Lord, I have openy said, and do believe it also, that your Sacrifice of the Mass is no Sacrament.

Lord. What, do you deny the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament?

Phil. No, my Lord, I deny not the Presence of Christ in the Sacrament, but I have denied the Sacrament of the Altar, as it is used in your Mass, to be the true Sacrament of Christs institution; and first it must be proved a Sacrament before there can be any Presence granted.

Lord. Why, do you deny the Mass to be a Sacrament?

Phil. I pray you what is a Sacrament? Is it not a sign of things as *S. Aug.* doth define it?

Lord. Yes verily, that it is.

Phil. Then I make this Argument unto you, a Sacrament is the sign of a holy thing; but the Mass is the sign of a holy thing, ergo, it is a Sacrament.

Phil. You must add this to your *Major* first Proposition, as *S. Augustine* doth mean, that a Sacrament is the sign of a holy thing instituted of God, and commanded; for otherwise it can be no Sacrament, for all men cannot make a Sacrament.

Lord. I grant that; and such a sign of a holy thing is the Mass of Christs institution.

Phil. I deny that, my Lord.

Lord. I will prove this by *S. Augustine* by and by. I will go then to the Book; and you shall have any Book I have that you will demand. Ho, who is without there? Call me Mr. *Doctor Chesley*, Mr. *Archdeacon*, Mr. *Cofins*, and other Chaplains hither.

Here my Lord, Mr. *Doctor Chesley* is gone to *Westminster*, and Mr. *Archdeacon* was here even now.

Lord. Mr. *Cofins*, I pray you examine him upon these Articles, and write his answer he maketh to every one of them. I will go examine his Fellows, and find you *S. Augustine* by and by. I find this man more conformable than he was before.

Cofins. I trust, my Lord, you shall find him at length a good Catholic man. Marry, here be a fight of Heretics; I dare say you will hold none of them, nor stand in any of them. How say you to the first?

Phil. Mr. *Cofins*, I have told *Lord* already, that I will answer to none of these Articles he hath objected against me; but if you will with learning answer to that which is in question between my Lord and me, I will gladly hear and commune with you.

Cofins. No, will you? Why what is that then that is in question between my Lord and you?

Phil. Whether your Mass be a Sacrament, or no.

Cofins. What, the Mass to be a Sacrament? Who is it ever doubted thereof?

Phil. If it be an undoubted truth, you may the sooner prove it; for I doubt much thereof.

Cofins. Why, I will prove it. It is the sign of a holy thing; ergo, it is a Sacrament.

Phil. I deny your Antecedent.

Cofins. What, will you do it? then there is no reasoning with you.

Thus Mr. *Cofins* gave over in the plain field for want of further proof. And then the morrow Mass Chaplain began to speak for his Occupation; and with that Mr. *Harpfield* came out from my Lord with *S. Augustines* Epistles, saying:

Harp. My Lord hath sent you here *S. Augustine* to look upon, and I pray you look what he saith in a certain Epistle which he writeth; I will read over the whole. Here you may hear the celebration of the Mass; and how it reprooveth them that went a hawking and hunting before the celebration of the Mass, on the Sabbath and Holy days.

Phil. I perceive the Contents of this Epistle, and I see nothing herein against me, neither any thing that maketh for the proof of your Sacrament of the Mass.

Harp. No, doth he not make mention of the Mass, and the celebration thereof? what can be spoken more plain?

Phil. *S. Augustin* meaneth of the celebration of the Communion, and of the true use of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, and not of your private Mass, which you of late years have erected in the stead thereof; for this word *Mass* hath been an old term attributed to the Communion even from the Primitive Church. And I pray you tell me what *Mass* doth signify. I think not many that say *Mass* can well tell.

Cofins. No, cannot? that is marvel.

Phil. Then tell me if you can. But Mr. *Cofins* and my morrow Mass Chaplain were both dumb, looking upon Mr. *Harpfield* for help, and at length he spake.

Harp. You think it cometh of the Hebrew word *Mass*, as though none were seen in the Hebrew but you.

Phil. I have not gone so long to School, to derive the signification of *Mass*, which is a Latin word, out of Hebrew; but I have learned to interpret Greek words by Greek, and Latin by Latin, and Hebrew by Hebrew; I take the Communion to be called *Mass*, as intended of such things as at the celebration of the Communion were sent by such as were of ability, to the relief of the poor, where the Rich brought after their Devotion and Ability, and required the Minister in the Celebration of the

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Communion to pass unto God for them, and to accept their common Alms, which they at such times did find for the help of their poor Brethren and Sisters; and for this cause was called *Missa*, as learned men do witness. At the which Celebration of the Mass, all that were present did communicate under both kinds, according to Christ's institution, as they did in *S. Augustine's* time. But unless you can shew that your Mass is which it then was, ye shall never by the name of Mass (which *S. Augustine* attributed to the true use of the Communion) prove your private Mass to be a Sacrament, unless ye can prove the same now to be in your Masses was then, which is clean contrary.

Harpi. What, deny you the Mass to be a Sacrament? for shame speak it not.

Phil. I will not be ashamed to deny it, if you cannot prove it.

Harpi. Why, it is a Sacrifice, which is more than a Sacrament.

Phil. You may make of it as much as you list; but you shall never make it a Sacrifice, as you may imagine thereof, but first it must be a Sacrament, for of the Sacrament you deduce your Sacrifice.

Harpi. Why? doth not Christ say, *This is my Body*? and doth not the Priest pronounce the same that Christ did?

Phil. The pronunciation only is not enough, unless the words be therewith applied to the use, as Christ spake them; for though ye speak the words of Baptism over water never so many times, yet there is no Baptism unless there be a Christian person to be baptized.

Harpi. Nay, that is not like; for, *Hoc est corpus meum*, is an Indicative proposition, shewing a working of God in the Substance of Bread and Wine.

Phil. It is not only an Indicative proposition, but also Imperative or commanding. For he that said, *Hoc est corpus meum*, is, *This is my body*; said also, *accipite, manducate, et take ye, eat ye*. And except the former part of the institution of Christ's Sacrament be accomplished according to the Communion; the latter, *This is my Body*, can have no verification, take it which way you will, and how you will.

Morrow-mass Chap. Why then you will make the Sacrament to stand in the receiving, and that receiving maketh it a Sacrament.

Phil. I do not say, that the receiving only maketh it a Sacrament, but I say that a common receiving must needs be concurrent with the true Sacrament, as a necessary Member, without the which it cannot be a Sacrament, because Christ hath made this a principal part of the Sacrament, *Take ye, eat ye*, which you do not in your Mass according to Christ's institution; wherefore, it can be no Sacrament, for that it wanteth of Christ's institution.

Cofin. We do forbid none to come to it, but as many as list may be partakers with us at the Mass, if they require it.

Phil. Nay, that they shall not, though they require it, you will minister but one kind unto them, which is not after Christ's institution. Besides that, you ought before you go to Mass, to exhort all that be present, to make a Sacrifice of Thanksgiving, for Christ's Passion with you, and exhort them to be partakers with you, according to Christ's Commandment, saying unto all that be present, *Take ye, eat ye*: and by likewise by preaching forth the Lords death, which you do not.

Cofin. What, if all things be done, even as you would have it, and whilst the Minister is about to minister the Sacrament, before any have received it, there is a sudden burly bury, that the Communicants be compelled to go away; is it not a Sacrament for all that none hath communicated before the Priest?

Phil. In this case, where all things are appointed to be done according to Gods word, if incident necessity had not, I cannot say but it is a Sacrament, and that he which hath received, hath received the true Sacrament. After this, the Morrow-mass Priest! If the Sacrament of the Mass be no Sacrament, unless all do receive it, because Christ said, *Take ye, eat ye*; then the Sacrament of Baptism is no Sacrament where there is but one baptized,

because Christ said to his Apostles, *Go preach the Gospel to all Creatures, baptizing all Nations in the Name of the Father, &c.*

Phil. In that saying of Christ, baptizing all Nations, is a commandment to the Apostles, to baptize all sorts of men, and to exclude none that believe, be he Gentile or Jew, not meaning all at once, for that were impossible; but there are many examples that Baptism may be administered to one person, as we have example in the Scripture, as in the case of *Philip*, and in the *Eunuch* baptized of *Philip*, with many more like like: but to have you not of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, but contrarywise by the express words of Christ, but commanded to use it in a communion and participation of it together; *Cor. 11. Quoties convenitis ad manducandum, unusquisque propriam cibum* &c. as ye come together to eat (meaning the Lords Supper) carry one for another. And also the Minister in the celebration of the Sacrament speaketh unto all that be present in Christ's behalf, so communicate with him, saying, *Take ye, and eat ye*. Where, doth he say foras many as be present and do not communicate, break the Lords Supper in not receiving the same, and the Minister is no just Minister that doth not distribute the Sacrament, as Christ did, to all that are present; and where Gods word is transgressed, there is not Christ present, and consequently it is no Sacrament.

Harpi. What would you have it no Sacrament without it be a Communion?

Phil. I make it not for Gods express word teacheth me, for ye, also all the ancient Writers; as *Chrysostom* says, writing upon the Epistle to the *Ephefians*, faith, *that the Oblation is in vain, whereas non dicit communicare uti Priests*. If by his judgment the communion of the Priest alone is in vain, where is no Communion, how can that be a Sacrament, which he teacheth a vain Oblation, and a vain standing at the Altar?

Cofin. You are such another Fellow as I have no hand, that will not have the Mass to be a Sacrament; you are no man for me to reason withal. Come, let us go, point me to the Morrow-mass Chaplain: we will leave you (Mr. Archdeacon) and him together; and so they went away. Afterward the Archdeacon fell into earnest persuasions with me, saying:

Harpi. Mr. Philpot, you and I have been of old acquaintance a long time; we were School-fellows both in *Winchester*, and in *Oxford* many years. Wherefore I must with you as well to do as my fellow I pray you to think of me.

Phil. I thank you for your good will towards me, but if you be deceived, (as I am sure you are) I shall never desire you not to with me deceived with you. For as for God I tell you plainly you are highly deceived and misled in your false Religion; and be not those men you take your selves for: and if you do not repent, and leave off your persecuting of Christ's Truth, you will go to the Devil forth. Therefore consider it in time, I give you warning, for the time of Judgment I shall be a witness against you, that I told you this here talking together.

Harpi. Fie, that is but your own vain singular opinion; I perceive you are now full that man you were in *Oxford*.

Phil. I trust you can report no notorious evil that ever you were by me there.

Harpi. I can say no evil of your Conversation, but I knew you to be a studious man. Marry, if you remember when we met in disputation in *parvis*, you would not lightly give over, and for that cause I speak what I have said.

Phil. Mr. Harpsfield, you know in the Schools of *Oxford*, when we were young men, we did strive much upon vain glory, and upon contention, more than for the truth; but now our years and our ripen learning teach us to fall to a truth, which must be our portion for ever. And if I was then, in my time of ignorance, earnest in my own cause, I ought now to be earnest in my Master Christ's cause, and his truth. I know now that nothing doth upon vain glory and singularity can please God; I know it never go dally a few: wherefore I pray you judge not of me now.

Harpi. What will you think your self better learned, then all the learned men in this Realm?

Phil.

Phil. My Faith hangeth not upon the learned of the world, but upon the learned of Gods Word.

Harpi. Well, I will talk with you no more as now, but pray to God to open your heart.

Phil. I pray God open both our hearts, to do more his will, than we have done in times past.

Harpi. Ho, Keeper, take him away with you.

Phil. I pray you Mr. Harpsfield, tell me what this Proposition (the) doth demonstrate and shew, in this Indication, *Proposition*, as you call it, *Hoc est corpus meum*; This is my Body?

Harpi. It doth demonstrate the Substance of Bread, which by the words spoken by the Priest, and by the Omnipotency of God, is turned into the Substance of Christ's Body.

Phil. Is the Substance of the Bread, as you say, turned into Christ's Body?

Harpi. Yes, that it is.

Phil. Why, then Christ's Body receiveth daily a great increase of many thousand pieces of Bread into his Body, and that is his Body become now, which was not before, and by this you would seem to make, that there is an alteration in Christ's glorified Body, which is a wicked thing to think.

Harpi. Then he set about again, and remembering better himself and fearing the inconvenience of his first assertion, the Transubstantiation of Bread into Christ's Body, he said, That the Substance of Bread, after the words spoken by the Priest, was evacuated or vanished away by the Omnipotency of God.

Phil. This is another Song than you sang first: and here you may see how contrary you are to your selves. For indeed your Schoolmen do hold, That the very Substance of Bread is really turned into the Substance of Christ's Body. And now you perceiving of late the inconvenience which is charged against you, that Opinion, you are determined to imagine a new third, and say, the Substance of Bread is evacuated, contrary to that your Church hath first believed and taught. O what Contrariety is there among you, and all to deface the sincere Truth?

Harpi. Is not God omnipotent? and cannot he do as he list?

Phil. But his omnipotency will not do as you say, contrary to his word and to his honour. It is not Gods honour to include him bodily into a piece of Bread, and of necessity hurt him thereto. It is not Gods honour for you to make a piece of Bread God and Man, which you be before your face doth purifie after a certain time. Is not Gods Omnipotency as able to give his Body with the Sacramental Bread, as to make to many turnings away of the Bread, as you do, and that directly against the Scripture, which calleth Bread many times after the Consecration?

Harpi. Are you not ashamed to make so many alterations of the Lords holy Institution as you do, and to take away the substantial parts of the Sacrament, as, *Take ye, eat ye, drink ye* of all this; do ye this in remembrance of me: and to take away the substance of the Sacrament, as, *Take ye, eat ye, drink ye*, offer ye, sacrifice ye for the quick and the dead? If this be not blaspheiny to God and his Sacraments, to add and to pluck away in this sort, and that contrary to the mind of all ancient Writers, and contrary to the example of Christ and all his Apostles, tell me,

Harpi. I know you have gathered the sayings of the Doctors together, which make for your purpose; and I will talk no longer with you.

Phil. I pray God open both our hearts, to do more his will than we have done in times past.

Harpi. Ho, Keeper, take him away with you.

Phil. I pray you Mr. Harpsfield, before Bishop Bowers, his Register, and others.

Phil. The next day after Dinner I was brought into my Lords upper Hall, and there he called me before him, and his Register, and before Dr. *Chedley*, in the presence of two honest Gentlemen, and a Priest which I knew not. At what time the Bishop said,

Lond. I do here lay unto this man in your presence (requiring you to be witnesses against him, as much as you know in any of them) these Articles, this Book of the Catechism made in King Edwards days, also these Confessions agreed upon both in *Oxford* and *Cambridge*;

Phil. I lay unto him, that he hath defiled the Centures of the Church, and hath stood accused many times in this twelve-month, and never required Absolution thereof: How say you; wait thou not accused by my L. Chancellor?

Phil. I was excommunicated by him wrongfully, and without any just cause, and without order of Law, being never personally cited.

Lond. Didst thou not tell me the other day, when I required thee to come to the Mass, that thou wast excommunicated, and therefore by the Law couldst not hear Mass? How long hath thou been thus excommunicated?

Phil. More than a twelve-month and a half.

Lond. Lo, you may hear what he faith: write it.

Phil. But as you would have written it, I have said, I have been thus long excommunicated, but he would not give it me, saying, That I was excommunicated *pro jure*, because I was an Heretic, as it pleased him to call me; therefore accused by your Law, and so commanded me to Prison, where I remain.

Gentlemen. Why do you not require Absolution at my Lords hands here now?

Phil. Because he is not mine Ordinary, neither hath by the Law any thing to do with me of right.

Lond. What an obstinate Fool is this? I tell thee I will be between Ordinary whether thou wilt or no.

Phil. And because of this your unrighteous force towards me, I have appealed from you, and require you, appeal Mr. Register, that my Appeal may be entered in writing from the L. Register.

Lond. Have you heard such a forward Fellow as this? he seemed yesterday to be very tractable and I had a good hope of him. I tell thee thou art of my Diocese.

Phil. I am of *Winchester* Diocese, and not of *London* Diocese.

Lond. I pray you may not a man be of two Dioceses at once?

Phil. No, that he cannot.

Lond. Lo, you will see what an ignorant Fool this is: how can he be of two Dioceses, when he is of one? I tell thee thou art a man may be of three Dioceses at once; as if thou wert born in *London*, by reason thereof thou shouldst be of my Diocese; or else if thou wert not born, but hadst a Dignity here, also thou art to be counted of my Diocese, or else by reason of thy habitation in my Diocese.

Phil. In none of these respects I am of your Lordships Diocese. But for all that, this will not follow, that I, dwelling at *Winchester*, am at that present of *London* Diocese.

Lond. What wilt thou say thereof? Wilt thou recant if I prove it?

Phil. But what shall I win if you do not?

Lond. I will give thee my Bishoprick if I prove it not.

Phil. Ye, but who shall deliver it me if I win?

Lond. Thou art an arrogant Fool, enter thee Oaths, and take these Wines of Dioceses: I must be gone to Parliament House.

After this spake unto me a Priest standing by asking me whether I was kin to my Lord Rich, or no.

Phil. I said, he said to himself to me the other day, but how I know not.

Phil. I heard him say he was his high Kinman.

Baselmite. Why, then you and I must be of kin, for he is my high Kinman. How chance it that you and I mine Kinman?

Phil. It is no marvel, for Christ prophesied, *That the Father shall be divided against the Son, and the Son against the Father for my Truths sake*.

Basil. You do hold (as I understand) against the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, and against the holy Mass.

Phil. If you can prove a Sacrament, I will not hold against you.

Basil. What, prove it a Sacrament, quoth he? doth not Scripture say, *Quae oculus non vidit, et auris non audivit, et hominibus non preparavit Deum diligenter* [et] That such things as the eye hath not seen, neither ear heard, hath God prepared for them that love him?

Phil. That saying of *S. Paul* concerneth nothing your Sacrament, but is meant of the heavenly joys that be prepared for all faithful Believers.

S. P.

Basil.

The Mass is a Sacrifice, quoth Harpi.

A Sacrament is no Sacrament without his use.

Receiving maketh it a Sacrament, yet the Sacrament is the Lords Supper without it is not a Sacrament.

What the Priests ought to do at their Mass.

John Philpot, accused by the Chancellor without order of Law.

And after they had great conference together, as well out of the Scriptures, as also out of the Doctors. But when *Boner* law that by learning they were doctored, to convince *Mr. Philpot*, he thought then by his defamations to bring him out of credit; and therefore turning himself unto the Lord Mayor of London, he brought forth a Kniffe, and a Bladder full of Powder, and said,

Mr. Philpot had a kniffe thrust under a pig-drawe, the Church of Rome is a Catholic Church &c.

Lord. My Lord, this man had a readied Pig brought unto him, and this Kniffe was put secretly between the kniffe and the flesh thereof, and so it was sent him, being in Prison. And also this Powder was sent into him, under the pretence that it was good and comfortable for him to eat or drink; which Powder was only to make him to be choked at. For when his Keeper did perceive it, he took it and brought it unto me. Which when I did see, I thought it had been Gunpowder, and thereupon I put fire to it, but it would not burn. Then I took it for Poyson, and so gave it to a Dog, but it was not so. Then I took a little water, and it made as fair Ink as ever I did write with. Therefore, my Lord, you may understand what a naughty Fellow this is.

Phil. Alas my Lord, have you nothing else to charge me withal but these trifles, seeing I stand upon life and death? Doth the Kniffe in the Pig prove the Church of Rome to be a Catholic Church? &c.

Then the Bishop brought forth a certain Instrument, in containing Articles and Questions, agreed upon with *Oxford and Cambridge*, whereof you have mention before. Also he did exhibit two Books in print; the one was the Catechism made in King *Edward's* days, *An. 1552*, the other concerning the true Report of the Disputation in the Convocation House, mention whereof is above expressed.

Moreover he did bring forth, and laid to *Mr. Philpot* the Book of change two Letters; the one touching *Barlet Green*, the other containing godly exhortations and confessions; which both were written unto him by some of his godly friends; the tenour whereof we thought here also to exhibit.

A Letter exhibited by Boner, written by some Friend of Mr. Philpots, and sent him concerning the handling of Mr. Green in Boners House at London.

*Y*OU shall understand that *Mr. Green* came unto the Bishop of London on Sunday last, where he was courteous handling the testify received; for what policy the feign declaration of his entertainment for one day or two, was to dine at the Lords own Table, or else to have his meat from thence. During those days he lay in *Dr. Chedleys* Chamber, and was examined. Albeit in very deed the Bishop earnestly and faithfully promised many right worshipful men (who were Sutors for him, but to him unknown) that he in no case should be examined; whereof which, *Mr. Beckman* had desired to have conferred with him, which he utterly refused. And in that the Bishop offered against him singularity and obsequy; his Answer thereto was thus, To avoid all suspicion thereof, although I myself am young and utterly unlearned in respect of the learned, (and yet I understand, I thank my Lord) yet let me have such Books as I shall require; and if I, by Gods Spirit, do not thereby answer all your Books and Objections contrary thereto, I will permit you. Whereunto the Bishop and his assented, promising him at the first to have such Books. Who at sundry times have reasoned with him, and have found him so strong and ripe in the Scriptures, and godly Patience, that he hath more than any other man, not leaving him to such as the New Testament. Since, they have baited and used him most cruelly. This *Mr. Beckman* reported; saying further, that he never heard the like young man, and so perfect. What shall become further of him, God knoweth; but death I think, for he remaineth more and more willing to die, as I understand.

Concerning your Bill, I shall counter with others therein, knowing that the same Court is able to redress the same. And yet I think it will not be reformed, for that I know few or none that dare or will speak therein, or prefer the same, because it concerneth spiritual things. Nevertheless, if I will utter any thereof, committing you to the Holy Ghost, who keep you and us all, as his True own, &c.

The Copy of another Letter written by the Faithful and Christian hearted Lady, the Lady *Pansy* to *Mr. Philpot*, exhibited likewise by Bishop *Boner*.

*H*EARLY thinketh unto you my wellbeloved in Christ, for the Book ye sent me, wherein I find great consolation, and according to the Doctrine thereof, do I prepare my cheeks to the strikers, and my womanly back to the burthens of reproof; and in the strength of my God be I trust to leap over the wall, for I have faithfully overcome you me daily, and make all this Apostolical charge of the world, even medicinal like in my mouth. For the consolation whereof, I beseech thee (my dear Fellow-soldier) make thy faithful prayer for me; that I may with a strong and glad conscience finish my course, and obtain the reward, though it be no whit due to my work. I am no content that you so often gratify me with thanks for that which is none worthy, but duty on my part, and I will relieve to you. But if you would love me so much, that I might supply your lacks, then would I think ye beloved myself to be such, as agreed with my heart. And for the charges ye speak of, the means are not so plentiful, as God (whom my trust is in) will otherwise prepare; but Solomon faith, All things have their time: time to day, and time to morrow, and the end of Adams line is now run. The mighty God give us in grace, that during the time, his glory be not defaced through our weakness. Because you desire to show your self a worthy soldier, if need so require, I will supply your request for the Staff ye wrote of, that ye may present my hands-work before your Captain, that I the forgetful in the odour of incense, which our beloved Christ offered for us, may in *Q. Mary* I beseech both our Bodies and Souls.

Your own in the Lord, F. E.

Over and besides these Letters, the Bishops did also bring forth a Supplication made by *Mr. Philpot* unto the high Court of Parliament, whereof mention is made in the first of the two Letters last mentioned; the Copy whereof doth here inlie, as followeth.

To the King and Queens Majesties Highnesses, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of this present Parliament assembled.

*I*N most humble wise complaint unto this honourable a Legio Court of Parliament John Philpot Clerk, that whereupon there was by the Queens Highness a Parliament called the first year of her grace reign, and after the old custom from a Convocation of the Clergy, your Suppliants being one of the said Convocation House, and matters there rising upon the using of the Sacraments, did dispute in the same, knowing that there all men had and have free speech, and ought not to be after-troubled for any thing there spoken, and yet, that notwithstanding, after the said Parliament, your said Suppliants was called to the Kings Bench by the late Lord Chancellor, where he hath remained ever since, until now of late that my Lord the Bishop of London hath sent your said Suppliants to examine him (being none of his Diocess) upon certain matters, wherein they would have your Orator to declare his Confession, which the said Bishop faith to have authority to do, by reason of an Act of Parliament made in the first and second years of our said Queens Majesties reign, for the reviving of three Statutes made against them that hold any Opinion against the Catholic Faith: where by he affirmeth, that every Ordinary may, ex officio, examine every mans Confession; and for your said Orator hath and doth refuse that the said Bishop of London hath any authority over your said Orator; for that he is neither his Diocessan, nor hath published, preached, nor held any opinion against the Catholic Faith (wherein he hath the said Bishop of London detesteth him in the Catholic Church, without either bed or any other thing to be done upon his part); and for that your said Orator cannot open his mouth for his part, from the said Bishop any other Judge, but the same Bishop may refuse the same by their Law; and therefore hath no just cause and help, but by this high Court

Curia of Parliament, for the explanation of the said Act; therefore it may please you, that it may be enacted by the King and Queens Majesties, the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and the Commons of this present Parliament assembled, and by the authority of the same, that no Bishop, nor Ordinary shall commit or detain in Prison any Priest, or other person or persons for the Catholic Faith, except he or they have spoken, written, or done some manifest act against the Catholic Faith, and the same to be lawfully proved against every such person or persons, by the testimony of two lawful Witnesses, to be brought before the said person or persons so accused, before he or they shall be committed to prison, or commit for any such offence or offences, the said former Statute, made in the first and second years of our said Sovereign Lord and Lady now reigning; whereby your said Orator shall not only be at liberty, and divers other more remaining in Prison; but also the blood of divers of the Queens Majesties true and faithful Subjects preserved.

The Condemnation of the worthy Martyr of God, John Philpot.

*T*Hese Books, Letters, Supplications, and other Matters being thus read, the Bishop demanded of him, if the Book intitled, *The true Report of the Disputations*, were one of his penning, or not? Whereunto *Philpot* answered, That it was a good and true Book, and of his own penning and setting forth.

The Bishops waxing now weary, and being not able by any sufficient ground, either of Gods Word, or of the ancient Catholic Fathers, to convince and overcome him, fell by fair and flattering speech to perfwade with him; promising, that if he would revoke his Opinions, and come home again to their Romish and Babylonish Church, he should not only be pardoned that which was past, but also they would with all favour and cheerfulness of heart, receive him again as a true Member thereof. Which words when *Boner* heard, he would not place, he demanded of *Mr. Philpot* (and that with a charitable affection I warrant you) whether he had any just cause for the Bp. said unto me that I should be foon dispatched. Well, (quoth *Mr. Philpot*) your idolatrous Sacrament, which you have found out, ye would fain defend, but ye cannot, nor ever shall.

In the end the Bishop, seeing his unmoveable steadfastness in the Truth, did pronounce openly the Sentence of Condemnation against him. In the reading whereof, when he came to these words, *Tegue etiam linguam hereticum*, *et in definitionem, perincentem, & impenitentem, &c.* *Mr. Philpot* said, I thank God that I am an Heretic out of your cursed Church; I am no Heretic before God. But God bless you, and give you once grace to repent your wicked doings, and let all men beware of your bloody Church.

Moreover, whilst *Boner* was about the middle of the Sentence, the Bishop of *Bath* pulled him by the sleeve, and said, My Lord, my Lord, know my heart, whether I will recant, or no. Then *Boner* said, (full like himself) O let him alone; and so read forth the Sentence.

And when he had done, he delivered him to the Sheriffs, and so two Officers brought him thence the Bishop's House into *Pater-noster-Rew*, and there his Servant met him, and when he saw him, he said, Ah dear Master.

Then *Mr. Philpot* said to his man, Content thy self, I shall do well enough; for thus shall I be again.

And so the Officers thrust him away, and had his Master to *Neugate*; and as he went, he said to the People, Ah good People, blessed be God for this day; and so the Officers delivered him to the Keeper. Then his man thrust to go to his Master, and one of the Officers said unto him, Hence Fellow, what wouldst thou have? And he said, I would go to speak with my Mother. *Mr. Philpot* then turned him about, and said to him, To morrow thou shalt speak with me.

Then the under Keeper said to *Mr. Philpot*, Is this your man? and he said, Yea. So he did licence his man to go with him; and *Mr. Philpot* and his man were turned into their Chamber, and so he lay down, and there remained a little time, until *Alexander* the chief Keeper did come unto him; who at his entering greeted him with these words;

Ah, said he, hast not thou done well to bring thy self here? Well, said *Mr. Philpot*, I must be content, for it is Gods appointment; and I shall desire you to let me have your gentle favour; for you and I have been of old acquaintance. Well, said *Alexander*, I will fiew thee gentleness and favour, as thou wilt be ruled. Then said *Mr. Philpot*, I pray you fiew me what you would have me to do.

He said, If you would recant, I will fiew you any pleasure I can. Nay, said *Mr. Philpot*, I will never recant, whilst I have my life, that which I have spoken, for it is most certain truth, and in witness hereof I will fill it with my blood. Then *Alexander* said, This is the laying of the whole pack of you Heretics. Whereupon he commanded him to be fet upon the block, and as many Irons were put upon his legs as he could bear, for that he would not follow his wicked mind.

Then the Clerk told *Alexander* in his ear, that *Mr. Philpot* had given his man money. And *Alexander* said to his man, What money hath thy Master given thee? He answered, My Master hath given me none. No, said *Alexander*, hath he given thee none? That will I know, for I will search thee. Do with me what you list and search me all that you can, quoth his Servant; he hath given me a Token or two to send to his Friends, as to his Brother and Sisters. Ah said *Alexander* unto *Mr. Philpot*, thou art a maintainer of Heretics; Thy man should have gone to some of these Affinity, but he shall be known well enough. Nay, said *Mr. Philpot*, I do send it to my Friends; there he is, let him make answer to it. But good *Mr. Alexander*, be so much my Friend, that these Irons may be taken off. Well, said *Alexander*, give me my Fees, and I will take them off; if not, thou shalt wear them still.

Then said *Mr. Philpot*, Sir, what is your Fee? He said, Four pound was his Fees. Ah, said *Mr. Philpot*, I have never recant, nor so much; I am but a poor man and I have been long in prison. What wilt thou give me then, said *Alexander*? *Mr. Philpot* said, I will give you twenty Shillings, and that I see I will find my man forsook else I will lay my Crown to pawn, for the time I now (I am free) that I shall be with you for the Bp. said unto me that I should be foon dispatched.

Then said *Alexander* unto him, what is that to thee? and with that he departed from him, and commanded him to be had into Limbo, and so his commandment was fulfilled; but before he could be taken from the block, the Clerk would have a steward.

Then one *Witterence*, Steward of the House, took him on his back, and carried him down, his man knew not wherefore. Wherefore *Mr. Philpot* said to his man, go to *Mr. Sheriff*, and shew him how I am used, and desire *Mr. Sheriff* to be good unto me; and so his Servant went straight way, and took an honest man with him.

And when they came to *Mr. Sheriff*, (which was *Mr. Macham*) and shewed him how *Mr. Philpot* was handled in *Neugate*, the Sheriff hearing this, took his Ring off from his finger, and delivered it unto that honest man which came with *Mr. Philpot* man, and bade him go unto *Alexander* the Keeper, and commanded him to take off his Irons, and to handle him more gently, and to give his man again that which he had taken from him. And when they came again to the said *Alexander*, and told them the message from the Sheriff, *Alexander* took the Ring, and said, Ah, I perceive that *Mr. Sheriff* is a bearer with him, and all such Heretics as he is, therefore to morrow I will fiew it to his betters. Yet at ten of the Clock he went into *Mr. Philpot*, where he lay, and took off his Irons, and gave him such things as he had taken before from his Servant.

Upon Tuesday at Supper, being the seventeenth day of *December*, there came a Messenger from the Sheriff, and bade *Mr. Philpot* make him ready, for the next day he should suffer, and be burned at a stake with fire. *Mr. Philpot* answered and said, Am ready; God grant me strength, and a joyful Resurrection. And so he went into his Chamber, and poured out his spirit unto the Lord God, giving him most hearty thanks for that he of his mercy had made him worthy to suffer for his truth.

In the morning the Sheriff came according to the orders, about eight of the Clock, and called for him; and he most joyfully came down unto them. And there his man

did meet him, and said, Ah dear Master, farewell! His Master said unto him, Serve God, and he will help thee. And so he went with the Sheriff to the place of Execution; and when he was entering into Smithfield, the way was foul, and two Officers took him up to bear him to the Stake. Then he said merrily, What's will ye make me a Popish man content to go to my journey's end on foot. But first coming into Smithfield, he kneeled down on foot, saying these words, [with pay my vow in this O Smithfield]

And when he was come to the place of Suffering, he Anno 1555. killed the Stake, and said, Shall I disdain to suffer at this Stake, seeing my Redeemer did not refuse to suffer most vile death upon the Cross for me? And then with an obedient heart full merrily he said the Cvi-Cvi, and Cvi-Cvi, Psalms: and when he had made an end of all his Prayers, he said to the Officers; What have you done for me? and every one of them declared what they had done; and he gave to every of them money.



Then they bound him to the Stake, and set fire unto that constant Martyr: Who the eighteenth day of December, in the midst of the fiery flames, yielding his soul into the hands of Almighty God, and full like a Lamb gave up his breath; his body being consumed into ashes. Thus hath thou (gentle Reader) the life and doings of this learned and worthy Soldier of the Lord, John Philpot; with all his Examinations that came to our hands, first penned and written with his own hand, being mercifully reserved from the fight and hand of his enemies, who by all manner of means fought not only to stop him from all writing, but also to spoil and deprive him of that which he had written. For the which cause he was many times whipped and feared in the Prison of his Keeper. But yet to happily these his writings were conveyed and hid in places about him, or else his Keepers eyes he blinded; that notwithstanding all this malicious purpose of the Bishops they are yet remaining, and come to light.

A Prayer to be said at the Stake, of all them that shall account worthy to suffer for his sake.

Merciful God and Father, to whom our Saviour Christ approached in his fear and need by reason of death, and found comfort; Gracious God and most bountiful Father, to whom Stephen called in his extreme need, and received strength; most benign holy Spirit, which in the midst of all crosses of death dost comfort the Apostles; Paul with more consolation in Christ, than he felt torments and terrors, leave mercy upon me miserable, vile, and wretched sinner, which now draw near the gates of death, delivered both in soul and body eternally by reason of manifold horrible, old and new transgressions, which to thine eyes (O Lord) are open and known: Oh be merciful unto me, for the bitter death and blood-shedding of thine own only Son Jesus Christ. And though thy justice do require (in respect of my sin) that now thou shouldst not bear me, manifesting me in the same measure I have manifested thy Majesty,

thy continuing thy daily calls; yet let thy mercy which is above all thy works, and overwhets the earth is filled, let thy mercy (I say) prevail towards me, through and for the mediation of Christ our Saviour. And for whose sake in that it hath pleased thee to bring me forth now as one of thy witnesses, and a record-bearer of thy verity and truth taught by him, to give my life therefore (to which dignity I do acknowledge dear God, that there was never any unworthy and so unworth, no not the thief that hanged with him on the Cross:) I most humbly therefore pray thee that thou wouldst accordingly aid, help, and assist me with thy strength and heavenly graces, that with Christ thy Son I may find comfort with Stephen I may feel thy presence, and glorious power, with Paul, and all others, which for thy Name's sake have suffered affliction and death. I may find so present with me thy gracious consolations, that I may by my death glorify thy holy Name, propagate, and raise thy verity, comfort the hearts of the heavenly confirm thy Church in thy verity, convert some that are to be converted, and so depart forth of this miserable world, where I do nothing but daily lie heap in upon sin, and so enter into the fruition of thy blessed mercy; whereof now give and increase in me a lively trust, (faith, and feeling, wherebrought the terrors of death, the torments of fire, the pangs of sin, the darts of Satan, and the dolours of Hell may never depress me, but may be driven away through the working of that most gracious Spirit; which to now plentifully endue me withal, that through the same Spirit I may offer (as I now desire to do in Christ by him) my self wholly, soul and body, to be a lively Sacrifice, holy and acceptable in thy sight. Dear Father, whose I am, and always have been, even from my mothers womb, yea even before the world was made, to whom I commend my self, soul and body, Family and Friends, Country and all the whole Church, as even my very enemies, according to thy good pleasure; beseeching thee intirely to give once more to the Realm of England the blessing of thy Word again, with godly peace, to the teaching and setting forth of the same O dear Father, now give

me grace to come unto thee. Purge and so purify me by this fire in Christ's death, and so pass through thy Spirit, that I may be a better offering of a Jesus (swell in thy flesh which liveth and reigneth with the Son and the Holy Ghost, now and for ever more world without end, Amen.

Letters of Mr. Philpot.

A Letter which he sent to the Christian Congregation, exhorting them to refrain from the idolatrous Service of the Popish, and to serve God after his Word.

It is a lamentable thing to behold at this present in England the faithless departing both of men and women, from the true knowledge and life of Christ, sincere Religion, which so plentifully they have been taught, and do know, their own Consciences bearing witness to the verity thereof. If that earth be cursed of God, which effusions receiving moisture and pleasant dews from Heaven, doth not bring forth fruit accordingly; how much more grievous judgment shall flesh perfors receive, which having received from the Father of Heavens the perfect knowledge of his word by the ministry thereof, do not these forth Gods worship after the same? If the Lord will require in the day of Judgment a godly usury of all manner of Talents which he leendeth unto men and women, how much more will he require the fame of his pure Religion revealed unto us (which is of all other Talents the chiefest and most pertaining to our exercise in this life) if we hide the same in a Napkin, and set it not forth to the usury of Gods glory, and edifying of his Church by true Confession? God hath kindled the bright light of his Gospel, which in times past was suppressed and hid under the vail of many Traditions, and hath caused the brightness thereof to shine on our hearts, so the end that the light might shine before men to the honour of his Name. It is not only given us to believe, but also to confess and declare what we believe in our outward conversation. For as St. Paul writeth to the Romans, The belief of the heart justifies, and a confession with the mouth maketh a man safe. It is all one to believe in God with the heart, and not to show forth the lively works of our belief. For Christ faith, *He that maketh the tree good and his fruits good, or else maketh the tree evil and the fruits evil; because a good tree bringeth forth good fruits, as an evil tree doth evil fruit.* So that the person which knoweth his Masters will, and doth it not, shall be beaten with many stripes. And not all they which say Lord, Lord, shall enter into the Kingdom of God, but he that doth the will of the Father. And whoever in the time of trial is ashamed of me (saith Christ) and of my words, of him the Son of Man will be ashamed before his Father. After that we have built our selves into the true Church of God, hath pleased him by giving us over into the hands of the wicked Synagogues to prove our building, and to have it known as well to the world as to our selves, that we have been wile builders into the true Church of God upon the Rock, and not on the Sand, and therefore now the Temple is risen, and the Storms do mightily blow against us, that we might notwithstanding be laid upright, and be firm in the Lord, to his honour and glory, and to our eternal felicity. There is no new thing happened unto us, for with such Tempests and dangerous Weathers the Church of God hath continually been exercised. Now once again, as the Prophet Aggeus tells us, The Lord shaketh the earth, that he might shake for ever, which he will overcome.

Therefore, my dearly beloved, be stable and immoveable in the word of God, and in the faithful observation thereof, and let no man deceive you with vain words, and dissimble with Antichrist, and to live at rest and quietness in the world, as most men do, yielding to necessity. This is the wisdom of the flesh, be wilful of the flesh is death and enmity to God: our Saviour for our example apply did declare in Peter, who exhorted Christ not to go to Jerusalem to celebrate the Passover, and there to be slain, but counselled him to look better to himself. Likewise the world would not have us to forsake it, but rather to afflict our selves to the true Church, which is the Body of Christ, whereof we are lively members, and to use the Sacraments after Gods word with the dan-

ger of our lives. But we must learn to answer the world as Christ did Peter, and say, Go behind me Satan, thou fa- ther of the things of God. Shall I not drink of the Cup which the Father giveth me? For it is better to be afflicted and to be slain in the Church of God, than to be counted the Son of the King, in the Synagogue of false Religion. Death, if righteously is not to be abhorred, but rather to be desired, which affluently bringeth with it the Crown of everlasting Glory. These bloody Executions do not profane Christs Martyrs, but crown them with everlasting felicity; we were born into this world to be witnesses unto the Truth, both learned and unlearned.

Now since the time is come that we must shew our Faith, and declare whether we will be Gods Servants in righteousness and holiness, as we have been taught, and are bound to follow, or else with hypocrite to serve unrighteousness; let us take good heed that we be found faithful in the Lords Covenant, and true Members of his Church, in the which through knowledge we are ingrafted; and from which if we fall by transgression with the common sort of people, it will be more freightly be required of us, than many yet do make account thereof. We cannot serve two Masters; we may not have on both sides, and think to please God; we must be fervent in Gods cause, or else he will cast us out from him. For by the first Commandment we are commanded to love God with all our heart, with all our mind, with all our power, and these are manifest transgressors of this Commandment, which with their hearts, mind, or body power, do communicate with a strange Religion, contrary to the word of God, in the Popish Synagogue, which calleth it self the Church, and is not. As greatly do they offend God now which do so, as the Israelites did in times past for forsaking Jerusalem, the true Church of God, and by going to Jerusalem to serve God in a Congregation of their own setting up, and after their own Imaginations and Traditions: for the which doing God utterly destroyed all Jerusalem, as all the Prophets almost do testify. This happened unto them for our example, that we might beware to have any fellowship with any illegitimate Congregation to our destruction.

God hath one Catholic Church, which is dispersed throughout the world, and therefore we are taught in our Creed to believe one Catholic Church, and to have communion therewith: which Catholic Church is grounded upon the foundation of the Prophets, and of the Apostles, and upon none other, as St. Paul witnesseth to the Ephesians. Therefore whosoever we perceive any people to worship God truly after his word, there we may be certain the Church of Christ to be; unto the which we ought to associate our selves, and to desire with the Prophet David, to praise God in the midst of his Church. But if we behold through the iniquity of the time, congregations to be made with counterfeit Religion, or otherwise then the word of God doth teach, we ought them, if we are required to be companions thereto, to say again with David, *Thou hast hated the Synagogue of the malignant, and wilt not sit with the wicked.* In the Apocalypse the Church of Ephesus is highly commended, because she tried such of the false that were Apollites and were not indeed, and therefore would not abide the company of them. Further, God commanded his People that they should not seek Bishop, neither enter into Gilds, where Idolatry was used, if the mouth of his Prophet Amos. Also we must confider that our Bodies be the Temple of God, and whosoever (as St. Paul teacheth) doth prophane the Temple of God, him the Lord will destroy. May we then take the Temple of Christ, and make it the Member of an Idolatrous and strange Religion and Idolatry is counted whoredom, with the Prophets, and more detestable in the sight of God, than the adventurous abuse of the Body.

Therefore the Princes of the earth, in the Revelation of St. John, be said to go a whoring, when they are in communion with false Religion, and follow the same. How therefore by any means may a Christian man think it tolerable to be present at the Popish private Mass (which is the very propitiation of the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ) and at other idolatrous worshippings and rites, which be not after the word of God, but rather to the derogation thereof, in setting up Traditions above Gods Precepts, since God by his word judgeth all strange Religion, which

McJellinger. As soon as I have word, you shall be satisfied of your request. Love me as you do, and the God of Love be with you. The 20. day of August.

By yours, with all his power
in the Lord, John Philpot.

Another Letter full of spiritual consolation to the said Lady.

The mercy of God the Father, and the consolation of the Holy Ghost through Jesus Christ, be with you, and strengthen you my dear Mother and Sister in the Lord, in these dangerous days, to the Crown of eternal Glory, which is now offered to all faithful Soldiers in the Gospel, Amen.

As your good Ladyship doth desire to hear from me, so am I desirous to write, as your gentleness and daily goodness bindeth me. But Satan of late hath led me, who enjoying all good exercises which I have had and received by mine ease imprisonment in times past, hath brought me out of the Kings Bench into the Bishop of Londons Cole-houſe, a dark and an ugly Prison as any is about London, (but my dark Body of sin hath well deserved the fame, and the Lord now hath brought me into outward darkness, that I might be more lightened by him, as he is most profert with his Children in the midst of darkness,) where I cannot be suffered to have any Candle-light, neither Ink nor Paper, but by stealth. Wherefore I cannot write to you as I would, neither as my duty is. As Christ, my Master, was sent from *Amaz to Calvary*, so am I sent from *Winchester Diocet to London*. I trust to make a speedy end of my course; God give me grace and patience to be a faithful follower of my Master. I have been already this Seven-night in his Cole-houſe, and have of late been four times called to mine Answer, but hitherto not called to Judgment which I do daily look for; but I fear they will prolong me, as they may by frat Impet forment a while, in the which Gods will be done with King.

Experience
of Christ,
comforting
his Saints
in their
persecution.

Praise (dear Lady) that my Faith faint not, in which I pray God is presently more lively with me than it hath been in times past. I taſt and feel the faithfulness of God in his promise, who hath promised to be with his in their trouble, and to deliver them. I thank the Lord, I am not alone, but have six other faithful Companions, who in our darkness do cheerfully sing hymns and praises unto God for his great goodness. We are so joyful, that I with you part of my faith. For you that are careful of my bodily relief, how can I but with your spiritual consolation, and that abundantly? Let not (dear Heart) my frat Imprisonment any thing molest you: for it hath added and daily doth unto my joy; but rather be glad and thankful unto God with me, that it hath pleased him to make me, most wretched sinners, worthy to suffer any thing for his sake. Hitherto we have not refilled unto blood. God make us never to count our blood more precious in our eyes than his Truth.

Ah, my dear Sister, I thank you again for the last Letter you sent me; it is a singular comfort unto me as oft as I read the same. I have in my bosom, and will carry the same even to the Stake with me, in witness that Christ hath to constant and faithful a Lady in England. God succour and keep that spirit in you; for it is the very Spirit of Adoption of the Child of God. Such cheerful and holy Spirits under the Cross be acceptable Sacrifices in the sight of God; for Christ came to cast fire into the Earth, and looketh that it should be kindled. Be you fervent in spirit in our Christs cause, as you have begun, for that is the principal prize wherewith David desired to be crowned. O, how do you rejoice, your Ladyship to go arm in arm with me unto Christ, or rather before me? I cannot but joy of such a wishfulful Friend. Methinks I feel you to mourn, and desire to be looked out of the earth and frail habitacle of this Body. O, how amiable and pleasant is it to dwell in the Lords Tabernacle? Our Christ and his heavenly hope and feeling which we have of our everlasting salvation: and it is no marvel, for the worldly men cannot perceive the things of God; it is never foolishness and abomination to them.

which most unworthily I do receive fill of you, unto the Lord. But now (dear Mother) you need not be burdened so much your self (as my last Letters did signify) for that my chargeable Imprisonment is cut off, and a little now serveth me; wherefore I pray you find no more until I send to you, for I have sufficient and abundant Gods peace be with you for ever. Out of my Lord of Londons Cole-houſe, the last of October.

Your own, John Philpot.

Another Letter of Mr. Philpot to the said Lady, wherein partly he complaineth of the diffimulation and perjury of Englishmen, falling again to the Pope, and partly he expresseth his joy in his afflictions.

I cannot but joy with you (my heartily Beloved in Christ) of the fall of *Senacherib*: since it is to the glory of God, and to the consolation of his Church, to see the fall of their enemies before their face, according as it is written, *The just shall rejoice, when he shall see the vengeance of the wicked*. God make this your joy perfect; for as concerning my self, I count not to see these good days whereof you have a glimmering in the eye. For although the Cockatrice be dead, yet his pestilent Chickens, with the Whore now of *Babylon*, still liveth. But a great hope there is of their short confusion, because God doth not prosper their doings according to their God expectation. Most happy shall he be, when the Lord shall soonest take out of this life, that he may not see the plagues which the manifest perjury, and the manifold Idolatry and detestable diffimulation, and that of such as do know the Truth, do threaten to come.

The Lord is just, and all unrighteousness displeaseth him, and either here or else in another world he will punish this great Iniquity of the world: but his deed, and such as he loveth, will he punish here, that should not be condemned hereafter with the world eternally: we have nothing so much to rejoice in, as in the Cross of Jesus Christ, and in that we are partakers of his afflictions, which be the suretyship of that eternal Kingdom, which he putteth on the Cross for us hath Kingdome. For as Paul his faithful witness saith, *If we suffer with him, we shall reign with him. If we die with him, we shall live with him*.

Wherefore (nine own dear Bowels) praise God with me most intirely, that it hath pleased him now mercifully to visit the sins of my youth, and my huge unthankfulness, and by the same doth give me much consolation, that he affureth me of his great goodness and mercy, and turneth his Fatherly calligation into my Crown of glory. O good God! what am I on whom he should show this great mercy? To him that is immortal, invisible, and only wise, be all honour, praise, and glory therefore, Amen.

This is the day that the Lord hath made, let us rejoice and be glad in the same. This is the way, though it be narrow, which is full of the Peace of God, and leadeth to eternal Bliss. O how my heart leapt for joy, that I am so near the apprehension thereof! God forgive me mine unthankfulness and unworthiness of so great glory. The Swords which pierced *Marias* heart in the Passion of our Saviour, which daily also go through your faithful heart, be more glorious and to be desired than the golden Scepters of this World. O blessed be they that mourn in this world to God ward, for they shall eternally be comforted: God make my bow bent to mourn more than it doth. I have so much joy of the reward that is prepared for me most wretched Sinner, that though I be in place of darkness and mourning, yet I cannot lament, but both night and day am so joyful, as though I were under no Cross at all, yes, in all the days of my life I was never so merry, the Name of the Lord be praised for ever and ever, and be pardon mine unthankfulness. Our enemies do fret, fume, and gnash their Teeth to see and hear that we, under this grievous affliction in the world, can be so merry. We are of them counted as desperate persons, for the certain hope and feeling which we have of our everlasting salvation: and it is no marvel, for the worldly men cannot perceive the things of God; it is never foolishness and abomination to them.

Be thankful unto our God (mine own dear helper) for his wonderful working in his chosen People. Pray intirely that this joy be never taken from us, for it paceth all the delights of this World. This is the peace of God which is above all understanding; this peace the more shall be afflicted, the more they feel, and therefore cannot faint, neither for fire, neither for water. Let us pray for our weak Brethren and Sisters fakes, that they may be able to alleviate the grievous and intolerable burden of these cruel days. But touching our selves, let us heartily beseech our Saviour to vouchsafe to give us this glorious gift to suffer for his Gospels sake, and that we may think the flame of the World to be our glory, as it is indeed. God increase our Faith, and open our eyes to behold what is prepared for us. I lack nothing, praise be to God. I trust my Marriage Garment is ready. I will find you my examinations as soon as I can get them written, if you be deſirous thereof.

God of his mercy fill your merciful heart with all joy and consolation of the hope to come. Out of the Colossians the 19. of November.

Your own lover, John Philpot.

A Letter of Mr. Philpot to a friend of his, prisoner the same time in Newgate, wherein is debated and discussed the matter or question of Infants to be Baptized.

The God of all light and understanding lighten your heart with all true knowledge of his word, and make you perfect to the day of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereunto you are now called, through the mighty operation of his Holy Spirit, Amen.

I received yesterday from your dear Brother, Saint, and fellow-prisoner for the truth of Christs Gospel a Letter, wherein you gently require my judgment concerning the Baptism of Infants, which is the effect thereof. And before I do show you what I have learned out of Gods Word and of his true and infallible Church touching the same, I think it not out of the matter first to declare what I hold I had the same night whilst musing on your Letter I fell asleep, knowing that God would not withhold his revelation to his People who have their minds fixed on him, special and spiritual Revelations to their comfort, as a judge of their joy and Kingdom to come, which Flesh and Blood cannot comprehend.

Being in the midst of my sweet rest, it seemed me to see a great beautiful City, all of the colour azure, and white, four square in a marvellous beautiful composition in the midst of the sky, the sight whereof so inwardly comforted me, that I am not able to express the Consolation I had thereof, yea the remembrance thereof as yet my heart to leap for joy: and as charity is no charity, but would others to be partakers of his delight, I thought I called to others (I cannot tell whom) and whilst they came and we together beheld the same, by and to my great grief it vaded away.

This dream I think not to have come of the illusion of the senses, because it brought with it so much spiritual joy and I take it to be the working of Gods Spirit for the consolation of your request, as he wrought it, *Peter* to visit *Cornelius*. Therefore I interpret this beautiful City to be the glorious Church of Christ, and the appearance of it in the sky, signifieth the Heavenly State thereof, whose Conversation is in Heaven, and that according to the Primitive Church which is now in Heaven, men ought to measure and judge the Church of Christ now in earth, for as the Prophet *David* saith, *The foundations thereof be in the holy hills, and glorious things* (Isaiah) of the City of God. And the marvellous quadrangle of the same, take to signify the universal agreement in the same, and that all the Church here militant ought to conform to the Primitive Church throughout the four parts of the World, as the Prophet *Isaiah* saith, *God maketh us to dwell after one manner in one house*. And that I conceived so wonderful joy at the contemplation thereof, understand the unspeakable joy which they have that be at unity with Christs Primitive Church: For there is joy in the Holy Ghost, and peace, which passeth all understanding, as it is written in the *Psalms*; *As of*

joyful persons the dwelling of all them that be in thee. And that I called others to the fruition of this vision, and to behold this wonderful City, I construe it by the will of God this Vision to have come upon me musing on your Letter, to the end, that under this figure I might have occasion to move you with many others, to behold the Primitive Church in all your opinions concerning Faith, and to conform your self in all points to the same, which is the pillar and establishment of truth, and teacheth the true use of the Sacraments, and having with a greater fullness than we have now, the first fruits of the Holy Ghost, did declare the true interpretation of the Scriptures according to all verity, even as our Saviour promised to find them another Comforter, which should teach them all truth.

And since all truth was taught and revealed to the Primitive Church, which is our Mother, let us all that be obedient Children of God, submit our selves to the judgment of the Church for the better understanding of the Scriptures. Let us not go about in these in us, by following any private mans interpretation upon the Word, another Spirit than that of the Primitive Church had, let us deceive our selves. For there is but one Faith and one Spirit, which is not contrary to himself, neither otherwise now teacheth us then he did them. Therefore let us believe as they have taught us of the Scriptures, and be at peace with them, according as the true Catholic Church is at this day, and the God of peace actually will be with us, and deliver us out of all our worldly troubles and miseries, and make us partakers of their joy and bliss, through our obedience to Faith with them. Therefore God commandeth us in *John*, to ask of the elder generation, and to search diligently the memory of the Fathers. For we are but yesterday Children, and be ignorant, and our days are like a shadow, and they shall teach thee (saith the Lord) and speak to thee, and shall utter words from their hearts. And by *Sidmon*, they are commanded, not to reject the direction of our Mothers. The Lord grant you to direct your steps in all things after him, and to labor contentation with her. For as St. Paul writeth; *If any man be contentious, neither we, neither the Church of God hath any such custom*.

Hitherto I have shewed you (good Brother S.) my judgment generally of that which I stand in doubt, and different from others, to the which I wish you as mine own heart to be conformable, and then doubtless you cannot err, but boldly may be glad in your troubles, and triumph at the hour of your death, that you shall dwell in the Church of God a faithful Martyr, and receive as the Crown of eternal glory. And thus much have I written upon the occasion of a Vision before God unveiled. But that you may not think that I go about to satisfy you with uncertain Visions only, and not after Gods Word, I will take the ground of your Letter, and specially answer to the same by the Scriptures, and by infallible reasons deduced out of the same, commendable, and necessary, whereto you seem to stand in doubt.

Indeed if you look upon the Papistical Synagogue open, Baptism of which had corrupted Gods Word by false interpretation of old traditions, and hath perverted the true use of Christs Sacraments, you might seem to have good handling of the Church, your opinion against the Baptism of Infants. But for as much as it is of more antiquity, and hath his beginning from Gods Word, and from the use of the Primitive Church, it must not in respect of the abuse in the Popish Heretic Church be neglected, or thought not expedient to be used by the Church of Christ. *Arminius*, one of the *Arminians*, with his adherents, was one of the first that denied the Baptism of Children, and next after him *Pelagius*, the Heretic, and some other there were in *Bernardus* by the same, as it doth appear by his writings, and in our days *And* and the *Anabaptists*, an inordinate kind of men, stirred up by the Devil, to the destruction of the Gospel, and the Catholic truth delivered unto us by the Scriptures, plainly determineth, that all such are to be Baptized, as whom God acknowledge for his People, and voucheth them worthy of Sanctification or remission of their sins. Therefore since that Infants be in

Q. Mary. *Godly Letters of Mr. John Philpot, Martyr. Baptizing of Infants*

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1. *Journal of the American Medical Association*, 1997; 278: 1039-1044.

All which Seven, as they were burned together in one fire, so were they likewise all upon one fact and form of Articles condemned in one day. Howbeit, forasmuch as the gifts of God in them were diverse (more abundant in knowledge than others) their dealings withal were also diverse, as shall be more plainly perceived in the discoursing of their several processes hereafter in the discouraging of the better understanding following. And therefore for the better understanding hereof, I will first (by the leave of the Lord) passing over their private Articles and Examinations had in sundry times in the Bishops house, set forth their general Examinations in the public Consistory, upon which their Answers there ministrated unto them, with their Answers Articles there ministrated unto them, all they agreed after one manner and sort together, as here by the words both of the Articles, and their Answers under-written, may appear.

The form and words of Boners Articles ministrated to the seven Persons above-mentioned in his Consistory.

And first to behold the manner of speech in these Bishops, sitting in their Majesty to terrifie the ears of the simple withal, let us here the Pontifical phrase of this Bishop, beginning in this sort.

The within written Articles, and every of them, and every part and parcel of them, we Edmund, by the permission of God, Bishop of London, do object and minister to thee Thomas Whittle, &c. of our inner Officer, for thy Souls health, and for the reformation of time offences and misdemeanours, warning thee in the course of obedience, and under the point of both censures of the Church, and also of other pains of the Law, to answer fully, plainly, and truly to all the same.

1. First, that thou N. hast firmly, stedfastly, and constantly believed in times past, and do so still now believe at this present, that there is here in Earth a Catholic Church, in the which Catholic Church the Faith and Religion of Christ is truly professed, allowed, received, kept and retained of all faithful and true Christian People.

2. Item, That thou the said N. in times past hath also believed, and do so still believe at this present, that there are in the Catholic Church seven Sacraments, instituted and ordained by God, and by the consent of the holy Church allowed, approved, received, kept and retained.

3. Item, That thou the said N. wast in times past baptized in the Faith of the said Catholic Church, professing by thy Godfathers and Godmother, the Faith and Religion of Christ and the observation thereof, renouncing there the Devil and all his pomps and works, and was by the said Sacrament of Baptism incorporate to the Catholic Church, and made a faithful Member thereof.

4. Item, That thou the said N. coming to the age of fourteen years, and so to the age of discretion, didst not depart from the said Profession and Faith, nor didst make any part of the same Faith or doings, but didst like a faithful Christian Person abide and continue in all the same by the space of certain years, ratifying and confirming all the same.

5. Item, That then the said N. notwithstanding the premises, hast of late, that is to say, within these two years last past, within the City and Diocess of London, turned at the left way from some part of the said Catholic Faith and Religion: and amongst other things thou hast misliked and earnestly spoken against the Sacrament of the Mass, the Sacrament of the Altar, and the Unity of the Church, railing and maligning the Authority of the See of Rome, and the Faith observed in the same.

6. Item, That thou the said N. hast heretofore refused, and dost refuse at this present to be reconciled again to the unity of the Church, not acknowledging and confessing the Authority of the said See of Rome to be lawful.

7. Item, That thou the said N. misliking the Sacri-

fice of the Mass, and the Sacrament of the Altar, hast Anno refused to come to thy Parish Church to hear Mass, and 1556. to receive the said Sacrament, and hast also expressly said, that in the said Sacrament of the Altar, there is not the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, really, substantially, and truly, but hast affirmed expressly, that the Mass is idolatry and abomination, and that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is none other substance, but only material Bread, and material Wine, which are tokens of Christs Body and Blood only, and that the substance of Christs Body and Blood is in no wise in the said Sacrament of the Altar.

8. Item, That thou the said N. being convented before certain Judges or Commissioners, for thy disorder herein, and being found obstinate, wilful and heady, and by their commandment sent unto me and my Prison, to be examined by me, and proceed to be made against thee for thy disobedience.

9. Item, That all and singular the premises have been, and be true and manifest, and thy self not only inflamed and suspected thereof, but also culpable therein; and by reason of the same, thou wast and art of the jurisdiction of me Edmund, Bishop of London, and before me, according to the order of the Ecclesiastical Laws, are to be condemned, and also by me to be punished and reformed.

Here follow likewise their Answers, in general, made to the Articles above rehearsed.

And first concerning the first Article, in believing there is a Catholic Church.

TO the first Article they altogether agreeing affirmed the same to be true: *John Tudor, and Thomas the Lark* *Brown*, further adding, that the Church of England, as it was at that present used, was no part of the true Catholic Church.

Concerning the second Article, that there be in the Church seven Sacraments.

TO the second Article they answered, that they acknowledged but only two Sacraments in Christs Church, to wit, the said Catholic Church, that is to say, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord; *John Went* and *Tudor* affirming, that the Sacrament of the Altar, as it is used, is an idol, and no Sacrament at all.

Concerning the third Article, that they were first baptized in the Faith of the Catholic Church, professing by their Godfathers the profession of the same.

TO the third Article they all agreed, and confessed it to be true, that they were baptized in the Faith of Christ, and of the Church then taught; and afterward during the time of King Edward the sixth, they hearing the Gospel preached, and the Truth opened, followed the order of the Religion and Doctrine then used and set forth in the reign of the said King Edward.

Concerning the fourth Article, that they for the space of certain years did ratify or allow, and not depart from any part of the profession of the same Church.

TO this fourth Article they granted also and agreed; to wit, *John Went* adding moreover, that about seven years past, he then being about twenty years of age, began to make like certain things used in the Church of England, as the ministrations of the Sacrament of the Altar; likewise all the Ceremonies of the said Church, and did likewise at that present time mislike the same as they were used, although his Godfathers and Godmother promised him the contrary.

John Tudor added also in much like sort, and said, that when he came to the years of discretion, that is about nine years past, being about eighteen years of age, he did mislike the Doctrine and Religion then taught and set forth in the Church of England, having in King Edward the first, in which time the Gospel was truly set forth; and further said, that the Doctrine set forth in the

Queens reign was not agreeable to Gods Word, nor yet to the true Catholic Church that Christ speaketh of, &c. *John Went* further adding, that the continued in the same Faith and Religion which he was baptized in, after the same to the years of discretion as other Common People did; howbeit, blindly and without knowledge, till the reign of King Edward the sixth: at which time the hearing the Gospel truly preached and opened to the People, received thereupon the Faith and Religion then taught and set forth, &c.

Concerning the fifth Article, that they of late years have severed and gone away, misliked, and spoken against the profession of the said Church, at least some part thereof, especially the Sacrifice of the Mass, the Sacrament of the Altar, and the Authority of the Church of Rome.

TO the fifth Article, they answered the same to be true, according to the contents thereof: *Thomas Whittle* adding moreover, that he had severed and gone away, and not in whole but in part, not from the whole Catholic Church, but from the Church of Rome, in speaking against the Mass, the Sacrifice thereof, and the See of Rome.

John Leshford (alias *Joan Warr*) granting with the other the said Article, added moreover, that the never severed the said Church, away, nor yet doth, from any part of Christs Catholic Faith and Religion; but faith, that from the time he was Eleven years of age, he hath misliked the sacrifice of the Mass, the Sacrament of the Altar, and the Authority of the See of Rome, with the Doctrine thereof, because they be against Christs Catholic Church, and the right Faith of the same. *Berliss Green* answering with the other to this Article, added and faith, that he severed not from the Catholic Faith, but only from the Church of Rome, &c.

Concerning the sixth Article, that they refuse to be reconciled to the unity of the said Church of Rome.

TO the sixth Article they answer and confess the same to be true, rendering the cause thereof, because (say they) the same Church and Doctrine therein set forth and taught, disagree from the unity of Christs Word, and the true Catholic Faith, &c.

Whereunto *Berliss Green* answered that he is contented to be reconciled to the unity of Christs Catholic Church, but not to the Church of Rome.

In like manner added also *John Went*.

Concerning the seventh Article, that they refuse to come to hear Mass, and to receive the said Sacrament, calling it an Idol, &c.

TO the seventh Article they answer, and confess the contents thereof to be true, giving withal the reason and cause of this their doing, for that the Mass with the Sacrament thereof, as it was then used and set forth in the Church of England, is dissident to the word and teaching of the Gospel.

John Went furthermore said, as concerning the Mass, that he believeth no Idol, but the Mass which he calleth the Supper of the Lord, as it is now used in the Realm of England, is naught, full of Idolatry, and against Gods Word so far as he seeth it; howbeit, he faith that the Queens Coronation by chance he hath been present where the Mass hath been said, whereof he is sorry. *Nash* before also answering to the said Articles, with the other before, confessed moreover, that since Queen *Maries* reign the hath not heard Mass, nor received the Sacrament, but hath refused to come in place where it be ministrated: for the knoweth no such Sacrament to be. And being demanded of her Belief in the same, he faith, that there is but only material Bread and material Wine, and not the real substance of the Body of Christ in the same Sacrament: for so he hath been taught to believe by the Preachers in the time of King Edward, whom he believeth have preached the Truth in that behalf.

Concerning the eighth Article, that they were sent by the Commissioners to the Bishop to be examined and imprisoned.

TO the eighth Article they grant the same and the contents thereof to be so. *Thomas Whittle* adding and affirming that the Lord Chancellor that then was, sent him up to the Bishop there present.

Berliss Green added, that he was sent up to the said Bishop, but for no offence herein Articulate. *John Went* said, that Dr. *Strey*, Queen *Maries* Commissioner, examined him upon the Sacrament and because he denied the Real presence, he presented this Examination to the Bishop.

John Tudor likewise examined by Mr. *Cholmeley* and Doctor *Strey*, upon the same matter, and for not coming to the Church, and accused by the same, because he would not agree to them, was sent to the Bishop.

Thomas Brown also said, that he for not coming to the Church of St. *Brides*, was brought by the Constable to the Bishop, &c.

John Warr confessed that the was sent by Doctor of this same story to the Bishop of London, about twelve weeks ago, since which time the hath continued with the said Bishop.

Concerning the ninth Article.

TO the ninth Article they confess and say, that as they believe the premises before by them confessed to be true, so they deny not the same to be manifest, and that they be of the jurisdiction of London.

And thus having explicated their Articles, with their answers joyntly made unto the same, it remaineth further more fully to discourse the histories and handling of all the seven aforesaid Martyrs severally and particularly by themselves, first beginning with *Thomas Whittle*.

The Story of all these seven Martyrs, particularly described, in order here following, and first of Thomas Whittle, who first recanning, then returning again, with great constancy and fortitude stood to the defence of Christs Doctrine against the Papists, to the death.

IN the story of Mr. *Philips*, mention was made before of a married Priest, whom he found in the Colerhouse at his first coming thither, in heaviness of mind and great sorrow, for recanting the Doctrine which he had taught in King Edwards day, whose name was *Thomas Whittle* of Essex; and thus lieth his story. This *Thomas Whittle*, after he had been expelled from the place in Essex where he served, went abroad where he might, now here and there, as occasion was mislived, preaching and fowing the Gospel of Christ. At length being apprehended by one *Edmond Alabaster*, in hope of reward and promotion, which he miserably gaped at, he was brought first as prisoner before the Bishop of Winchester, who then was fallen lately sick of his disface, whereof not long after he died most frangely. But the apprehender for his professed service was highly checked and rated of the Bishop, asking if there were no man upon whom he might bring fish Rascals, but to him. Hence (quoth he) out of my sight thou Varlet, what dost thou trouble me with such matters? The greedy Cormorant being thus defeated of his desired prey, yet thinking to seek and to hunt further, carried his Prisoner to the Bishop of London, with whom what an evil mess of handling this *Whittle* had, and how he was by the Bishop all to beaten and buffeted about the face, by his own narration in a Letter sent unto his Friend, manifestly may appear.

Upon Thursday which was the tenth of January, the Bishop of London sent for me *Thomas Whittle* Minister, of the Porters-lodge, where I had been all night, lying upon the earth upon a Pallet where I had as painful a night of sickness as ever I had, God be thanked. And with hissing when I came before him, he talked with me many things of the Sacrament so grossly, as is not worthy to be rehearsed. And amongst other things he asked me if I would have come to Mass that morning if he had sent for me.

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purpose that way, then moveth he his members to persecute the filly carcasses of the Saints, because they will not deny nor diffemble their pure faith in our living Christ, and confess a dead breathy Christ, and honour the name as CHRIST God and Man, contrary to Gods Commandment, *Exod. 10.*

This is the working of Satan, who knowing his own just damnation, would all mankind to be partakers with him of the same; such a mortal hatred beareth he against God and his People. And therefore when this wicked tempter could not kill Christ, with subtil temptation to fall down and worship him, then he stirred up his Servants the Bishops and Pharisees to kill his Body, whereby notwithstanding the Devil lost his title and interest which he had to mans Soul, and man by his precious passion and death was ransomed from the Devil, Death and hell, to immortality and life everlasting; and so when Satan thought to have wonne all in killing of Christ, he lost all; and so shall he do in us if we abide constant and strong in the faith of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ unto the end. God grant it for his mercys sake in Christ. Blessed are all they that put their trust in him, *Amen.*

Wherefore (my hearty beloved Brethren and Sisters) be of good comfort through Jesus Christ, for he that is in us is stronger then he that is in the World. Therefore draw ye near to God, and he will draw near to you. Resist the Devil, and he will (as *James 4.7.*) flee from you. Beware of the leaven of the Pharisees. Touch not left leg you be defiled therewith. Eat no fowles flesh, for it is against the law; I mean defile not your selves either inwardly or outwardly with this filth and wicked Religion of Antichrist: for it is nothing else but pitch and swines flesh. Beware of the Beasts mark, let ye drink of the cup of Gods wrath. If God have given you knowledge and faith, diffemble not therewith. Deny not the known verity before men, lest Christ deny you before his Father. Come away from *Babylon*, as *John* biddeth you, *Apo. 18.* and touch not the things, but separate your selves from the company of the ungodly, as *Paul* counsaileth you. Whatsoever you have done asid heretofore, now repent ye and amend: for with the Lord there is mercy and plentiful redemption, *2 Peter 1.6.*

The third thing and note which I gather out of the foreward words of *Peter*, is this, that he faith, Rejoyce because ye are partakers of Christs passion. Our sufferings (as my wellbeloved) are Christs sufferings, and that injury that is done to us for his sake, he reckeneth it to be done to himself, as he said to *Saint Paul*, *Saul, Saul, why persecutest thou me?* Therefore we ought to rejoyce in our sufferings, as *Paul* writeth, which we suffer with Christ and one with another, as *Peter* faith, and so to fulfil that which is behind of the passions of Christ in our flesh; which Christ hath, by his passion, fully redeemed and saved us in his own person: howbeit his Elect must suffer with him and him unto the Worlds end, that he may be glorified in them, and they thereby corrected and cleansed from sin in this World, and be made more meet Temples for the Holy Ghost, and also obtain a great reward in heaven for their suffering for righteousness sake, according to his promise. And therefore I say (my Brethren) rejoyce in the Lord always, and again I say rejoyce. Let us rejoyce in the Cross of our Lord Jesus Christ, whereby the World is crucified to us, and we to it.

And why should we so greatly rejoyce in the Cross of Christ, which we now suffer? Because (saith *Peter*) when his glory appeareth, we may be merry and glad. And this is the fourth note that I gather out of his words above written. Wherein is set out the reward of sufferings, not to be had in this World; but at his coming to judgment when we shall be raised again, then shall they that have sown in tears, reap in joy, as Christ faith, Blessed are they that weep here for they shall laugh. Blessed are ye when men hate you, and thrust you out of their company, railing on you, and abhorring your names as evil thing for the Son of mans sake: rejoyce in that day and be glad, for your reward is great in Heaven.

Wherefore (my dearly beloved) through the hope of this Heavenly Joy and Reward, which he that cannot lie hath promised (which joy is so great that no car hath

heard, no eye hath seen, nor the heart can think, where we shall dwell forever in the Heavenly City, the celestial *Jerusalem*, in the presence of God the Father, and Jesus Christ our Mediator, as *Paul* faith, and in the company of innumerable Angels, and with the Spirits and Souls of all faithful and just men; rejoyce and be glad: and seeing ye be called to great glory, see that you make your election and vocation free by good works, and especially by suffering adversity for the Gospels sake; for it is given us of God (saith *Paul*) not only to believe in Christ, but also to suffer for his sake. Continue in prayer, and pray for me that I may end my course with joy. Have Brotherly love amongst your selves, which is a token that ye be Christs Disciples. Edifie and comfort one another in the Word of the Lord, and the God of peace and love be with you always, *Amen.* For your liberality and kindnes shewed upon the prisoners and afflicted People of God in this time of persecution, the Lord will reward you when he cometh to reward every man according to their deeds, and will not leave a cup of cold water well rewarded upon his faithful People unrewarded. God make you rich in all grace, that ye always having sufficient, may be rich unto all manner of good works.

The grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, the love of God, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost, be with you always. *Amen.*

Your Brother now in bonds
for the Gospel,

Thomas Whittle.

To my loving and faithful Brother, J. Carleis, prisoner in the King Bench.

The same faith, for which *Abraham* was accounted just, and *Mary* blessed, whereby also all just men live, the Lord God our loving Father increaseth and stablish you in me to the obtaining of eternal life in our alone and sweet Saviour Jesus Christ. *Amen.*

I cannot worthily and sufficiently praise God (my heartily beloved Brother) for the consolation and joy that I have received by reason of your loving Letters, repeating me much that I being so long far from you, I did not enterprize to stir up Familiarity and Communication between us by writing, to mutual consolation in Christ. For what is there upon earth wherein to rejoyce (where all things are transitory and vain, yea man himself, respecting this life) but (as *David* faith, *Psalm 16.*) the Saints that dwell upon the earth, and such as excel in verue? But here now I consider, that if the fellowship, love, and joy of faithful Men and Children of God being as we now be in double Bonds, the Body within day walls, and the Soul within their frail earthly Bodies, be so great and comfortable; how unpeakeable will these joys be, when we shall be delivered from all corruption into the glorious liberty of the Sons of God? Where we shall be present together continually in our glorified Bodies, beholding the face of our Father presently (whom now we see but in the glass of Faith) with his dear Son Christ our Redeemer and Brother, and the blessed company of Angels and all faithful saved Souls.

Oh the incomparable good things and Heavenly treasures laid up for us in Heaven by Christ Jesus! For the obtaining whereof, we ought to let light by all temporal grief and transitory afflictions, so much the more, in that our good God is faithful, and will not suffer us to be tempted above our strength, and that namely in the end of our life, when the tree where it falleth lyeth still, as the Preacher faith, *Eccles. 1.1.* when every one, *casus sua dormis, & casus sua resurgit*: for else before the day shall be suffered the sometime to fall, but not finally to perish: as *Peter* finked upon the sea, but yet was not drowned; and sinned grievously upon the land through infirmity denying his Master, but yet found mercy: for the righteous fallen often times. And Christs Holy Apostles are taught to say, *Remitte nobis debita nostra*, yea though the righteous fall, faith *David*, he shall not be cast away for the Lord upholdeth him with his hand. Oh the bottomless mercy of God towards us miserable Sinners! He vouchsafeth to plant in my heart true repentance and

Faith, to the obtaining of remission of all my sins in the mercies of God, and merits of Christ his Son, and therefore I pray you, *Amen.*

Oh my dearly Beloved, it grieveth me to see the popyl and havock that *Saul* maketh with the Congregation of Christ: but what remedy? This is Gods will and ordinance, which his People shall here both be punished in the flesh and tryed in their Faith: as it is written, *Mary are the reward of the righteous, but the Lord delivereth them out of all*; for by a strait path and narrow door must we enter. Whither? Unto the joyful Kingdom of Heaven: therefore blessed are you and others that suffer persecution for Christs sake, for the protection of the same. Pray for me and my Fellows (good Brother) that we may fight a good fight, that we may keep the Faith, and end our course with joyful gladnes, for now the time of our deliverance is at hand. The Lord guide, defend, and keep us and you, and all his People in our journey, that we may safely through a thorn death, pass to that long lasting life.

Forewell, my dear and loving Brother and fellow-sufferer in Christ; farewell, I say, in him that receiveth our Souls in peace when they shall depart from these Tabernacles, and he grant us a joyful Resurrection, and a merry meeting at the last day, and continual dwelling together in his eternal heavenly Kingdom, through Jesus Christ our Lord, *Amen.*

Yours with my poor Prayer, And
pleasure can I do you none,
Thomas Whittle, Minister.

To my dear Brethren Mr. Filles, and Cutbert.

MY dear and wellbeloved Brethren in Christ, Mr. *Filles* and *Cutbert*, I wish you all welfare of Soul and Body. Welfare to the Soul, is repentance of sin, faithful alliance in Christ Jesus, and a godly life. Welfare to the Body, is the health of the same, with all necessary things for this Body life. The Soul of man is immortal, and therefore ought to be well kept, left immortality to joy should turn to immortality of sorrow. As for the Body it is never to be well kept and much made of, yet shortly by nature will it perish and decay: But those that are ingrafted and incorporated into Christ by true Faith, feeling the motion of Gods holy Spirit as a pledge of their election and inheritance, exalting and bringing them not only to seek heavenly things, but also to hate vice, and embrace verue, will not only do these things, but also if need require, will gladly take up their Cross and follow their Captains, their Kings, and their Saviour Jesus Christ (as his poor afflicted Church of *England* now doth) against that false and Antichristian Doctrine and Religion now used, and specially that blasphemous Mass, wherein Christs Supper and holy Ordinance is altogether perverted and abused, contrary to his institution and to *Pauls* proceedings: so that that which they have in their Mass, is neither Sacrament of Christ, nor yet Sacrifice for sin, as the Priests falsely pretend. It is a Sacrament, that is, as *Saint Augustine* faith, a visible pledge of invisible grace, when it is administered to the Communicants according to Christs example, and as it was of late years in this Realm. And as for Sacrifice, there is none to be made now for sin: for Christ with one Sacrifice hath perfected for ever those that are sanctified.

Beware of false Religion, and mens vain Traditions, and serve God with reverence and godly fear according to the Doctrine of his Gospel, whereto cleave ye that ye may be blessed, though of wicked me ye be hated and scorned. Rather drink of the Cup of Christ with his Church than of the Cup of that Role coloured whore of *Babylon*, which is full of abominations. Rather drive ye to Heaven by the path which is strait to fild and Blood, with the little flock, then to go in the wide way, following the incitements of the world and the flesh, which leadeth to damnation.

Like as Christ suffered in the flesh, faith *Saint Peter*, so we who give up our selves with the same mind: for Christ suffered for us, leaving us an example to follow his footsteps. Blessed are they that suffer for his sake, great is

their reward in Heaven. He that overcometh (saith *St. John*, *Apo. 2.7.*) shall eat of the Tree of life; he shall have a Crown of life and not to be hurt of the second death: he shall be clothed with white array, and not be put out of the Book of life; yea, I will confesse his name, faith Christ, before my Father and before his Angels, and he shall be a pillar in the house of God, and sit with me on my seat. And thus I bid you farewell, mine own Brethren and dear Fellows in Christ. Whole grace and peace be always with you, *Amen.*

This world I do forsake.
To Christ I me take,
And for his Gospels sake,
Patiently death I take.
My Body to the dust,
Now to return is must:
My Soul I know full-will,
With my God it shall dwell.

Thomas Whittle.

Another Letter of Thomas Whittle written to a certain godly Woman.

OH my dear and loving Sister in Christ, be not dismayed in this storm of persecution: for *Paul* telleth the Gossips the news of the Cross, because it is never truly taught, but the Cross and cruel Persecution women. immediately and necessarily doth follow the same, and therefore it is a manifest token of Gods Truth and hath been here and is still abroad, and that is the cause of the rage and cruelty of Satan against Christ and his members, which must be corrected for their fin in this world: their Faith must be tryed, that after tryal and patient suffering the Faithful may receive the Crown of glory. To be through Fear not therefore, my wellbeloved, but proceed in the against S knowledge and fear of God, and he will keep you from all evil. Call upon his holy name, and he will strengthen him to you and afflict you in all your ways: and if it please him to lay his Cross upon you for his Gossips sake, refuse it not, neither shake it off by unlawful means, lest you should (as *God forbid*) find more grievous Cross and torment of Conscience, if you should diffemble or deny the known verue, than is any persecution or affliction of Body. Oh how happy are they that suffer persecution for righteousness sake? their reward is great in Heaven. The momentary afflictions of this life are not worthy of the glory that shall be shewed upon us. Oh remember the godly women of the old Testament and new, which lived in Gods service and fear, and therefore are now in bliss and commended for ever: and namely *Judith*, *Hester*, *Abigail*, the Mother of the seven Sons, *Mary*, *Elizabeth*, *Susanna*, *Esther*, and *Phoebe*, and others. Set their examples before your eyes, and fear nothing, for Satan is conquered by our Saviour Christ; sin is put to flight, and the gate of immortality and eternal life is far wide open; God grant we may enter therein through the door Jesus Christ, *Amen.*

Thomas Whittle.

The story of Mr. Bartlet Green Gentleman and Leazer, Martyr.

AFTER the Martyrdom of Thomas Whittle, next fol. the story of Mr. Bartlet Green Gentleman and Leazer, who was taken in order to speak of Bartlet Green, who was taken after the foreward Whittle, was likewise condemned. This Green was of a good house, and had such Parents, as both favoured learning, and were also willing to bring up this child in the same. Wh after some entrance in other inferior Schools, was by himself sent unto the University of Oxford, where through exercise and diligent study, he so profited, that within three short time attained, as well to the knowledge of sundry prophane Sciences, as also now in his last years, unto the godly understanding of Divinity. Whereunto through ignorance (in which he was trained up from his youth) he was at the first an utter enemy, until such time

Bartlet Green born in the City of London in the Parish of Bassinghal of the Diocess of London, and of the age of 25. years, being examined in the Bishops palace, the 27. day of November, Anno 1555. upon certain Articles, answered as foloweth. viz. that neither in the time of King Edward, after the

For shortly after supper the first Sunday at
 was had in my Lords Bed-chamber, and there I
 know of me how I came first into thele Heretic
 I was perfwaded thereto by the Scriptures, and
 rites of the Doctors, alledged by *Peter Mar*
 Lectures upon the eleventh Chapter of the first
 the *Corinthians*, whilles he intreated there on
De cena Domini, by the space of a Month
 But then when my Lord enforced the plannicks

Bartlet Green born in the City of London in the Parish of *Baffingh* of the Diocels of London, and of the age of 25. years, being examined in the Bilhops palace, the 27. day of *November*, Anno 1555. upon certain Articles, answered as foloweth. viz. that heidid in the time of King *Edward*, after the

The office
and exercise
of Christian
widows in
Christine
Church.

Of the last part Saint Paul Heweth that a widow should be chosen, if she have nourished her Children, if she have been liberal to strangers, if she have walked the Streets feet and if she have purified to them in Adversity. Herein it is evident how earnestly Saint Paul would have widows bent towards the poor; for that (as though they only had been therefore met) he appointed only the poor. Which use also continued almost throughout the Primitive Church, that widows had the charge and gathering for the poor men and strangers.

Of your neighbours I need not to put you in Remembrance, seeing you daily feed them with good Hospitality, by which means also many foreigners are of you relieved: but of the poor, Almshouses, and miserable prisoners here in London, many lacking their liberty without any cause, some under the Colour of Religion, some only kept for fees, and some on private nines displeasure. Alas that Christ be hungered, and no man will give him is fore oppressed with thirst, and no man will give him drink; delirious of all lodging, and not relieved; naked, and not clothed; sick, and not visited; imprisoned, and not seen.

In times past men could befall large sums of money on copes, vestments, and ornaments of the Church. Why rather follow we not St. Ambrose's example, which fold the fame for the relief of the poor, or *Christians* Commandment, which would first to deck and garnish the living Temple of God? But alas, which the wickedness of these our last days, that nothing moving us, neither the pure Doctrine, the goodness of life, nor good examples of the Ancient Fathers. If in any thing they erred, if they have written any thing that ferveth for brags, publick and maintain with sword, fraud, and fire: But all in vain; they strive against the stream. For though in defiance of the truth, by force of the cares of crafty perdition, they may bring themselves into the Haven of Hell: yet can they not make all men believe that the banks move whilst the ship falleth, nor ever shall be able to turn the direct course of the stream of Gods Truth. Our Lord Jesus Christ strengthen you in all pure Doctrine and upright living, and give you grace perpetually to bring up your Children and Family, and carefully to provide for the poor and oppressed. Amen. At Newgate the 20. of January. Anno 1556.

Your affured Bartlet Green.

Another certain writing of Mr. Bartlet Green.

Another
certain
writing
of Mr.
Bartlet
Green.

Enter is the day of death (saith Solomon) then the day of birth Man that is born of a Woman lieth but a short time, and is replenished with many miseries; but happy are the dead that die in the Lord. Man of woman is born in travel, to live in misery; man through Christ doth day in joy, and live in felicity. He is born to day, and dieth to live. Straight as he cometh into the World, with cries he uttereth his miserable estate straight as he departs, with songs he praiseth God for ever. Scarce yet in his cradle, three deadly enemies assault him; after death no Adversary may annoy him. Whilst he is here, he is displeased God; when he is dead, he fulfilleth his will. In this life here he dieth through sin; in the life to come he liveth in righteousness. Through many tribulations in this life he is purged; with joy unspeakable in Heaven he is made pure for ever. Here he dieth every hour; there he liveth continually. Here is sin; there is righteousness. Here is time; there is eternity. Here is hatred; there is love. Here is pain; there is pleasure. Here is misery; there is felicity. Here is corruption; there is immortality. Here we see vanity; there is behold the Majesty of God we see vanity; with triumphant and unpeakable joy in glory everlasting. Seek therefore the things that are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God the Father; unto whom, with the Son and the Holy Ghost, be all honour and glory, World without end, Amen.

Yours in Christ, Bartlet Green.

Divers other Letters and matters there were beside which this Servant of God did write, as namely certain notes and extracts in *Lamine* out of the Doctors and other Authors for his memory, which he ordered how he should use in the teaching and knowledge of the Law of God, although his profession was the temporal Law. Where I would to God he were not among the Lawyers such a Phenix, that he had very few or no fellows to file with him, or to follow his steps. But God is to be praised, that although we read of few or none among that sort that died as he did, yet good witness hath God by all daily of the same profession, so such towards and goodly zeal, that some hope already appeared forthly to come to pass, that this godly Phenix shall not file alone. There are also several notes and gatherings of his out of the Doctors taken from him by *Boner*, being found about him, which was to him no little grief. He among the rest was first apprehended, but left of them condemned, which was the fifteenth day of January, and afterward burned with the other Martyrs, the 27. of the same Month.

3. Thomas Brown, Martyr.

Thomas Brown, born in the Parish of *Hilfen* within the Diocese of *Ely*, came afterwards to London, where he dwelled in the Parish of *St. Brides* in Fleet-street, a Married Man, of the age of thirty seven years, who because he came not to his Parish Church, was presented by the Constable of the Parish to *Boner*. As touching whole Articles, whereupon he was examined by the said *Boner*, with his answers, also annexed to the same, mention goeth before, as in the general process of him and of the rest may appear. This Thomas Brown being had to Fulham, with the other there to be examined was required upon Thursday, being the 26. day of September, to come into the Chappell to hear Mass, which he refused to do, went into the Tower, where kneeling among the rest, as for an inhuman matter, because he said it was done in defiance and contempt of their Mass; which seemed to the Bishop and his Chaplains no small offence. At length being produced to his last examination before the said Bishop the fifteenth day of January, there to hear sentence more definitive against him; first he was required with many fair words and glowing promises to revoke his Doctrine and his faith, which he refused to do, and then he was required to answer the said Bishop speaking these words, *God be true*, *Brown*, you have been before me many times and I, and I have travelled with thee, with thee from thine errors; yet thou, and such like, have and do report that I go about to feign thy Blood etc.

To whom the said Thomas Brown answered again; Yea, my Lord (saith he) indeed ye be a Bloodfeeder; Yea, my Lord I had as much Blood as is water in the Sea, for you to suck.

Boner then proceeding to the Articles, when he had read them unto him again, as he had done divers times before, asked him whether he was content and willing to relinquish those his Heresies and erroneous opinions (as he called them) and return again unto the Unity of the Catholic Faith. Whereunto he made answer again, saying, if they were Heresies, he would forsake them. They be Heresies (quoth the Bishop). How will ye prove by the said *Brown*? For I will not go from mine answer, which I have given you, that I am content to be Heretic, is no Heretic. With that *Boner*, not able, or else not disposed to supply the part of a sufficient teacher, proving that which the other had denied by good Authority and Doctrine of the Scripture, went about with words and promises of pardon to allure him to renounce his Heresies, as he called them, and to return unto the Unity of his Mother the Catholic Church, &c.

To whom the said Thomas inferred again, as follows; God, I said (saith he) to be Heretic, that I do hold and maintain, and I will turn to you. But you condemn me because I will not confess and believe the Bread in the Sacrament of the Altar (as you call it) to be the Body of Christ, and therefore ye shall mine and such like innocents Blood, being the Queens true subjects, for which you shall answer, and that forlornly.

After

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After this being spoken, *Boner* (as he had done to the other before) read in writing the Sentence definitive against him. The Copy and Form of which Sentence was read, whereupon the Papists were wont to condemn all the innocent Saints of Christ, is above expressed. And so this time, he was committed to the Sheriffs to be kept away, and burned the 27th day of the said Month of January, constantly adhering with the other the Pope's torments for the true Confession of his Christian Faith.

4. John Tufdon, Martyr.

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The same day and time, when the fore said Thomas Brown with his Fellows was condemned (as is above expressed) being the fifteenth day of January, was also produced John Tufdon, with the rest of the said Company, unto the like Condemnation. This John Tufdon was born in *Ipwich*, in the County of *Suffolk*, after that Apprenticeship in London, dwelling with one George Goddard of the Parish of *S. Mary* *Isle*, within the Diocese of London, who being complained of by *Sir Richard Cholmley* and *Dr. Story*, was by them sent unto *Boner* Bishop of London, and was divers times before him in Examination.

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The Articles and Interrogatories ministered unto him, as unto the rest, before are specified, with his Answers also to the same annexed, &c. After this he was brought unto the open Confistory, where the said Bishop and true Servant of the Lord John Tufdon, appearing before the said Bishop and his Complices, was moved with sundry perquisitions (as their manner is) to go from his opinion (which they named Heresies) and to profit in the Unity of the Church, which they were of, but he constant in that which he had received by the Preachers in King Edwards time, refused to do so, saying, there was no Heresie in his Answers. For I, said he, desire all Heresie. The Bishop yet still used his old accustomed perfumptions to remove him, promising moreover all his offences and errors (as he called them) to be forgiven him, if he would return, &c. Then said Tufdon, I tell me where I have offended, and I will return. Then said the Bishop, I say your Answers. No, said Tufdon again, I have not therein offended; and ye (my Lord) pretend Charity, but nothing thereof appears in your works. Thus after a few words, the Bishop did likewise promulgate against him Sentence of Condemnation; which being read, the godly and constant Martyr was committed to the Secular Power, and so with much patience finished his life with the other above named, the 27th day of January.

5. John Went, Martyr.

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John Went born in *Langham* in *Essex*, within the Diocese of London, of the Age of 27, and a Sheerman by Occupation, first was examined (as partly is touched before) by *Dr. Story* upon the Sacrament of his Popish Altar; and because the poor man did not accord with him thoroughly in the Real Presence of the Body and Blood of Christ, the said *Story* did find him up to *Boner* Bishop of London. Who likewise, after divers Examinations upon the Articles aforesaid in the Confistory, attempted the like manner of perquisitions with him, as he did to the other, to recant and return. To whom, in few words, the said Went answered again. He would not, but that by the leave of God, he would hand firm and constant in that he had said. And when the Bishop yet notwithstanding did still urge and call upon him with words and flattery, to give over himself to their opinion, he could have no other answer of him but this, No, say as I have said, &c. Whereupon being condemned by the Bishops Sentence, he was committed unto the Sheriffs (whom called *Banels* Shaveling at that time abiding by his Service Butchers) and so brought to his Martyrdom, which he with no less constancy suffered to the end, with the rest of that blessed Society of Martyrs above named.

6. Isabel Foster, Martyr.

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With these five Persons above recited and condemned, were also two Women in the said Company who were condemned the same time, and likewise burned for the same cause; the one a Wife, called *Isabel Foster*, the other a Maid, named *Joan Worne*, or otherwise, *Leshford*. This fore said *Isabel* was born in *Grayschop* in the Diocese of *Carlisle*, and afterwards married to one John Foster, Cutler, of the Parish of *St. Brides* in Fleet-street, of the Age of five and fifty years. She likewise, for not coming unto the Church, being charged by *Boner*, was so imprisoned; was sundry times examined by the said Bishop, but never overcome, nor removed from the constant Confession of Christ's Gospel.

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At length, coming unto her final Examination before the Bishop in the Confistory the fifteenth day of the said Month of January, she was moved again, whether she would yet go from her former Answer, whereunto she gave a resolute Answer in few words; I will not (saith she) go from them by Gods grace; and thereunto did she adhere, neither being cast down by the menacing threats of the Bishops, nor yet yielding through his alluring intimation, promising both life and liberty, if she would forsake her self in the Unity of the Catholic Church. Whereunto the said again in this wise, That the truth was never out of the Catholic Church, &c. and so persisting in the same, continued constant till the Sentence definitive was pronounced, and then she was committed by commandment of the Bishop to the Secular Power, to be brought a few days after to the Stake, the Seven and twentieth day of the fore said Month, where the she a faithful Witness of the Lords Truth (with the other five aforesaid) ended her troubles here, to find a better rest in the Kingdom of Christ our Saviour.

7. Joan Leshford, alias Joan Worne, Martyr.

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In a certain place of these *Acts* and *Monuments* heretofore, mention was made of one Elizabeth, *Joan Leshford*, who with her Husband *John Worne* (as is aforesaid) in the beginning of Queen Marys Reign, January 27. was apprehended in *Bow Church-yard* for being there at a Communion; and both suffered for the same, first the Man in the Month of May, then the Wife in July after; and now the Daughter in the Month of January followed her Parents in the same Martyrdom. Furthermore, in the same place following mention was made also of *Dr. Story*, who there (we said) was somewhat near unto the said Parties, either in Kindred or Alliance; albeit, as I understand since of some, there was no Kindred between them, but only that he was his Servant. Yet notwithstanding, the said *Dr. Story* (as it is above specified) before he was Commissioner, made intercession for the Parties to *Dr. Maryn* then Commissioner; and he afterwards being placed in Commission himself, he was so far forgot himself, and his old Servant, that he became no small Procurer of their deaths. I will not here expatiate with the hard heart of that man, nor with his inconstancy: who yet notwithstanding, after he had brought them to death, was arrested himself for three-score pounds, charged with Deben in their behalf; which if he be true, it may thereby appear that he was in some piece of kindred joined or allied unto them. But leaving that person unto the good pleasure of the Lords, let us return unto that we have in hand.

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of the
month.

This Joan Leshford, born in the Parish of *Little* *St. Albans* in *Thames-free*, was the Daughter of one Robert Leshford Cutler, and of the fore said Elizabeth Worne, who afterwards was married to John Worne Upholster, who (as is said) was persecuted for the Gospel of God to the burning fire; and after him his Wife; and after her, this Joan Leshford her Daughter; who, about the Age of twenty years, ninilishing to her Father and Mother in Prison, suspected and known to be of the same Doctrine and Religion, was sent to *Boner* Bishop of London, by *Dr. Story*, (as is above said) to be examined by the Articles declared, and so committed to the *Compter* in the *Poultry*, where she remained the space of five weeks, and from thence had to *Newgate*, where the continued the space of certain Months.

Anno
1556
January
27. day
of the
month.

After that, remaining Prisoner in the Cudboly of the said *Boner*, her Confession was, being examined, that the day of January twelve month before, and more, she came unto the Popish Mass Service in the Church, neither would she do, either to receive the Sacrament of the Altar, or to be

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Seven Godly and constant Martyrs, suffering at one fire together in Smithfield.



The burning of the fore-said man and four women.



he confessed, because her Conscience would not suffer her to do so; confuting and protesting, that in the Sacrament of the Altar, there is not the real presence of Christ's Body and Blood; nor that auricular confession or absolution after the Popish sort, was necessary, nor the Mass to be good, or according unto the Scripture, but said that both the said Sacrament, confession, absolution, and the Mass, with all other their superfluous Sacraments, ceremonies, and divine service, as then used in this Realm of England, were most vile, and contrary to Christ's words and institution; so that neither they were at the beginning, nor shall bear the latter end. This godly Damocles, feeble and tender of age, yet strong by Grace, in this Confession and Faith stood so firm, that neither the flattering promises, nor the violent threats of the Bishops could turn her, but being moved and exhorted by the Bishop to return to the Catholic unity of the Church, said boldly to him against ye will leave off your abominations, I will return, and otherwise I will not. Whereupon the Bishop yet again promised her pardon of all her errors (as he called them) if she would be converted. To this she answered again, saying unto the Bishop: Do as it pleaseth you, and I pray God that you may do that which may please God.

And thus she constantly persevering in the Lord's holy truth, was by the sentence definite condemned and committed unto the Sheriffs, by whom the fore-said seven and twentieth day of January the with the rest being brought unto the Stake, they washed her Clothes in the Blood of the Lamb, dying most constantly for his Word and Truth, to whom most lovingly he espoused her self.

And thus much concerning the Life, Story, and Condemnation of these seven Martyrs, after specified.

Five other Martyrs in Canterbury, four Women and one Man, at two Stakes and one fire, altogether burned.

After these seven before rehearsed, martyred together in *Smithfield*, shortly after in the same Month, the 31. day of January, followed another like fellowship of Godly Martyrs at *Canterbury*, four Women and one Man, whose names be these:

John Lomas, a young Man.
Anne Albright,
Joan Crammer,
Agnes Smith, Widow,
Joan Sole, Wife.

1. John Lomas, Martyr.

John Lomas of the Parish of *Tenderden*, detected and presented of that Religion which the Popish call Heresy, and cited upon the same to appear at *Canterbury*. Here he, and the first Article, whether he believed the Catholic Church or no, answered thus; that he believed so much as is contained in Gods Book, and no more. Then being assigned to appear again under the pain of the Law the next *Wednesday* evening after, which was the 17. day of January, the said Lomas examined and said, that he found it not written that he should be confessed to any Priest in Gods Book, neither would be confessed, unless he were accused by some Man of Sin. Again, examined whether he believed the Body of Christ to be in the Sacrament of the Altar, replied under the forms of Bread and Wine after the Consecration or no, he answered that he believed no reality of it. Then being asked whether he found he wrote, that he is there under form of trellis, but he he loved so much as is written. Being then demanded whether he believed that there is a Catholic Church or no, and whether he would be content to be a member of the same, he answered therunto, that he believed so much as is written in Gods Book, and other answer then this he refused to give, &c. Whereupon the sentence was given and read against him the 18. day of January, and he committed to the secular power, he constantly suffered for the Conscience of a True Faith, with the other four Women here following.

2. Agnes Smith, Martyr.

Agnes Smith Widow, of the Parish of *Smarden*, likewise accused and cited for the true profession of Christ's Religion, was divers times examined before the Placidial Patrons. Who, there compelled to answer to such Articles and interrogatories as should be ministered unto her, herself denied to be confessed to a Priest; notwithstanding, the denied not to confess her offences as an adulteress, but not auricularly to any Priest. And notwithstanding as touching the Sacrament of the Altar, he protested that if the contrary did receive the Sacrament as Christ & his Apostles after him did deliver it, then and the

did receive it to their comfort: but as it is now used in the Church, the said that no man could otherwise receive it than to his damnation, as he thought. Afterward being examined again concerning Penance, whether it were necessary or no, the plainly denied the same, and that the Popish manner of their Absolution was not consonant to the Word, nor necessary to be taken; with such other like, agreeing with the Answers and Confession of John Lomas before mentioned. Whereupon the Sentence being likewise read, she was committed to the Sheriffs of *Canterbury*, and to suffering Martyrdom with the rest, declared her self a perfect and constant witness of Christ and of his truth the 31 day of January.

3. Anne Albright, alias Champness, Martyr.

Against Anne Albright, likewise appearing before the Judge and his Colleagues, it was also objected concerning the same matter of Confession. Whereunto she answered in these words, saying, That she would not be confessed of a Priest, and added moreover, speaking unto the Priests, You Priests (said she) are the Children of Perdition, and can do no good by your Confession. And likewise speaking unto the Judge and his Audience, she told them that they were Solvers of Christ's Truth. And as touching the Sacrament of the Altar, the said she was a naughty and abominable Idol, and so utterly denied the same Sacrament. Thus persisting and persevering in her former sayings and answers, she was condemned the said eighteenth day of the said Month. After other above mentioned, with whom also she suffered quietly, and with great comfort, for the right of Christ's Religion.

4. Joan Sole.

In the like manner Joan Sole, of the Parish of *Horton*, was condemned of the same Phantasies and Priests, for not allowing Confession Auricular, and for denying the Real Presence and Substance of Christ to be in the Sacrament of the Altar. Who, after their Phantastical Sentence being promulgated, was brought by the Sheriffs to the Stake with the other four, and suffered the like Martyrdom with them, through the assistance of Gods holy Grace and Spirit mightily working in her, to the glory of his Name, and confirmation of his Truth.

5. Joan Crammer.

The fifth and last of this heavenly Company of Martyrs, was Joan Crammer of the Parish of *Hitch*, wife (as it should seem) of George Crammer burned before. Who being asked what the said to Confession made to a Priest, she answered to any such Priest. And more fully affirmed, That she believed not in that Sacrament, as it was then used, for that it was made, said she, a very Idol. In this her Confession the remaining and persisting, was by the Sentence cruelly of then condemned, and so suffered with the fore-said Thomas Lomas, and the other three fellow Martyrs, ratifying and confessing with their blood the true knowledge and doctrine of the glorious Gospel of Christ Jesus our Saviour.

These five persons were burnt at two Stakes, and one fire together at *Canterbury*, as is before said. Who, when the fire was flaming about their ears, did sing *Psalms*. Whereat the good Knight, Sir John Norton, being there present, wept bitterly at the sight thereof. The Judges and other Assistants which fate upon her, and the other four above mentioned, were Richard Fawcett, John Warren, John Mills, Robert Collins, and John Baker the Notary.

The life, State, and story of the Reverend Patriarch and Prelate, Thomas Crammer Archbishop of Canterbury, Martyr, burned at Oxford, for the Confession of Christ's true Doctrine under Queen Mary, An. 1556. March 21.

As concerning the life and estate of that most reverend Father in God, and worthy Prelate of godly memory, Thomas Crammer late Archbishop of Canterbury, and of the original cause and occasion of his pre-

ferment unto his Archiepiscopal Dignity, who of many hath been thought to have procured the same by favour only, and of some other esteemed unworthy to high a Vocation: It is first therefore to be noted and considered, that the same Thomas Crammer coming of an ancient Parentage, from the Conquest to be deduced, and continuing since in the name and family of a Gentleman, was born in a Village called *Styveden* in *Nottinghamshire*, of whose said name and family there remaineth at these days one Manor, and Manor-house in *Lincolnshire*, called *Crammer Hall*, &c. Sometimes of Heritage of the said flock and family. Who being from his Infancy kept at school, and brought up without much good Civility, came in process of time unto the University of *Cambridge*, and there prospering in right good knowledge amongst the better sort of Students, was chosen Fellow of *Jesus College* in *Cambridge*. And for being Master of Art, and Fellow of the same College, it chanced him to marry a Gentleman's Daughter: by means whereof he lost and gave married over his Fellowship there, and became the Reader in *Buckingham College*; and for that he would with more diligence apply that his Office of Reading, he placed his said Wife in an Inn, called the Dolphin in *Cambridge*, the Wife of the House being of Affinity unto her. By reason whereof, and for that his often resort unto his Wife in that Inn, he was much marked of some Popish Merchants; whereupon rose the slanderous noise and report against him, after he was preferred to the Archbishopric of *Canterbury*, raised up by the malicious disdain of certain malignant Adversaries to Christ and his Truth, brutish abroad every where, that he was but an Hostler, and therefore without all good learning. Of whose malicious reports, one of their practices in that behalf shall hereafter be declared, as place and time shall serve.

But in the mean time to return to the matter present: Whilst this said Mr. Crammer continued as a Reader in *Buckingham College*, his Wife died in Childbed. After whose death, the Masters and Fellows of *Jesus College* desirous again of the said Companions, namely, for his townwardness in learning, chose him again Fellow of the same College, *Jesus College*. Where he remaining at his Study, became in few years after the Reader of Divinity Lecture in the same College, and in such special estimation and reputation with the whole University, that being Doctor of Divinity, and was commonly appointed one of the Heads Divinity, (which are two or three of the chiefest learned men) to examine such as yearly proceed in Commencement, either Bachelors or Doctors of Divinity, by whose approbation the whole University liceth them to proceed unto their degree; and again by whose disallowance the University also rejecteth them for a time to proceed, until they be better furnished with more knowledge.

Now Doctor Crammer, ever much favouring the knowledge of the Scripture, would never admit any to proceed in Divinity, until they were substantially seen in the story of the Bible: by means whereof certain Priests, and other religious persons, who were principally brought up in the Study of School Authors, without regard had to the Authority of Scripture, were commonly rejected by him; so that he was greatly, for that his severe examination, of the religious sort much hated, and had in great indignation: and yet it came to pass in the end, that divers of them being thus compelled to study the Scriptures, became afterwards very well learned, and well affected; insomuch, that when they proceeded Doctors of Divinity, they could not overmuch extoll and commend Mr. Doctor Crammer's goodness towards them, who had for a time put them back, to aspire unto better knowledge and perfection. Among whom Dr. Barret a white Friar, who afterwards dwelt at *Northwich*, was after that sort handled, giving him no less commendation for his happy rejecting of him for a better amendment. Thus much I repeat, that our apostle and Popish sort of ignorant Priests, may well understand that this his exercise, kind of life, and vocation was not altogether Hostler like.

Well, to go forwards; Like as he was neither in fame known, nor in knowledge obfcur'd, fo was he greatly follicit by Dr. Capon, to have been one of the Fellows in the foundation of Cardinal *Wolsey's College* in *Oxford*, which he utterly refused, not without danger of indignation. Notwithstanding foregoing that which after chanced, to the utter confusion of many well affected learned men there, without consideration (because man's glory was there more fought for than God's) he flood to the danger of the said indignation, which chanced more profperously unto him within few years after than he looked for. For whilst he thus continued in *Cambridge*, the great and weighty Cause of King *Henry* the Eighth, his Divorce with the Lady *Katherine* Dowager of *Spain*, came into question; which being many ways of face of two or three years amongst the Canonists, Civilians, and other learned men directly dilputed and debated, it came to pass that this said Dr. *Cranmer*, by reason that the Plague was in *Cambridge*, referred to *Waltham Abbey*, to one Mr. *Cressley* Houle there, whose Wife was kin to the said Dr. *Cranmer*. And for that he had two Sons of the said Dr. *Cressley* within him as his Pupils, he referred at *Waltham Croft*, at the Houfe of the said Mr. *Cressley*, with the said two Children, during that Summer time whilst the Plague reigned.

Of this Cause, and the course of his Legacy, read before

In this Summer time Cardinal *Compinus* and Cardinal *Wolsey*, being in Commiffion from the Pope, to hear and determine that great Cause in controverfie between the King and the Queen, his pretended Wife, called in *August* and all the Summer time until the Month of *August* came, in hearing the said Cause in controverfie debated. When *August* was come, the said Cardinals little minding to proceed to Sentence giving, took occasion to finish their Commiffion, and not further to determine therein, pretending that it was not permitted by the Laws to keep Courts of Ecclesiastical matters in Harvest time: which fudden day and giving over of the said Commiffion by both the Cardinals, being unknown to the King, it fo much moved him, that he taking it as a mock at the Cardinals hands, commanded the Dukes of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk* to difpatch forthwith Cardinal *Compinus* home again to *Rome*; and fo in haste removed himself from *London* to *Waltham* for a night or twain, whilst his Houfhold removed to *Greenwich*:

See Cardinal and D. Foxe, who were lodged at the Houfe of the Kings Divorce.

by means whereof it chanced that the Harbengers lodged Doctor *Stephens*, Secretary, and Doctor *Foxe*, Almoner (who were the chief furthers, professors, and defenders on the Kings behalf of the said Cause) in the Houfe of the said Mr. *Cressley*, where the said Dr. *Cranmer* was also lodged and resident. When Supper time came, they all three Doctors met together; Doctor *Stephens* and Doctor *Foxe* much marveling of Doctor *Cranmer*'s being there. Who declared to them the cause of his there being, namely, for that the Plague was in *Cambridge*. And as they were of old Acquaintance, fo the Secretary and the Almoner right well entertained Doctor *Cranmer*, minding to underftand part of his Opinion touching their great bufinefs they had in hand. And fo as good occasion ferved, whilst they were at Supper, they conferred with Dr. *Cranmer* concerning the Kings Cause, requesting him of his Judgment and Opinion what he thought therein.

Dr. Stephens, Dr. Foxe, Dr. Cranmer confidering together in the Kings Cause.

Whereas Dr. *Cranmer* answered, That he could fay little to the matter, for that he had not studied nor looked for it. Notwithstanding he faid to them, that in his Opinion they made ade in prosecuting the Law Ecclesiastical, when needed. It were better as I fuppofe quoth Dr. *Cranmer*, that the question, Whether a man may marry by the Divines, and by the Authority of the Word of God, whereby the Confidence of the Prince might be better fatisfied and quieted, then thus from year to year by fruitlessly delays to prolong the time, leaving the truth of the matter unbolted out by the Word of God. There is but one truth in it, which the Scripture will soon declare, make open and manifest, being by learned men well handled, and that may be as well done in *England* in the Universities here, as at *Rome*, or elfewhere in any foreign Nation, the Authority whereof will compel any Judge soon to come to a definitive Sentence: and

therefore, as I take it, you might this way have made an Anno and of it a matter long done. When Dr. *Cranmer* had thus ended his tale, the other two well liked of his device, and wished that they had proceeded aforetime, and thereupon conceived fome matter of that device to instruct the King withal, who then was minded to send to *Rome* again for a new Commiffion.

Now the next day, when the King removed to *Greenwich*, like as he took himself not well handled by the Cardinals in thus deferring his Cause, fo his mind being unequaled, and defirous of an end of his long and tedious Sute, he called unto him thofe two principal doers in his said Cause, namely, the faid Dr. *Stephens* and Dr. *Foxe*, faying unto them, What now my Matters (quoth the King) I shall meet in this infinite Cause of mine? I fee by it there must be a new Commiffion procured from *Rome*, and when we shall have an end, God knoweth, and not I.

When the King had faid somewhat his mind herein, the Almoner, Dr. *Foxe*, faid unto the King again, We trust that there shall be better ways devised for your Majesty, then to make travel fo far as to *Rome* any more in your Highnesses Cause, which by chance was put into our heads this other night being at *Waltham*. The King being very desirous to underftand his meaning, faid, Who hath taken in hand to instruct you by any better or shorter way to proceed in our said Cause? Then faid Dr. *Foxe*, It chanced us to be lodged at *Waltham* in Mr. *Cressley* Houfe this other night, your Highness being there, where we met with an old Acquaintance of ours, named Doctor *Cranmer*, with whom having Conference concerning your Highnesses Cause, he thought that the next way were, firft to instruct and quiet your Majesties Confidence by trying your Highnesses Question out by the Authority of the Word of God, and thereupon to proceed to a final Sentence. With this Report the Secretary was not content with the Almoner's own invention. And when the Secretary would have expofed by colourable words to make it appear to the King, that they of themselves had devised that means, the King then faid, Where is this Dr. *Cranmer*? Is he fild at *Waltham*? They answered, that they left him there. *Mary* (faid the King) I will furely feek him him, and therefore let him be fent for out of hand. I perceive (quoth the King) that man hath the Sow by the right ear. And if I had known this device but two years ago, it had been in my way a great piece of money, and had also rid me out of much difquietude.

Whereupon Dr. *Cranmer* was fent for, and being received, moved from *Waltham* to *Cambridge*, and fo towards the King his Friends in *Nottinghamshire*, a Post went for him. But when he came to *London*, he began to quarrel with thofe two his Acquaintances, that he by their breed in a matter, wherein he had nothing at all travelled himself in; and therefore most instantly intreated them that they would make his excufe in fuch fort, that he should be difpatched away from coming in the Kings presence. They promised and took the matter upon them to do fo, by any means they might compafs it. But fo to do, it by any means they might compafs it. But fo to do, it by any means they might compafs it.

Dr. *Cranmer*'s absence, the more the King chid with them, for that they brought him not out of hand to his presence, fo that no excufe ferved, he was finde unfatisfied. He thought that he had nothing at all travelled himself in; and therefore most instantly intreated them that they would make his excufe in fuch fort, that he should be difpatched away from coming in the Kings presence. They promised and took the matter upon them to do fo, by any means they might compafs it. But fo to do, it by any means they might compafs it. But fo to do, it by any means they might compafs it.

you are a Subject, I charge and command you (all your other boldness and shifts set apart) to take fome pains to see this my cause to be furthered according to your device, as much as it may lye in you, fo that I may shortly underftand hereunto I may trust. For this I proteft before God and the World, that I feek not to be divorced from the Queen, if by any means I might juftly be perfuaded that this our Matrimony were inevitable, and not againft the Laws of God; for otherwise there was never caufe to move me to feek any fuch extremity. Neither was there ever Prince had a more gentle, a more obedient and loving Companion and Wife than the Queen is, nor did I ever fanie woman in all respects better, if his doubts had not risen; affuring you that for the fingular virtues wherewith the is indowed, besides the confideration of her noble flock, I could be right well contented still to remain with her, if it would ftand with the will and pleasure of Almighty God. And thus greatly commending her many and fingular qualities, the King faid, therefore pray you with an indifferent eye, and with as much decency as you can, that you for your part do handle the matter for the difcharging of both our Conferences.

Dr. *Cranmer* much difturbled himself to meddle in what he thought to be weighty a matter, brough the Kings Highness to commit the trial and examining of this matter by the Word of God, unto the best learned men of both his faid the Kings, and I am content therewith. But yet nevertheless, I will have you fpecially to write your mind therein. And fo calling the Earl of *Wiltshire* to him, faid, I pray you my Lord, let Dr. *Cranmer* have entertainment in your Houfe at *Dorham Place* for a time, to the intent he may be three quiet to accomplish my request, and let him lack neither Books, nor any thing requisite for his study. And thus after the Kings departure, Dr. *Cranmer* went with my Lord of *Wiltshire* unto his Houfe, wherein he incontinently wrote his mind concerning the Kings question; adding to it, besides the Authorities of the Scriptures, of general Councils and of ancient Writers, also his Opinion which was this; That the Bishop of *Rome* had no fuch Authority, as whereby he might difpense with the Word of God and the Scripture. When Dr. *Cranmer* had made this Book, and committed it to the King, the King faid to him, Will you abide by this that you have here written before the Bishop of *Rome*? This will I do, by Gods graces, quoth Dr. *Cranmer*, if your Majesty do lend me thither. *Mary* (quoth the King) I will fend you even to him in a fure Ambaffage.

And thus by means of Dr. *Cranmer*'s handling of this matter with the King, not only certain learned men were fent abroad to the most part of the Universities in France, Switzerland, to difpute the question, but also the fame was by Commiffion difputed by the Divines in both the Universities of *Cambridge* and *Oxford*, it was there concluded, That no fuch Matrimony was by the Word of God lawful.

Whereas a folemne Ambaffage was then prepared and fent to the Bishop of *Rome*, then being at *Bonony*, wherein went the Earl of *Wiltshire*, Dr. *Cranmer*, Dr. *Warham*, Dr. *Carne*, Dr. *Bennet*, and divers other learned men and Gentlemen.

And when the time came that they should come before the Bishop of *Rome* to declare the cause of their Ambaffage, the Bishop fitting on high in his Cloth of Estate, and in his rich Apparels, with his Sandals on his feet, offering as it were his foot to be kissed of the Ambaffadors; and in his rich Apparels, with his Sandals on his feet, offering as it were his foot to be kissed of the Ambaffadors; and in his rich Apparels, with his Sandals on his feet, offering as it were his foot to be kissed of the Ambaffadors;

himself from that Idolatry. Howbeit one thing is here to be omitted, as a prognosticate of our Separation from the See of *Rome*, which then chanced by a Spaniel of the Earl of *Wiltshire*. For he having there a great Spaniel which came out of *England* with him, flood directly between the Earl and the Bishop of *Rome*.

When the faid Bishop had advanced forth his foot to be kissed, whether the Spaniel perceived the Bishops foot of another nature than it ought to be, and fo taking it to be fome kind of reptal, or whether it was the will

of God to fiewe fme token by a Dog unto the Bishop of his inordinate pride, that his feet were more meet to be bitten of Dogs, then kissed of Christian men; the Spaniel (I fay) when the Bishop offered his foot to be kissed, nor man regarding the fame, ftreight-way (as though he had been of purpose appointed therunto) went directly to the Popes feet, and not only kissed the fame unmanually with his mouth, but as fome plainly reported and affirmed, took fift with his mouth the glorious toe of the Pope, fo that in hafte he pulled in his great toe from the Spaniel. Whereat our men finiling in their fleeces, what they thought, God knoweth. But in fies the Pontifical Bishop after this, sought no more at that prefent for killing his feet, but without any further Ceremony gave ear to the Ambaffadors what they had to fay.

Who entering there before the Bishop, offered on the Kings behalf to be defended, that no man *Jure Divino*, could or ought to marry his Brothers wife; and that the contrary to Bishop of *Rome* by no means ought to difpense to the World contrary: Divers promies were made, and fundry days appointed, wherein the question should have been difputed, and when our party was ready to answer, no man there appeared to difpute in that behalf. So in the end, the Bishop making them our Ambaffadors good Countenances, and gratifying Dr. *Cranmer* with the Office of the Penitentiarius, difmiffed them undifputed wial.

Whereupon the Earl of *Wiltshire*, and the other Commiffioners, living Dr. *Cranmer*, returned home as Dr. *Cranmer* gain unto *England*. And forthwith Dr. *Cranmer* went Ambaffador to the Emperor, being in his Journey towards *Vienne*, in Expedition against the Turk, there to answer fuch learned men of the Emperours Council, as would or could fay any thing to the contrary part. Where amongst the reft, at the fame time was *Cornelius Agrippa*, an high Officer in the Emperours Courts, and who having private Conference with Dr. *Cranmer* in the matter, that afterwards there was never difputed on openly offered to Dr. *Cranmer* in that behalf. For through the perfuasion of *Agrippa*, all other learned men there were much difcourage: Infomuch, that after Dr. *Cranmer* was returned into *England*, *Agrippa* fell into fuch difpleasure with the Emperor, as fome men thought, that because of the kindling and encouraging fo much the contrary part, he was committed to Prison, where he for forrow ended his life, as it was reported. In the mean fpace, while the Emperor returned home from *Vienne* thorow *Germany*, Dr. *Cranmer* in that Voyage had conference with divers learned men of *Germany* concerning the faid question, who very ambiguously heretofore conceiving the cause, were fully refolved and fatisfied by him.

This matter thus propofing on Dr. *Cranmer*'s behalf, as well touching the Kings question, as concerning the invalidity of the Bishop of *Rome*'s Authority, difpatch *Warham*, then Archbishop of *Canterbury*, departed this tranfitory life, whereby that Dignity then being in the Kings gift and difpofition, was immediately given to Dr. *Cranmer*, as worthy for his Travel of fuch a Promotion. Thus much touching the preferment of Dr. *Cranmer* unto his Dignity, and by what means he achieved unto the fame: not by flattery, nor by bribes, nor by any other unlawful means. For as touching I have more at large difcourfed to thep the railing rouths of fuch, who being themselves obfcure and unlearned, flatter not to detract fo learned a man most ignominiously with the firname of an Hofler, whom for his godly zeal unto incense Religion, they ought with much humility to have had in regard and reputation.

Now as concerning his behaviour and trade of life towards God and the World, being now entered into his faid Dignity, and forfomuch as the Apollie *S. Paul* writ: *Timothy and Titus*, fteeth out thus: *For us a perfect description of a true Bishop, with all the properties and conditions belongup to the fame, unto the which exemplar it fhall be hard in ftrange days to find the Image of any Bishop correspondent: yet for example fike let us take this Archbishop of Canterbury; and try him by the rule thereof, to fee either how near he cometh to the defcription of S. Paul, or fike how far.*

off be ferveth from the common course of other in his time, of his calling. The rule of S. Paul is to be found, 1 Tim. 3. also in his Epistle to Titus, chap. 1. in these words:

A Bishop must be faultless, as becometh the Minister of God. Not stubborn, nor angry, no drunkard, no fighter, nor given to filthy lucre; but harboured, one that loveth goodness, sober-minded, righteous, holy, temperate, and such as cleaveth unto the true Word and Doctrine, that he may be able to teach, &c.

Unto this rule and touch-stone, to lay now the life and conversation of this Archbishop, we will first begin with that which is thus written in A Bishop must be faultless, as becometh the Minister of God. Like as to man is without sin, and every man carrieth with him his especial vice, and every man yet nevertheless, the Apostle meaneth, that the Bishop and Minister must be faultless, in comparison of the common conversation of men of the world, which seem more licentious to live at their own liberties and pleasures, then the Bishop or Minister ought to do, having final regard unto good example giving: which a Bishop and Minister must carefully giveth to consider, lest by his dissolute life the word of God be slandered and evil spoken of. Which thing to avoid, and the better to accomplish this Precept of the Apostle, this worthy man evermore gave himself to continual study, not breaking that order that he in the University commonly used, that is, by five of the clock in the morning at his Book, and by confining the time in study and prayer until time of the clock; he then applied himself (if the Princes affairs did not call him away) until dinner time to hear Suters, and to dispatch such matters as appertained unto his special care and charge, committing his temporal affairs, both of his household and other foreign business, unto his Officers. So that such things were never impudent either to him, or to his Palace Charges, which principally consisted in reformation of corrupt Religion, and in setting forth of true and sincere Doctrine. For the most part always being in Commission, he associated himself with learned men for sifting and bolting out of one matter or other, for the commodity and profit of the Church of England. By means whereof, and what for his private study, he was never idle; besides that, he accounted it no idle point to bestow one hour or twain of the day in reading over such works and books as daily came from beyond the Seas.

After dinner, if any Suters were attendant, he would very diligently hear them, and dispatch them in such sort as every man commended his lenity and gentleness, although the care required that some whiles divers of them were committed by him to Prison. And having no Suters after dinner, for an hour or thereabout he would play at the Chess, or behold chess as could play. That done, then again to his ordinary study, at the which commonly he for the most part stood, and seldom fate, and then continuing until five of the clock, followed fast at hour in hearing the Common Prayer, and walking, or using some honest pastime until Supper time. At Supper, if he had no appetite (as many times he would not sup) yet would he sit down at the Table, having his ordinary provision of his Meats furnished with expedient Company, he wearing on his hands his gloves, because he would (as it were) thereby cleanse himself from eating of meat, but yet keeping the Company with such fruitful talk as did repast and much delight the hearers, so that by this means Hospitality was well furnished, and the Alms-chest well maintained for relief of the Poor. After Supper, he would continue one hour at the least in walking, or some other honest pastime, and then again until nine of the clock, at one kind of study or other. So that no hour of the day was spent in vain, but the same was so bestowed, as tended to the glory of God, the service of the Prince, or the commodity of the Church. Which his well bestowing of his time procured to him most happily a good report of all men, to be in respect of other men's conversation faultless, as it became the Minister of God.

That a Bishop ought not to be stubborn.

Secondly, it is required, That a Bishop ought not to be stubborn. With which kind of vice, without great冤枉 wrong, this Archbishop in no wise ought to be charged, whose Nature was such, as none more gentle, or sooner won to a honest suit or purpose, specially in such things, wherein by his word, writing, counsel, or deed, he might gratify either any gentle or noble man, or do good to any mean person, or else relieve the needy and poor. Only in causes pertaining to God or his Prince, no man more stout, more constant, or more hard to be won; as in that part his earnest defence in the Parliament House, above three days together in disputing against the six Articles of Gardiners device, can testify. And though the King would needs have them upon some politic consideration to go forward, yet he so handled himself as well in the Parliament House, as afterwards by writing, so obediently and with such humble behaviour in words towards his Prince, protesting the cause not to be his, but Almighty Gods, who was the Author of all truth, that the King did not only well like his defence (willing him to depart out of the Parliament House, into the Council Chamber, whither the Ad should pass and be granted for safeguard of his Conscience, which he with humble prostration refused, hoping that his Majesty in process of time would revoke them again) but also after the Parliament was finished, the King perceiving the zealous affection that the Archbishop bare towards the defence of his cause, which was the Kings pleasure, that they all fled in to his Highness before cherish, comfort, and animate him, as one that for his travel in that Parliament had laboured himself both greatly learned, and also discreet Lord and wife, and therefore they were not to be dissatisfied with him. He most humbly thanked the Kings Majesty for his great goodness towards him, and then for all their pains-taking, I hope in God, that hereafter my allegations and authorities shall take place to the Glory of God and the commodity of the Realm, in the mean time I will testify my self with the honourable consent of your Honours, and the whole Parliament.

Here is to be noted, that this Mans stout and Godly defence of the truth herein fo found the Princes Conscience, that he would not permit the truth in that Man to be clear overthrow with Authority and Power; and therefore this way God working in the Princes mind a plain token was declared hereby, that all things were now so firmly handled in the confirmation of the said six Articles as it ought to have been for else the Prince might have had a just cause to have born his great indignation towards the Archbishop. Let us pray that to the both the Kings Majesty may be perceived in all Ecclesiastical and learned men where the truth ought to be defended and also the like relenting and flexibility may take place in Princes and Noble Men; when they shall have occasion offered them to maintain the same, so that they utterly obey whome the truth by fell-will, powerful Authority, or some other honest pastime, and then again until nine of the clock, at one kind of study or other. So that no hour of the day was spent in vain, but the same was so bestowed, as tended to the glory of God, the service of the Prince, or the commodity of the Church. Which his well bestowing of his time procured to him most happily a good report of all men, to be in respect of other men's conversation faultless, as it became the Minister of God.

Anno 1556.

So dear was to him the cause of God, and of his Prince, that for the one he would not keep his Conscience closed, nor for the other lurk or hide his head. Otherwise it is said, This very enemies might easily entreat him in any cause reasonable; and such things as he granted, he did without any suspicion of upbraiding or meed thereof. So that he was altogether void of the vice of stubbornness, and rather culpable of overmuch facility and gentleness.

Not angry.

Then followeth, Not angry. Surely if overmuch patience may be a vice, this Man may seem peradventure to offend rather on this part than on the contrary. Albeit for all his doing I cannot say for the most part, such was his mortification that way, that few we shall find in whom the saying of our Saviour Christ so much prevailed as with him, who would not only have a Man to forgive his enemies, but also to pray for them that less often never went out of his memory. For it was known that he had many cruel enemies, not for his own debts, but only for his Religion sake: and yet whatsoever he was that sought his hindrance, either in goods, estimation or life, and upon conference would seem never so flenderly any thing to relent or excuse himself, he would both forget the offence committed, and also evermore afterwards friendly entertain him, and show such pleasure to him, as by any means possible he might perform or declare in such that it came into a common Proverb: Do unto my Lord of Canterbury displeasure, or a shrewd turn, and then you may be sure to have him your friend whilst he liveth. Of which his gentle disposition in abstaining from revengement, amongst many examples thereof, I will repeat here one.

It chanced an ignorant Priest and Parson in the North parts (the town is not now in remembrance, but he was a kinsman of one Chertsey a Grocer, dwelling within London, being of some office near to the Archbishop, as he stood at the Alchouf, then in his Chamber or in his study to sit on one time with his honest neighbours at the Alchouf within his own Parish, where was communication mingled in commendation of my Lord Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury. This said Parson, envying his name on the Religion sake, said to his neighbours, what make you of him, quoth he, he was but an hollier, and hath of no more learning than the Gosselings that go yonder on the green, with such like slanderous and uncomely words. These honest neighbours of his, not well bearing those his uncomely words, uttered against him, and sent their complaint to the Lord Cranmer, then Vicegerent in causes Ecclesiastical; who sent for the Priest and Parson committed him to the Fleet, minding to have had him recent those his slanderous words at Pauls Cross. Howbeit the Lord Cranmer, having great affairs of the Prince then in hand, forgot his Prisoner in the Fleet. So that this Chertsey the Grocer, understanding that his kinsman was in durance in the Fleet, only for speaking words against my Lord of Canterbury consulted with the Priest and Parson between them devised to make false rather unto the Archbishop his deliverance, than to the Lord Cranmer, before whom he was accused: understanding right well that there was great diversity of natures, between those two Estates, the one gentle and full of clemency, and the other severe and somewhat intractable, namely, against the Priest: So that Chertsey took upon him first to try my Lord of Canterbury benignity, namely, for that his cousin accusation touched only the offence against him, and none other. Whereupon the said Chertsey came to one of the Archbishops Gentlemen (whose Father bought yearly all his Spices and Fruit of the said Chertsey, and so thereby of familiar acquaintance with the Gentleman) who opening to him the trouble wherein his kinsman was, requested that he would be a means to my Lord his Master, to bear his sure in the behalf of his kinsman.

The matter was moved. The Archbishop like as he was of a new gentle, and of much clemency, he would be never of himself strange unto others but incontinent by sent for the said Chertsey. When he came before him, the Archbishop declared that there was a kinsman of his in the Fleet, a Priest of the North Country, and as I may tell you your Grace the truth (quoth Chertsey) a Man of small civility, and of less learning. And yet he hath a Parson

nage there, which now (by reason that my Lord Cranmer hath laid him in Prison) being in his Cure, is unforsaken, and he hath continued in durance above two months, and is called to no answer, and knows not when he shall come unto end, so that this his imprisonment cometh, his substance, and will utterly unto himself, your Grace be his good Lord. I know not the Man (said the Archbishop) nor what he had done why he should be thus in trouble.

Said Chertsey again, he only hath offended against your Grace, and against no Man else, a may well be perceived by the Articles objected against him, the Copy whereof the said Chertsey then exhibited to the said Archbishop of Canterbury, who well perusing the said Articles, said, This is the common talk of all the ignorant papistical Priests in England against me. Surely, said he, I was never made privy to this accusation, and of his indurance I never heard before this time. Notwithstanding, if there be nothing else to charge him withal against the Prince or any of the Council, I will at your request take order with him, and find him some way to his cure to do his duty; and to thereafter first bring to the Warden of the Fleet, willing him to send the prisoner unto him, with his keeper at afternoon.

When the keeper had brought the prisoner at the house appointed, and said him well instructed his confusion in any wise to submit himself to the Archbishop, confessing his fault, whereby that way he should most easily have an end and win his favour; thus the Parson being brought into the garden at Lambeth, and there the Archbishop sitting under the vine demanded of the Parson, what was the cause of his indurance, and how he came to the Fleet. The Parson answered and said, that the Lord Cranmer sent him thither, for that certain malicious parishioners of his parish had wrongfully accused him of words which he never spoke nor meant; Chertsey hearing his foolish count to far out of the way from his former instruction, said, Thou darest not say that, it is his duty promise that thou madest to me. Are there not a great number of thy honest neighbours hands against thee, to prove thee a liar? Surely my Lord (quoth Chertsey) it is thy duty to do him good. I am sorry that I have troubled your Grace.

Well, said the Archbishop unto the Parson, if you have not offended me, I can do you no good; for I am intreated to help one out of trouble that hath offended against me. If my Lord Cranmer hath committed you to prison wrongfully, that lieth in himself to amend and not in me; if your offence only hath touched me, will be hold to do somewhat for your friends sake here. If you have not offended against me, then have I nothing to do with you, but that you may go and remain from whence you came. Lord what said also his kinsman Chertsey made with him, calling him all kind of opprobrious names. In the end my Lord of Canterbury seeming to rise and go his ways, the good Priest felt on his knees, and said, I beseech your Grace to forgive me this offence, affording you that I make those words being drunk and not well advised. Ah, said my Lord, this is somewhat, and yet it is not enough; for drunkenness evermore uttereth that which lieth hid in the heart of Man when he is sober, alleging a Text or twain out of the Scriptures concerning the vice of drunkenness, which cometh not now to remembrance.

Now therefore (said the Archbishop) that you acknowledge somewhat your fault. I am content to commute for you, hoping that you are at this present of an indifferent liberty. Tell me then, quoth he, did you ever see me, or were you ever acquainted with me before this day? The Priest answered and said, that never in his life he saw his Grace. Why then (said the Archbishop) what occasion had you to call me an hollier, and that I had no more learning as the Gosselings which then went on the green before you face? If I have no learning you may now try it, and be out of doubt thereof: therefore I pray you appole me either in Grammar or in other liberal Sciences, for I have at one time or other taught partly of them. Or else if you are a Driveling fellow, that way, the Priest being amazed at my Lords familiar talk, made answer and said, I beseech your Grace to pardon me, I am altogether unlearned, and understand not the Latin

Tongue

The Archbishop
Priest
ignores in the
Scripture.

Tongue, but very simply. My only study hath been to say my prayer and to study and deliberate, which I can do as well as any Priest in the Country where I dwell, I thank God Well, said the other, if you will not appoint me, I will be so bold to appoint you, and yet as easily as I can devile, and that only in the story of the Bible now in English which I suppose that you are daily exercised. Tell me therefore who was King David's Father, said my Lord. The Priest stood still pausing a while, and said, In good faith my Lord, I have forgotten his name. Then said the other again to himself you cannot tell that, I pray you tell me then, who was Solomon's Father? The fond foolish Priest without all consideration what was demanded of him before, made answer, Good my Lord bear with me, I am no furtherer in the Bible, then is daily read in our service in the Church.

The Archbishop then answering, said, this my question may be found well answered in your service. But I now well perceive, howsoever ye have judged heretofore of my learning, I fear I am that you have none at all. But this is the common practice of all you that be ignorant and superstitious Priests, to slander backbite, and hate all such as are learned and well affected towards Gods Word and sincere Religion. Common Reason might have taught you what an unlikely thing it was and contrary to all manner of reason, that a Prince having two Universities within his Realm of well learned Men and devout to be relieved of as doubtful a question as in these many years the like was not moved within Christendom, should be driven to that necessity for the defence of his cause, to fend out of his Realm an Hostler, being a Man of no better knowledge than is a Golling, in an Embassy to answer all learned Men, both in the Court of Rome, and the Emperours Courts, in so difficult a question, as toucheth the Kings Matrimony, and the divorce thereof. If, if you were Men of any reasonable consideration, you might think it both unseemly and uncomely for a Prince to do so. But look where malice reigneth in Man, they will find out no place: and therefore I see by it, that you can provide you to favour my name, who never meant evil to you, but your both comynalty and profit. Howbeit, God amend you all, forgive you, and find you better minds.

The Archbishop
for
giveness
and
diffidence
the Faith.

With these words the Priest fumed to weep, and desired his Grace to pardon his fault and frailty, for that by this means he might return to his Cure again, and he would fore recall those his foolish words before his Parishioners so soon as he came home, and would become a new Man. Well, said the Archbishop, for he had need doing him a godly admonition to refuse the haunting of the Alehouses, and to bestow his time better in the continual reading of the Scriptures, he dismissed him from the Fleet.

The Lord
Cranmer
of
feared
with
the
Arch-
bishop
in
forgiving
him
before
called
Priest.

The Lord Cranmer, perceiving within a fortnight after that his prisoner was faine within any open punishment, came to Lambeth unto the Archbishop, and in a great heat said to him, My Lord, I understand that you have dispatched the Northern Priest, that I of late sent to the Fleet, home again, who unseasonably raised of you, and called you an Hostler.

The Archbishop
for
giveness
and
diffidence
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Indeed he has done (said he again) for that in his absence the people of his Cure wanted their Divine Service. It is very devout Divine Service that he hath, quoth the Lord Cranmer; It were more meet for him to be an Hostler than a curate, who flocked not to call you an Hostler, but I thought so much what you would do, and therefore I would not tell you of his knavery when I sent him to prison. Howbeit henceforth, they shall cut your throat before that I say any thing more to them on your behalf. Why? What would you have done with him, quoth the Archbishop; there was nothing laid to his charge, other then words spoken against me, and now the Man that is repentant and well reconciled, and hath been at great charges in prison: it is time therefore that he were rid out of his trouble. Well, said the Lord Cranmer, I meant that he should have preached at Pauls Croft a week, and calling. Of which two, the first fort must consider the causes which moved him to that liberal and large kind of expenses. Wherein here cometh to be considered, the time wherein he served; which was when re-

formation of Religion first began to be advanced. In which time the whole weight and care of the same must chiefly depended upon his hand. During which season, almost for the space of sixteen years together, his house was never lightly unfurnished of a number both of learned Men and Commissioners, from time to time appointed for deciding of Ecclesiastical affairs.

And thus as he seemed to some over-large and lavishing more then needed in hospitality, so on the other side there wanted not yea, of whom he was much noted and accused again, yea and also complained of to King Henry the eighth for too slender and niggardly house-keeping as not worthy to be accounted the hospitality of a great Man, as here the following shall appear. After that the ornaments and great possessions, revenues, jewels, rich ornaments, and other treasures of the Abbeyes were dissolved and brought into the Kings hands, in the dissolving whereof many cormorants were fed and fattened, and yet not so fully satisfied, but that within a few years they began to be grow hungry again: and for so much the more could be feared now out of Abbeys, they began to seek how by some other prey to satisfy their appetites, which was to tickle the Kings Ears with the rich revenue of the Bishops Lands. And to bring this device to pass, they procured Sir Thomas Seymour Knight of the privy Chamber, to be a promoter of the matter, who not in all points much favouring the Archbishop, having time and a convenient occasion, declared to the King that my Lord of Canterbury did nothing else but sell his woods, and let his Leases by great and many fines, making havoc of all the Royalties of the Archbishoprick, and that only to the intent to gather up treasure for his wife and Children, keeping no manner of Hospitality, in the subject of so great a revenue; advertising the King likewise, that it was the opinion of many wise Men, that it were more meet for the Bishops to have a sufficient yearly stipend in money out of the Exchequer, then to be cumbered with those temporal affairs of their Royalties, being impediments unto their study, and pastoral charges, and his Highness to have their Lands and Royalties converted to his proper use, which besides their benefit, ripends would be unto his Majesty no small commodity and profit.

When the King had heard his fair tale, he said little thereunto, other then this. Well (quoth he) we will talk of this matter at another time. Now, within a fortnight after or thereabout, whether by chance, or of set purpose, (it is not known) it came to pass, that one day his Highness going to dinner had waded, Sir Thomas Seymour then holding the Ewer, and said to the said Sir Thomas, Go you out of hand to Lambeth unto my Lord of Canterbury, and bid him to be with me at two of the Clock at afternoon, and fail not. Sir Thomas straightways went to Lambeth, and as he came to the gate the Porter being in the lodge, came out, and conveyed him to the Hall, which was thoroughly furnished and set, both with the household servants and strangers, with four principall messes of officers, as daily it was accustomed to be. When Sir Thomas Seymour first that lusty large Hall he well felt and furnished, being therewith abashed, and somewhat guilty of an untruth told to the King before, he retired back, and would needs have gone to the Archb. of Canterbury by the Chappell, and not through the Hall. Richard Neale Gentleman, then Steward of the Household, perceiving his retire, came by and by unto him, and after gentle entertainment demanded of him whether he would speak with my Lord or no? Sir Thomas said, that he must needs do so from the Kings Highness saying unto him, and this way I am going to my Lords Grace. Sir, said the Steward, you cannot go that way, for the door is fast shut, in the dinner time; and by gentle means brought him up to my Lords Chamber, where he was at dinner withal, whom he then saw to be a man of a most excellent countenance, whose ordinary fair might always well become a right honourable personage. When dinner was scarce done, Sir Thomas took his leave of my Lord, and went again to the Court.

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When the King had heard his fair tale, he said little thereunto, other then this. Well (quoth he) we will talk of this matter at another time. Now, within a fortnight after or thereabout, whether by chance, or of set purpose, (it is not known) it came to pass, that one day his Highness going to dinner had waded, Sir Thomas Seymour then holding the Ewer, and said to the said Sir Thomas, Go you out of hand to Lambeth unto my Lord of Canterbury, and bid him to be with me at two of the Clock at afternoon, and fail not. Sir Thomas straightways went to Lambeth, and as he came to the gate the Porter being in the lodge, came out, and conveyed him to the Hall, which was thoroughly furnished and set, both with the household servants and strangers, with four principall messes of officers, as daily it was accustomed to be. When Sir Thomas Seymour first that lusty large Hall he well felt and furnished, being therewith abashed, and somewhat guilty of an untruth told to the King before, he retired back, and would needs have gone to the Archb. of Canterbury by the Chappell, and not through the Hall. Richard Neale Gentleman, then Steward of the Household, perceiving his retire, came by and by unto him, and after gentle entertainment demanded of him whether he would speak with my Lord or no? Sir Thomas said, that he must needs do so from the Kings Highness saying unto him, and this way I am going to my Lords Grace. Sir, said the Steward, you cannot go that way, for the door is fast shut, in the dinner time; and by gentle means brought him up to my Lords Chamber, where he was at dinner withal, whom he then saw to be a man of a most excellent countenance, whose ordinary fair might always well become a right honourable personage. When dinner was scarce done, Sir Thomas took his leave of my Lord, and went again to the Court.

So soon as the Kings Highness saw him, he said to him, how have you been with my Lord of Canterbury? Sir Thomas answered, That I have if I please your Majesty, formation of Religion first began to be advanced. In which time the whole weight and care of the same must chiefly depended upon his hand. During which season, almost for the space of sixteen years together, his house was never lightly unfurnished of a number both of learned Men and Commissioners, from time to time appointed for deciding of Ecclesiastical affairs.

And thus as he seemed to some over-large and lavishing more then needed in hospitality, so on the other side there wanted not yea, of whom he was much noted and accused again, yea and also complained of to King Henry the eighth for too slender and niggardly house-keeping as not worthy to be accounted the hospitality of a great Man, as here the following shall appear. After that the ornaments and great possessions, revenues, jewels, rich ornaments, and other treasures of the Abbeyes were dissolved and brought into the Kings hands, in the dissolving whereof many cormorants were fed and fattened, and yet not so fully satisfied, but that within a few years they began to be grow hungry again: and for so much the more could be feared now out of Abbeys, they began to seek how by some other prey to satisfy their appetites, which was to tickle the Kings Ears with the rich revenue of the Bishops Lands. And to bring this device to pass, they procured Sir Thomas Seymour Knight of the privy Chamber, to be a promoter of the matter, who not in all points much favouring the Archbishop, having time and a convenient occasion, declared to the King that my Lord of Canterbury did nothing else but sell his woods, and let his Leases by great and many fines, making havoc of all the Royalties of the Archbishoprick, and that only to the intent to gather up treasure for his wife and Children, keeping no manner of Hospitality, in the subject of so great a revenue; advertising the King likewise, that it was the opinion of many wise Men, that it were more meet for the Bishops to have a sufficient yearly stipend in money out of the Exchequer, then to be cumbered with those temporal affairs of their Royalties, being impediments unto their study, and pastoral charges, and his Highness to have their Lands and Royalties converted to his proper use, which besides their benefit, ripends would be unto his Majesty no small commodity and profit.

The King
spoken in
defence
of
Canterbury.

The Alms
of the
Arch-
bishop
were
the
poor.

One that loveth
giveness,
fibre minded,
righteous,
boly,
and temperate.

Then concludeth Saint Paul with the most excellent

New matter made a point Rich. Turner.

Confession against the Archbishop Cranmer by the Justices of Kent.

gaint him concerning any accusation for matters in Kent, the Archbishop of Canterbury being his Ordinary. Well, yet would they not thus leave him undisturbed. Then was there one new matter devised, how that he had Preached erroneous Doctrine in other Countries before he came into Kent, laying to his charge that he had both translated the Mass into English, and said, or ministered the same, and that he had Preached against Puritans, Pilgrimages, and praying for the dead, &c. By means whereof, he was now converted before the whole Council by the Bishop of Winchester, who sent *Synode Petre* Gentlemen for him, who brought him to London bound (as I heard say) and being examined before the said Bishop of Winchester and others, he was committed to ward for a season.

In the which mean time, the Archbishop of Canterbury, being in Kent about the trial of a conspiracy purposed against himself by the Justices of the Shire, and by the Prelates of the Church: *Turner* is now sent down to the Archbishop, to the intent he should recant that Doctrine which long ago he in other places out of Kent had Preached, to the utter subversion and defacing of all that he had most Godly and carefully here in Kent taught both to the Glory of God, and the furtherance and settling forth of the Kings Highness proceedings. If his Majesty will thus permit learned honest Men thus daily to be overpowered and trodden under foot with a sort of tyrannous or rather traitorous Papists, (who seeme aside to hear his Majesty's Supremacy, and yet seeme the sincere Word of God Preached) it were better for Men to dwell amongst the Infidels and miscreants than in England.

What reason is this, that *Turner* should recant here in Kent the Doctrine which in other Countries he hath taught, to the wounding and overthrowing most deplorably of five hundred Mens Conferences and above, (I dare say) who lately by his sincere Preaching have embraced a right good opinion both of the Kings Supremacy, and also of the reformed Religion received? All good Subjects may well lament the Kings Majesty's cruelty in this behalf, that no Man may dare to be so bold to advance his Highness Title, but that every ignorant and malicious Papist shall spurn against him, seeking his utter undoing, and that by the aid of Papistical Justices in Authority. I beseech your Worshipps to pardon me of my rude and homely terms. They herein deserve worse, if worse may be devised. For what honest Man can bear with this, that no Noble a Prince's ears shall be thus impudently abused with manifest lies and fables, as this one of *Turners* coming home in such a Triumph as they craftily and falsely had devised? It is easily to be felt what they mean only go about, that, the Prince being alive, dare take in hand so uncourtously to abuse both the gentle nature of the Prince, and his Godly Preachers, the advance and extoller of his just Authority.

What think you Worshipps they would attempt if his Majesty were at Gods mercy (as God foretold that ever any of us should see that day, without better reformation) that can thus daily with his Highness, blinding his Eyes with mist, while he liveth and reigneth amongst us in most profanity? As for my L^d of Kent, he dare nothing do for the poor Mans delivery, he hath done so much for him already. And his Grace hath told me plainly, that it is up into the Kings Head, that he is the maintainer and supporter of all the Heretics within the Realm; nor will he permit me or any hereabouts to resort unto the Council for his purgation, while he was at *Waltham*, living only I have obtained this at his hand, that he may become a later in writing to my friends and good Masters in the Court for his delivery.

And therefore it is (Right Worshipful) that I have now taken pen in hand, thus to discourtise and open our misery unto you concerning the extreme handling of this honest poor Man *Master Turner*, that if it may possibly be brought to pass by your Godly Willness, the poor Man may be released and discharged of his recantation; you cannot do to God and your Prince a more acceptable service in my poor opinion. For otherwise if he should be driven to recant (as I am sure he will sooner dye both Gods cause and the Kings fall than suffer no small detriment amongst his poor loving Subjects here. For if

there be no better way for the maintenance of their God Anno 1556. Preachers, the Kings Authority concerning his Supremacy shall live post alone hidden in the Ad of Parliament, and not in the Hearts of his Subjects.

If they can bring to pass that *Turner* may recant, to the defacing of his good Doctrine Preached here, then have they that for which they have thus long travelled. And yet in effect shall not *Turner* recant, but King Henry the 8. in *Turners* person shall most odiously recant the wounding of all Mens Conferences here. If the Kings Majesty do not esteem his Authority given to his Highness by Gods Word and his Parliament it were well done, that the Preachers had good warning to talk no more to the people thereof, rather than thus to be tolled and troubled for doing their duties, by the members of Antichrist.

And now to the intent that they might effectually serve for ever flander *Turners* Doctrine here, they have in effect did him for offending against the fix Articles, the eight last Sessions, by the witness of two Papists of the Parish of *Chartham* his utter enemies, *Sander* and *Brown*, by name, for a Sermon Preached at *Chartham*, on Passion Sunday, which chanced on *S. Margarets* even, they both being absent that day at *Wye Fair*, as it is well proved, namely, for that he Preached against the Mass saying, that our Saviour Christ was the only sole Priest, which King Ma. on the Altar of the Cross, there sacrificing for the Sin of the World once for ever, and that all other Masses were but remembrances and thanksgiving for that one Sacrifice, or fix words in effect.

Wherefore, to conclude (Right Worshipful) knowing your Godly zeals, as well towards the preference of sincere Religion, as your no less affection towards the King his Majesty's person and his Godly proceedings, I most humbly beseech you, in the Bowels of our Saviour Christ, to ponder the weighty consideration of the premises, as by your travels unto the Kings Majesty or to the Honourable Council, we here in Kent that have now of late our hearts bent towards the observation of the Law of God and the Prince through *Turners* Godly performances, may receive from your Worshipps some comfortable words of his deliverance, or else certainly make an honest and simple Man, lately embracing the truth, may perhaps fall away desperately from the same, not without danger of their souls. In accomplishing whereof your Worshipps shall not only do unto Almighty God and the Prince most true and acceptable service, but also bind the said *Turner*, with all other to whom this cause doth appertain both daily to pray for your properties, and also to be at your commandments during their lives. From *Canterbury* the second day of November.

Your worshipps evermore at commandment, R. M.

And thus much containeth the Letter (as is said) by *Master Morrice* to Doctor *Buts* and Sir *Anthony De Wy*. Now, what success and speed this Letter had, followeth to be declared. For Doctor *Buts* the Kings Physician, after the receipt of their Letters, considering the weighty contents of the same, as he was ever a forward friend in the Gospels cause, he thought not to forelack this matter to the uttermost of his diligence, and so spying his time, when the Kings was intrinching and in waiting (as his manner was at certain times to call times over to preside, and with some pleasant comports to refresh and lacerate the Kings mind) brought with him in his hand this Letter. The King asking what news, Doctor *Buts* pleasantly and merrily began to intimate unto the King the effect of the matter, and so to the Kings Commandment read out the Letter; which when the King had heard, and paused a little with himself upon the same, commanded again the Letter to be read unto him. The hearing and consideration whereof altered the Kings mind, that where as before he commanded the said *Turner* to be whipped out of the Country, he now commanded him to be retained as a faithful Subject. And here of that matter an end. Let us now return to the Archbishop's

Who

Anno 1556. This was the manner, with which the Archbishop was

Who although he was compassed about (as is said) with mighty enemies, and by many crafty trains impugned, yet through Gods more mighty Providence, working in the Kings heart to favour him, he rubbed out all *K. Henrys* time without blemish or fall, by means of the Kings supplication; who not only defended the said Archbishop against all his conspired Adversaries, but also extended his special favour unto him in such fort, that he being not ignorant of his wife, whom he had married before at *Norwich*, (which was the wife of *Offord*) keeping her also after his Articles time contrary to the Law, notwithstanding he both permitted the time, and kept his counsel.

Then after the death of *K. Henry*, immediately succeeded his Son *K. Edward* under whole government and protection the state of this Archbishop being his Godfather, was nothing impaired, but rather more advanced.

During all this mean time of *K. Henry* aforesaid, until the entring of *K. Edward*, it seemed that *Cranmer* was farrely yet thoroughly perverted in the right knowledge of the Sacrament, or at least, was not yet fully ripened in the same: wherein shortly after he being more grounded confirmed by conference with Bishop *Ridley*, in process of time did profit in more ripe knowledge, that at last he took upon him the defence of that whole Doctrine, that is, to refuse and throw down first the Corporal Presence; secondly, the Insubstantial Transubstantiation; thirdly, the idolatrous adoration; fourthly, the false error of the Papists, that wicked men do eat the natural Body of Christ; and lastly, the blasphemous Sentence of the Mass. Whereupon in conclusion he wrote five Books for the public instruction of the Church of England, which instruction yet to this day standeth, and is received in this Church of England.

Against these five Books of the Archbishop, *Stephen Gardiner*, the Arch-bishop to Christ and the Gospel, belonging to the *Towrey*, published upon a certain Answer, such as it was, which he in open Court exhibited up at *Lambeth*, being there examined by the Archbishop aforesaid, and other the Kings Commissioners in King *Edwards* days, which Book was intituled *An explication and answer of the true Catholick Faith, touching the five Articles contained in the new translation of the Mass, written against the same*.

Against this Explication, or rather a reviling Sophistry, the arch-bishop of *Stephen Gardiner* Dr. of Law, the Archbishop of *Canterbury* learnedly and copiously replying again, with many learned answers, which also he published abroad to the sight of all eyes and judgments of all men in print. All which Writings and Books, as well of the one part as of the other, our present story would require here to be inserted, but because to prosecute the whole matter at length will not be comprehended in a small room, and may make too long tarryance in our story, it shall therefore be left to put off the same unto the place of the Appendix following, wherein (the Lord willing) we intend to close up both these, and divers other Treatises of these learned Martyrs, as to this our story shall appertain.

The unquiet spirit of *Stephen Gardiner* being not yet contented, after all this thrusteth out another Book in Latin of the like Popish Argument, but after another Title, named *Marcellus Antonius Constantinus*. Whereunto first the Archbishop again intended a full Confutation, had already published three parts of his Answer lying in Prison. Of the which parts two perished in Oxford; the other yet remaineth in my hands ready to be written and set forth, as the Lord shall see good. Also Bishop *Ridley* lying likewise the same time in Prison, having therein the said Book of *Marcellus Antonius*, for his Pen and Paper, with a Lead of a Window, in the Margent of the Book wrote Annotations, as frightfulness of time, and in refutation of the same Book. And finally, because these worthy Martyrs had neither liberty nor leisure to go through with that travel, that which was lacking in them, for accomplishment of that behalf, was supplied shortly after by *Peter Martyr*, who abundantly and substantially hath overthrowen that Book in his learned Definition of the Truth, against the false Sophistical Defence of *Marcellus* aforesaid.

Besides these Books above cited of this Archbishop, divers other things there were also of his doing, as the

Book of the Reformation, the Catechism, with the Book of Homilies, whereof part was by him contrived, part by his procurement approved and published. Whereunto also may be adjoined another Writing or Confutation of his against 58 Articles by the Convocation devised and propounded, but yet not ratified nor received in the reign and time of King *Henry* the Eighth.

And thus much hitherto concerning the doings and travels of this Archbishop of *Canterbury*, during the lives both of *K. Henry* and of *K. Edward* his Son. Which two Kings so long as they continued, this Archbishop lacked no day of maintenance against all his maligners.

Afterward, this King *Edward*, a Prince of most worth towards, falling sick, when he perceived that his death was at hand, and the force of his painful Disease would not suffer him to live longer, and knowing that his Sister *Mary* was wholly devoted to Popish Religion, bequeathed the Succession of this Realm to the Lady *Jane* a Lady of great Birth, but of greater Learning, being Nice to King *Henry* the Eighth by his Sister; by consent of the Council and Lawyers of this Realm. To this Testament of the Kings, when all the Nobles of the Realm, States and Judges had subscribed; they sent for the Archbishop, and required him that he would subscribe. But he excusing himself on this manner, said, that it was otherwise in the Testament of King *Henry* his Father, and that he had sworn to the Succession of *Mary*, as then the next Heir, by which Oath he was so bound, that without manifest Perjury he could not go from it. The Council answered, that they were not ignorant of that, and that they had Conference as well as he and moreover, that they were sworn to that Testament, and therefore he should not think there was any danger therein, or that he should be in more peril of Perjury than the rest.

To this the Archbishop answered, that he was judge of no mans Conscience but his own; and therefore as he would not be prejudicial to others, so he would not permit his Conscience unto other mens faith, or call himself into danger, being that every man should give account of his own Conscience, and not of others men. And as concerning Subscription, before he had spoken with the King himself, he utterly refused to do it.

The King therefore being demanded of the Archbishop concerning this matter, said, That the Nobles and Lawyers of the Realm counselled him unto it, and that he should be as they. To which the Archbishop answered, that he would do nothing less, but that this Lady *Jane* might succeed him as Heir, and the People without danger acknowledge her as their Queen. When then demanding leave of the King, that he might first talk with certain Lawyers that were in the Court; when they all agreed that by Law of the Realm it might be so, returning to the King, with much noise he subscribed.

Well, not long after this King *Edward* died, being almost sixteen years old, to the great sorrow, but greater calamity of the whole Realm. After whose decease immediately it was commanded that the Lady *Jane* (which was unwilling thereunto) should be proclaimed Queen. Which thing much disliked the Common People, not that they did so much favour *Mary*, before whom they saw the Lady *Jane* preferred, as for the hatred conceived against her, whom they could not favour.

Besides these other Causes there happened also of Difficultie between the Nobles and the Commons the same time, for what injuries of Commons and Enclosures wrongfully holden, with other inordinate pollings and uncharitable dealing between the Landlords and Tenants, I cannot tell. But in treating the matter fell out that *Mary* hearing of the death of her Brother, and shifting for herself, was satisfied by the Commons, that effusions the prevailed, who being established in the possession of the Realm, not long after came to London, and after the had caused first the two Fathers, the Duke of *Northumberland*, and the Duke of *Stafford*, to be executed, (as is above remembered) likewise the caused the Lady *Jane*, being both in Age tender, and innocent from this Crime after the could by no means be turned from the constancy of her Faith, together with her Husband, to be beheaded.

The rest of the Nobles paying measures, forgive the Archbishop of *Canterbury* only excepted. Who though he desired pardon (by means of his friends) could obtain none;

in me, non mea? The Church fith, What make you here in my heritage? from whence came ye? The Scripture is true Succession? I am right: Their thereof: I hold it by true Succession of the Apostles; for as the Apostles required me to hold, so I hold it. The Apostles have received me, and put me in my Rights, and have rejected you as Barbars, having no Title thereunto.

Alfo ye will deny that ye have fallen by Aposdye, by breaking your Vow; and so *Figilianus* fall, inasmuch that he would admit none to his Ministry, but those that had their Wives bagged with Children. What need Shall we say that *Figilianus* did not fall therefore? Did *Donatus* and *Necetas* fall, because they fild fo, and brought Scripture for their defence? Then let us believe as we list, pretending well, and say fo; nay, there is no man fo blind that will say fo? For except the Church, which condemneth them for their fay fo, do approve us for to do fo, then will they condemn you also. So that your denial will not stand. And therefore I tell you, remember from whence ye are fallen, and how long ye fall, fall, if you will on ye as you do begin. But I trust you will not continue, but revive your fall in time, and the remedy followed.

* Age penitentie, & prima opera fac. for by fith means as ye have fallen, ye will rise again. Firft, your heart hath fallen, then your tongue and your pen, and belides your own damage, hath caused many more to fall. Therefore, first your heart must turn, and then shall the tongue and the pen be quickly turned; *Sin minus, vnam tibi cito, & moxuo Candelabrum tuum de loco suo.*

I need not reach you a method to turn; you know the need to your self. But I would God I could but exhort you to the right and truth, then the way should be found out. For if ye remember how many ye have brought by abominable Heresie into the way of Perdition, I doubt not but very Confiance would move you as much for them as for your self, to come again. And so would you spare neither tongue nor pen, if your heart were once reformed, for as touching that pointish Holy Ghost toucheth their hearts very near by the mouth of his holy Prophet *Ezekiel*, when he requirith the blood of his flock at the Priests hands, for lack of good and wholsom food. How much more should this touch your guilty heart, having over much diligence to teach them the way of Perdition, and feeding them with baggage and corrupt food, which is Heresie. *Qui convertere fecerit peccatum ab errore vitæ sue, salvum faciet animam suam a morte, & operiet multitudinem peccatorum suorum.* He that shall convert a sinner from his wicked life, shall save his soul from death, and shall cover the multitude of sins. So that if it be true that he, who converteth a sinner, (saith a soul), then the contrary must needs be true, that he that perverteth a soul, and teacheth him the way of Perdition, must needs be damned.

Origenes *super Paulum ad Romanos*; The damnation of those that preach Heresie doth increase to the day of Judgment. The more that perish by heretical doctrine, the more grievous shall their torment be, that minister fith doctrine. *Berengarius*, who felled to fear that danger, provided for it in his life, but not without a troubled and disquieted Conscience. He did not only repent, but recant, and not so much for himself, as for them whom he had with most plentiful Heresie infected. For as he lay in his Death-bed upon *Ephraim*-day, he demanded of them that were present, if this (saith he) was the way of Heresie, and appearing of the Lord? They answered him, Yea. Then (saith he) this day shall the Lord appear to me, either to my comfort, or to my discomfort. This remore argueth, that he feared the danger of them whom he had taught, and led out of the Faith of Christ. Origenes upon him fith in this wise; *Although his own blood was not upon his head, for that he did repent, & was sorry for the former errors, yet being converted, he feared the blood of them whom he had infected, and who received his doctrine.*

Let this move you even at the last point. Inasmuch as your case is not unlike to *Berengarius*, let your repentance be like also. And what should fay you (tell me) from this godly return? Fear that ye have gone so far, ye may not return? nay, then I may say as *David* said, *Uc*

repredicant ubi non erat timor. Ye fear where ye have no cause to fear. For if ye repent and be heartily sorry for your former Heresie and Aposdye, need not to fear. For as God of his part is merciful and gracious to the repentant sinner, fo is the King, fo is the Queen, merciful, which ye may well perceive by your own case, since ye might have suffered a great while ago for Treason committed against her Highness, but that ye have been inspired and relieved upon hope of amendment, which the conceived very good of you, but none (as it fometimes) is but a very delusive hope. And what do you thereby? *Secundum duritiam cordis thesaurizat tibi iram in die ire;* A. According to the hardness of your heart ye treasure up to your self anger in the day of wrath.

Well, what is it then if fear do not hinder you? Shame, to unfith that that you have said? Nay, it is no shame, unless you think it shame to agree with the true and the Catholic Church of Christ. And if that be shame, then blame *S. Paul*, who persecuted the Disciples of Christ with the Sword; then blame *S. Peter*, who denied his Master Christ with an Oath, that he never knew him. *S. Cyprian* before his return being a Witch; *S. Aspin* being nine years out of the Church: They thought it no shame after their return that they had returned. Shall it then be shame for you to convert and confess with the Church of Christ? No, no.

What is it then that doth let you? Glory of the world? nay, as for the vanity of the world, I for my part judge not in you, being a man of learning, and knowing your estate.

And as for the loss of your estimation, it is ten to one that where you were Archbishop of *Canterbury*, and Metropolitan of *England*, is ten to one (I say) that ye shall be as well fild, yea, and rather better. But all that for the winning of good men, there is no doubt but that as that be present, and the whole Congregation of Christs Church also will more rejoice of your return, than they were for your fall. And as for the other, ye need not to doubt, for they shall all come after; I say the truth, if you should lose them for ever it were no force, ye should have no less thereby at all. I do not here touch them which should confirm your elevation. For in *S. Paul*, after his Conversion, was received into the Church of Christ, with wonderful joy to the whole Congregation, even fo shall you be. The fame of your return shall be spread abroad throughout all Christendom, where your face was never known.

But you will fay perhaps, your Confiance will not suffer you. My Lord, there is a good Confiance; and there is a bad Confiance. The good Confiance have not they, as *S. Paul* declareth to Timothy concerning *Hymeneus* and *Alexander*. The evil and bad Confiance is (saith *S. Cyprian*) well to be known by his mark. What mark? This Confiance is marked with the print of Heresie. This Confiance is a naughty, filthy, and a branded Confiance, which I trust is not in you. I have conceived a better hope of you than fo, or else would I never go about to persuade or exhort you. But what Confiance should you to return to the Catholic Faith and to upbraid you to that devilish and several Church? To a liberty which never had ground in the holy Scriptures: if you judge your liberty to be good, then judge you all Christendom to do evil besides you.

O what a preposterous perversion is this, upon this utterly to forsake the Church of Christ? Under what colour or pretence do you this? for the abuses? as though in your Church were no abuses: Yes that there were. And if you forsake the Universal Church for the abuses, why do you not then forsake your particular Church, and fo be flitting from one to another? That is not the next way, to slip from the Church for the abuses; for if you had seen abuses, you should rather have endeavored for a reformation than for a defection. He is a good man, who helpeth well the toothache, which cutteth away the head by the shoulders. It is more folly to amend abuses by abuses. Ye are like *Diogenes*; for *Diogenes* on a time envying the cleanliness of *Plato* said on this wise, *Ecce calce passum Platona.* *Plato* answered, *sed alio passu.* So that *Diogenes* seemed more faulty of the two.

But when we have said all that we can, peradventure you will say, I will not return. And to that I say, I will not return. Nevertheless, what Christ fith to such obstinate and flintlike people in the Parable of the Supper. When he had sent out his Men to call them in that were appointed, and they would not come, he bade his Servants go into the ways and freets, to compel men to come in. *Non est in vestra potestate* I say, to rule me, and not I you. And as *Confiance* did fo to such obstinate and flintlike people in the Parable of the Supper. When he had sent out his Men to call them in that were appointed, and they would not come, he bade his Servants go into the ways and freets, to compel men to come in. *Non est in vestra potestate* I say, to rule me, and not I you. And as *Confiance* did fo to such obstinate and flintlike people in the Parable of the Supper. 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judicate pro veritate accipitur. But proceed to your matter.

Cranmer. I will never consent to the Bishop of Rome, for then should I give my faith to the Devil; for I have made an Oath to the King, and I must obey the King by Gods Laws. By the Scripture the King is chiefest and no foreigner person in his own Realm above him. There is no Subject but to a King. I am a Subject, I owe my fidelity to the Crown. The Pope is contrary to the Crown. I cannot obey both; for to *Man* can serve two masters. I cannot obey the King, and the beginning of your Oration declared by the Sword and Keys, attributing the Keys to the Pope, and the Sword to the King. But I say the King hath both. Therefore he that is subject to *Rome*, and the Laws of *Rome*, he is perjured; for the Pope and the Judges Laws are contrary, they are uncertain and confounded.

A Priest indebted by the Laws of the Realm, shall be sued before a temporal Judge; by the Popes Laws confuted before a spiritual Judge; by the Popes Laws contrary.

The Pope doth the King injury in that he hath his power from the Pope. The King is head in his own Realm. But the Pope claimeth all Bishops, Priests, Curates, &c. So the Pope in every Realm hath a Realm.

Again, by the Laws of *Rome* the Benefice must be given by the Bishop, by the Laws of the Realm, the Patron giveth the Benefice. Hence the Laws be as contrary as Fire and Water.

No Man can by the Laws of *Rome* proceed in a *premunire*, and so is the Law of the Realm expelled, and the King findeth anciently in maintaining his own Lands. Therefore in consideration that the King and the Queen take their power of him, as though God should give it to them, there is no true subject, unless he be abrogated, for the crown is holden of him being out of the Realm.

The Bishop of *Rome* is contrary to God, and injurious to his Laws; for God commanded all Men to be diligent in the knowledge of his Law; and therefore hath appointed one Holy Day in the week at the least for the people to come to the Church and hear the Word of God expounded unto them; and that they might the better understand, to hear it in their Mother Tongue which they know. The Pope doth contrary; for he willets the Service to be had in the Latin Tongue, which they do not understand. God would have it to be perceived; the Pope will not. When the Priest giveth thanks, God would that the people should do so too; and God will them to confess altogether; the Pope will not.

Now as concerning the Sacrament, I have taught no false Doctrine of the Sacrament of the Altar: For it can be proved by any Doctor above a thousand years after Christ. Now Christ commanded all to drink of the Cup; The Pope taketh it away from the Lay Men, and yet one faith, that if Christ had died for the Devil, that he should drink. Christ biddeth us to obey the King, *etiam diligite.* The Bishop of *Rome* biddeth us to obey him; he forewilleth to be Antichrist, I cannot obey him. Wherefore if I should obey him, I cannot obey Christ.

He is like the Devil in his doings; for the Devil said to Christ; if thou wilt fall down and worship me, I will give thee all the kingdoms of the World. Thus he took upon him to give that which was not his own. Even so the Bishop of *Rome* giveth Princes their Crowns, being none of his own; for where Princes either by election either by succession, either by inheritance obtain their Crown, he saith that they should have it from him.

Christ faith, that Antichrist shall be. And who shall he be? Forsooth he that advanceth himself above all other Creatures. Now if there be none already that hath advanced himself after such sort besides the Pope, then in the mean time let him be Antichrist.

Story. Pleaseth it you to make an end?
Cranmer. For he will be the Vicar of Christ, he will dispense with the Old and New Testament also, yea and with Apostles.

Story. Pleaseth it you to make an end?
Cranmer. For he will be the Vicar of Christ, he will dispense with the Old and New Testament also, yea and with Apostles.

Now I have declared why I cannot with my conscience obey the Pope. I suspect not this for I have heard to him that now supplyeth the room, for I know him not. I pray God give him Grace not to follow his Ancestors. Neither say I this for my defence, but to declare my Confidence for the zeal that I bear to Gods Word trodden under foot by the Bishop of *Rome*. I call for a part, for Christ faith to his Apostles, that in the latter days they should suffer much sorrow, and be put to death for his names sake: for them not (faith he) but for him which when he hath killed the Body, hath power to call the Soul into fire everlasting. Alas Christ faith, that he that will live shall die, and he that loatheth his life, my Names sake, he shall find it again. Moreover he said, I will stand with you; if you think from me I will think from you. This is a comfortable and terrible saying, this maketh me to feel all fear apart. I say therefore, the Bishop of *Rome* treadeth under foot Gods Laws and the Kings.

The Pope would give Bishops; so would the King. But at the last the King got the upper hand, and he is all Bishops perjured, first to the Pope, and then to the King.

The Crown hath nothing to do with the Clergy. For if a Clerk come before a judge, the judge shall make procees against him, but not to execute any Laws. For if the judge should put him to Execution, then is the King accused in maintaining his own Laws. And there the Pope should lay faith, he is neither true to God, neither to the King, for that he received the Pope. But I hath heartily pray for the King and Queen, if they be well informed, will do well.

Martin. As you understand, then if they maintain the Supremacy of *Rome*, they cannot maintain England too.

Cran. I require you to declare to the King and Queen what I have said, and how they should stand with the Realm and the Pope. St. Gregory faith, he that taketh up on him to be head of the Universal Church, is worse than the Antichrist. If any Man can theme me, that it is not made against Gods Word to hold his stirrup when he taketh his horse, and kifs his feet (as Kings do) then will I kifs his feet also.

And you for your part, my Lord, are perjured; for the King now ye sit Judge for the Pope, and yet you did receive of the Pope your Bishoprick of the King. You have taken an oath to be adversary to the Realm; for the Popes Laws are contrary to the Laws of the Realm.

Gleesiff. You were the cause that I did forsake the Pope, and did swear that he ought not to be Supreme Head, and gave to King Henry the eighth, that he ought to be it, and this you made me to do.

Cranmer. To this I answer, said he; You report me ill, and say not the truth, and will prove it here before you all. The truth is, that my Predecessor, Bishop Warham, gave the Supremacy to King Henry the eighth, and said, that he ought to have it before the Bishop of *Rome*, and that Gods Word would bear him. And upon the same was there sent to both the Universities of *Oxford* and *Cambridge*, to know what the Word of God would say touching the Supremacy, and it was returned upon, and argued at length. So at the last both the Universities agreed, and fit to the Court, and sent it to King Henry the eighth to the Seal, that he ought to be Supreme Head of the Pope. Whereupon you were then Doctor of Divinity at that time, and your consent was thereunto, as by your mind doth appear. There you misreport me, but it was your self. All this was in Bishop Warham's time; and whilst he was alive, so that it was three quarters of a year after ere ever I had the Bishoprick of *Canterbury* in my hands, and before I might do any thing. So that here ye have reported of me that which ye cannot prove, which is evil done. All this while his cap was on his head.

Gleesiff. We come to examine you, and you might examine us.

Gleesiff. We come to examine you, and you might examine us.

Doth

Amo 156.

Doctor Stories Oration.

Story. Pleaseth it your good Lordship, because I have stated the King and Queens Majesties to appoint my companion and me to hear the Examination of this Man before your good Lordship, to give me leave somewhat to talk in that behalf. Although I know that in talk with Heretics there cometh hurt to all Men; and if it were the Redfish, I troubleth the doubtful, and taketh in flares the weak and simple; yet because he faith, he is not bound to answer your Lordship sitting for the Pope Holiness, because of a *Premunire*, and the Word of God as he temeth it; I think good somewhat to say, that all Men may see how he runneth out of his Race of Reason into the rage of common talk, such as here I trust hath done much good. And as the King and Queens Majesties will be glad to hear of your most charitable dealing with him; so will they be weary to hear the blundering of this stubborn Heretic. And where he alledgeth Divinity, mingling *fausnesque* together, he should not have been heard. For shall be sufficient to him to alledge, the Judge is not competent? Do we not see that in the Common Law it is not lawful for a Man in *Wigmore-Hall* to refuse his Judge? And shall we dispute contra eam qui negat principia? Although there be here a great company of learned Men, that know it unneed to do, yet have I here a plain Canon, wherein he declareth himself convicted *ipso facto*. The Canon is this. *Sic ergo ruina vix dolore prostratus quisque Apostolicus voluerit contraire decreta, nec locum deinceps inter Sacerdotes habeat, sed exors a sancto fiat minister, ne de eius judicio quinquam posthac curam habeat, quin jam debeat a sancto & Apostolica Ecclesia sua interdicere, et prelatumque a consensu esse non habere. Qui majoris excommunicationis dejectione est obstrictus, cuiuslibet Ecclesie commissa fuerit disciplina, qui non solum iustissimum prelatum sanctae Ecclesiae parere debuit, sed etiam alios ne praevarium infamare. Siquis alienus a divinis & pontificalibus officiis, qui noluisset preceptis Apostolicis obtemperare.*

He hath alledged many matters against the Supremacy, but maliciously. Ye say that the King in his Realm is supreme head of the Church. Well Sir, you will grant me that there was a perfect Catholic Church before any King was christened. Then if I were a perfect Church, it must needs have a head, which must needs be before any King was member thereof; for you know Constantine the Emperor was the first christened King that ever was. And although you are bound (as Saint Paul faith) to obey your Rulers, and Kings have rule of the people, yet doth it not follow that they have care of Soules; for *fortiori* the head may do that the Minister cannot do; but the Priest may consecrate, and the King cannot, therefore the King is not head.

It was inflicted by Christ to every Man to bring into the sheepfold, and to augment the flock, but not to rule, for that was only given to Peter.

And where the Apostles do call upon Men to obey their Princes, *cui tributum, tributum, cui velle, velle*; they perceiving that Men were bent to a kind of liberty and disobedience, were enforced to exhort them to obedience and payment of their tribute, which exhortation extendeth only to temporal matters.

And again, where you say that the Bishop of *Rome* maketh Laws contrary to the Laws of the Realm, that is not true; for this is a maxim in the Law; *Quod in particulari excipitur non facit universale falsum*.

Now as touching that monstrous tale of your Confession, that the Pontificatus that ye profess; but *privata conscientia, electio et scilicet*. And as yet for all your glorious babble, you have not proved by Gods Laws that ye ought not to answer the Popes Holiness.

The Canons which received of all Christendom compel you to answer, therefore you are bound to do so. And although this Realm of late time, through such Shiftmasks as you were, hath exhibited banished the Canons, yet that cannot make for you. For you know your self, that *Par in parem, nec pars in totum aliquid statueret potest*. Wherefore this lie, being indeed but a member of the whole, could not determine

against the whole. That notwithstanding the same Laws; being put away by Parliament, are now received again by a Parliament; and have as full authority now as they had then, and they will now give ye answer to the Popes Holiness; therefore by the Laws of this Realm you are bound to answer him. Wherefore, my good Lord, all that this *Thomas Arundel* (I cannot otherwise term him, considering his disobedience) hath brought for his defence, shall nothing prevail with you, nor take any effect. Require him therefore to answer directly to your good Lordship, command him to fit aside his tricks, and to be obedient to the Laws and Ordinances of this Realm. Take witness here of his stubborn contempt against the King and Queens Majesties, and compel him to answer directly to such Articles as we shall here lay against him, and in refusal, your good Lordship is to excommunicate him.

As soon as Doctor Story had thus ended his tale, begun Doctor Martin again to enter speech with the Archbishop; which talk I thought here likewise not to let pass, although the report of the same be such, as the Author thereof seemeth in his writings very partial; for as he expoundeth the speech of Dr. Martin at full, to the uttermost of his diligence, leaving out nothing in that part, that either was or could be said more; or again on the other part, how raw and weak he leaveth the matter, it is easy to perceive, who neither comprehendeth all that Doctor Cranmer again answered for his defence, nor yet in those loose speeches which he expoundeth, seemeth to discharge the part of a sincere and faithful reporter. Notwithstanding such as it is, I thought good to let the Reader understand, who in perusing the same, may use therein his own judgment and consideration.

Talk between Doctor Martin and the Archbishop.

After Cranmer, ye have told there a long glorious tale, pretending some matter of Confidence in appearance, but in verity you have no Confidence at all. You say that you have sworn once to King Henry the eighth against the Pope's jurisdiction, and therefore you may never forfeit the same; and so ye make a great matter of Confidence in the breach of the said Oath. Here will I ask you a question or two. What if ye made an Oath to an Harlot, to live with her in continual adultery, ought you to keep it?

Cran. I think no.

Martin. What if you did swear never to lend a poor Man one penny, ought you to keep it?

Cran. I think not.

Martin. Herod did swear whatsoever his Harlot asked of him he would give her, and he gave her Judas Baptists head; Did he well in keeping his Oath?

Cran. I think not.

Martin. So faith Saint Ambrose of officio, *Miserabilis necessitas, quae solvitur perniciid, id est*, it is a miserable necessity, which is paid with perdition. Then Master Cranmer you can no less content by the premise; but that you ought not to have Confidence of every Oath, but if it be just, lawful, and advantage taken.

Cran. So was that Oath.

Martin. That is not so, for first it was unjust, for it tended to the taking away of another man's right; it was not lawful, for the Laws of God and the Church were against it. Besides, it was not voluntary; for every Man and Woman were compelled to take it.

Cran. It pleaseth you to say so.

Martin. Let all the World be judge. But Sir, you pretend to have such a Confidence to break an Oath, I pray you did you never fear and break the same?

Cran. I remember not.

Martin. I will help your Memory. Did you never swear Obedience to the Sec of *Rome*?

Cranmer. Indeed I did once swear unto the same.

Martin.

Arch. Yes, that you did twice, as appears by records and writings here ready to be shewed.

Cram. But I remember I faved all by protection that I made by the Council of the best learned Men I could get at that time.

Mart. Hearken good people what this Man faith. He made a protection one day, to keep never a whit of that which he would fear the next day was this part of a Christian Man? If a Christian Man would bargain with a Turk and before he maketh his bargain gloriously, before witness reacheth in his paper that he holdeth forcibly in his hand, or peradventure protesteth before one or two, that he mindeth not to perform whatsoever he shall promise to the Turk; I say, if a Christian Man should serve a Turk in this manner, if the Christian Man were worse then the Turk. What would you then say to this Man that made a Solemn Oath and promise unto God and his Church, made a protection before any contrary?

Cram. That which I did, I did by the best learned Mens advice I could get at that time.

Mart. I protest before all the learned Men here, that there is no learning will save your perjury herein; that there be two Rules of the Civil Law clean contrary to your perjury, and so brought forth his Rules, which being done he proceeded further. But will you have the truth of the matter, King Henry the eighth even meant the lamentable change which after you came to passand to further his pitiful proceedings from the divorcement of his most lawful wife, to the detestable departing from the blessed Unity of Gods Church, this Man made the foresaid protections; and on the other side, he letted not to make two Solemn Oaths quite contrary, and whyfor otherwise by the Laws and Canons of this Realm, he could not aspire to the Archbishopric of Canterbury.

Cram. I protest before you all, there was never Man made more unwillingly to a Bishopric, then I did to that. Informeth that when King Henry did find me in pop, that I should come over, I prolonged my journey for seven weeks at the least, thinking that he would be forgetful of me in the mean time.

Mart. You declare well by the way that the King took you to be a Man of good Conscience, who could not find within all his Realm any Man that would set forth his frange attempts, by what was informed to fend you in pop to come out of Germany. What may we conclude hereby, but that there was a compact between you being then Queen Anns Chaplain, and the King; Give me the Archbishopric of Canterbury, and I will give you licence to live in adultery.

Cram. You say not true.

Martin. Let your protection joyed with the rest of your talk, give judgment. *Hinc prima malitiae.* Of that your execrable perjury, and his coloured and too shamefully sufficed adultery, came Heretic and all mischief to this Realm.

And thus have I spoken as touching the Conscience you make for breaking your Heretical Oath made to the King. But to break your former Oath made at two sundry times both to God and his Church, you have no Conscience at all. Answer now to answer another part of my Oration, wherein you bring in Gods Word, that you have it on your side and no Man else, and that the Pope hath devised a New Scripture contrary to the Scripture of God; ye play herein as the Pharisees did, which cried always, *Verbum Domini.* Verbum Domini, The Word of the Lord, the Word of the Lord, when they give you have Gods Word for you; for, *Basilides* and *Pharisees* the Heretics said, that they had Gods Word to maintain their Heresies. So *Nicetas* *Macedonius* *Pelagius*, and briefly, all the Heretics that ever were, pretended that they had Gods Word for themselves, and so the Devil being the Father of Heresies, alleged Gods Word for him, saying, *Scriptum est*, It is written: So said he to Christ, *Mitte te dorsum.* Cast thy self downward, which you applied most fully against the Pope. But if you mark the Devils Language well, it agreed with your proceedings most truly. For, *Mitte te dorsum*, Cast thy self downward, said he, and so

taught you to cast all things downward. Down with Anno the Sacrament, down with the Mass, down with the Altars, down with the Arms of Church, and up with a Lion and a Dog, down with the Abbots, down with the Chauntries, down with Hospitals and Colleges, down with fasting and Prayer, ye down with with all that Good and Godly is. All your proceedings and preachings, tended no other, but to fulfill the Devils last request, *Mitte te dorsum.* And therefore tell not us, that you have Gods Word. For God hath given us by his Holy Word a mark to know that your teaching proceeded not in the name of God, but of the Devil, and that your Doctrine came not of Christ but of Antichrist, which is the Devil; there should come against his Church, *Lupi rapacesque*, Raving Wolves, and *Pseudoprophetae*, id est, False Apollies. But how should we know them? Christ teacheth us, saying, *Ex fructibus eorum cognoscetis eos*, id est, Whosoever shall be their fruits ye shall know them. Why, what shall be their fruits? Saint Paul declareth; *Post carum in populo concupiscentia, & immunditia ambulat: persequitur homicidia, &c.* After the Flesh they walk in concupiscentia and uncleanness; they contend Populorum, *Agunt in diebus novissimis erant pericula tempora, erant scissio amantia, cupiditas, doli, immiserationis pericula, &c.* In the latter days there shall be periculous times. Then shall there be Men loving themselves, covetous, proud, disobedient to parents, Treasoners. Whether these be not the fruits of your Gospel, I refer me to this Worships Audience; who then the said Gospel began not with perjury, proceeded with Adultery, was maintained with Heresie, and ended in Conspiracy.

Now Sir, two points more I marked in your raging discourse that you made here against the Holy Sacrament; the one against the Popes jurisdiction, and the Authority of the See Apostolicke.

Touching the first, ye say you have Gods Word for this, you, ye, and all the Doctors. I would here ask but one of you, whether Gods Word be contrary to this, and whether the Doctors teach contrary to this, or whether they or no? For your Matter Crammer have taught in this High Sacrament of the Altar three contrary Doctrines, and yet you pretended in every one; *Verum Domini.*

Cram. Nay, I taught but two contrary Doctrines in the same.

Mart. What Doctrine taught you when you Condemned Lamberts the Sacramentary in the Kings presence in *Whitchell*.

Crammer. I maintained then the Popish Doctrine.

Mart. That is to say, the Catholic and Universal Doctrine of Christs Church. And how when King Henry was dead? did you not translate *Julius Junas* Book?

Cram. I did so.

Mart. Then there you defended another Doctrine touching the Sacrament, by the same token, that you sent to *Lynn* your Printer, that whereas in the first print there was an affirmative, that is to say Christs Body really in the Sacrament, you sent then to your Printer to put in a *no*, whereby it came miraculously to pass, that Christs Body was clean conveyed out of the Sacrament.

Cram. I remember there were two Printers of my said Book, but where the same *no* was put in, I cannot tell.

Martin. Then from a *Lutheran* ye became a *Swing*, which is the vilest Heresie of all in this High-Worship of the Sacrament, and for the same Heresie you did help to burn *Lambert* the Sacramentary, which you now call the Catholic Faith, and Gods Word.

Crammer. I grant that then I believed otherwise then I do now, and so I did, untill my Lord of *London*, Doctor *Ridley*, did confer with me, and by sundry perverfions and authorities of Doctors drew me quite from my own opinion.

Martin. Now Sir, as touching the last part of your argument, you denied that the Popes Holiness was Supreme Head of the Church of Christ.

Cram. I did so.

Mart. Who say you then is Supreme Head?

Cram. Christ.

Mart.

Mart. But whom hath Christ left here in Earth his Vicar and head of his Church?

Cram. No body.

Mart. Ah, why told you not King Henry this when you made his Supreme Head and now ye say this? This is Treason against his own person as you then made him.

Cram. I mean not but every King in his own Realm and Dominion is Supreme Head, and so was he Supreme Head of the Church of Christ in England.

Mart. Is this always true and was it ever so in Christs Church?

Cram. It was so.

Mart. Then what say you by *Nero*? He was the mightiest Prince of the Earth after Christ was ascended: Was he Head of Christs Church?

Cram. *Nero* was Peter's Head.

Mart. I ask whether *Nero* was Head of the Church or no? if he were not, it is false that you said before that all Princes be, and ever were Heads of the Church within their Realm.

Cram. Nay, it is true, for *Nero* was Head of the Church: that is, in worldly respects, and of temporal Beasts of Men, of whom the Church consisteth; for so he beheaded Peter and the Apollies. And the Turk too is Head of the Church in Turkey.

Mart. Then he that beheaded the Heads of the Church, and Crucified the Apollies, was Head of Christs Church; and he that was never member of the Church, is Head of the Church, by your new found understanding of Gods Word.

¶ It is not to be supposed contrary, but much other men passed in this Communication between them especially on the Archbishops behalf. Whose answer I dont think to be so slender, nor altogether in the same form of words framed; if the truth be it was, might be known: but so it pleased the Notary thereof, being too much partially addicted to his Mother See of Rome in falsification of his fiction, to diminish and drive down the order of his father in not false, or in reporting, the thing otherwise than it was; as the common guide is of most Writers, to what side their affection most weigheth, their Oration commonly inclineth. But let us proceed further in the Story of this matter.

It followed then (faith this reporter) when the Archbishop thus had answered, and the Bishops by that to pursue against him; he judges not content with his Answers, willed him to answer directly to the Interrogatories; which Interrogatories articulated against him in form of Law, were these under following.

Interrogatories objected to the Archbishop, with his Answers annexed to the same.

1. *Interrog.* First was objected, that he the foresaid *Thomas Crammer*, being yet free, and before he entered into Holy Orders, married one *Jean*, furnished black or brown, dwelling at the sign of the Dolphin in *Cambridge*.

Answer. Whereunto he answered, that whether he was called black or brown, he knew not, but that he married there one *Jean*, that he granted.

2. *Interrog.* That after the death of the foresaid wife, he entered into holy Orders, and after that was made Archbishop by the Pope.

Answer. He received (he said) a certain Bull of the Pope, which he delivered unto the King, and was Archbishop by him.

3. *Inter.* Item, that he being in Holy Orders, married another Woman as his second Wife, named *Anns*, and so was twice married.

Answer. To this he granted.

4. *Interrog.* Item, in the time of King Henry the eighth, he kept the said wife secretly, and had Children by her.

Answer. Herunto he also granted; affirming that it was better for him to have his own, than to do like other Priests, holding and keeping other Mens Wives.

5. *Inter.* Item, in the time of King Edward he brought out the said Wife openly, affirming and protesting publicly the same to be his Wife.

Answer. He denied not but he so did, and lawfully might

do the same, forasmuch as the Laws of the Realm did so permit him.

6. *Interrog.* Item, that he flamed not openly to glory himself to have had his Wife in secret many years.

Answer. And though he so did (he said) there was no cause why he should be ashamed thereof.

7. *Inter.* Item, that the said *Thomas Crammer* falling after into the deep bottom of errors, did flie and refuse the Authority of the Church, did hold and follow the Heresie concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, and also did complicate said to be set abroad divers Books.

Answer. Whereunto when the names of the Books were recited to him, he denied not such Books which he was the Author of. As touching the treatise of *Peter Martyr* upon the Sacrament, he denied that he ever saw it before it was abridged; yet did approve and well like of the same. As for the Catching the Book of Articles, with the other Book against *Windscheller*, he granted the same to be his doing.

8. *Inter.* Item, that he compelled many against their wills to subscribe to the same Articles.

Answer. He exhorted (he said) such as were willing to subscribe, but against their wills he compelled none.

9. *Inter.* Item, forasmuch as he furnished not to perpetrate enorm and inordinate crimes, he was therefore cast into the Tower, and from thence was brought to *Oxford*, at what time it was commonly thought that the Parliament there should be held the Church.

Answer. To this he said, that he knew no such enorm and inordinate crimes that ever he committed.

10. *Inter.* Item, that in the said City of *Oxford* he did not openly maintain his heresie, and there was convicted upon the same; he said.

Answer. He defended (he said) there the cause of the Sacrament, but that he was convicted in the same, that he denied.

11. *Inter.* Item, when he perverted first in the same, he was by the public censure of the University pronounced an Heretic, and his Books to be Heretical.

Answer. That he was so denounced, he denied not; but that he was an Heretic, or his Books Heretical, that he denied.

12. *Inter.* Item, that he was and is notoriously infamous with the note of Schism, as who not only himself receded from the Catholic Church and See of Rome, but also moved the King and Subjects of this Realm to the same.

Answer. As touching the receding, that he well granted; but that receding or departing (said he) was only from the See of Rome, and had in it no matter of any Schism.

13. *Inter.* Item, that he had been twice from to the Pope; and withal Doctor *Martin* brought out the instrument of the public Notary, wherein was contained his protestation made when he should be consecrated, asking if he had any thing else protested.

Answer. Whereunto he answered, that he did nothing but by the Laws of the Realm.

14. *Inter.* Item, that he the said Archbishop of Canterbury did not only offend in the premises, but also in taking upon him the Authority of the See of Rome, in taking without leave or licence from the said See, he consecrated Bishops and Priests.

Answer. He granted, that he did execute such things as were wont to be referred to the Pope; what time it was permitted to him by the Publick Laws and determination of the Realm.

15. *Inter.* Item, that when the whole Realm had subscribed to the Authority of the Pope, he only still persisted in his error.

Answer. That he did not admit the Popes Authority, he confessed to be true. But that he erred in the same, that he denied.

16. *Inter.* Item, that all and singular the premises be true.

Answer. That likewise he granted, excepting those things whereunto he had now answered.

After he had thus answered to the objections aforesaid, and the public Notary had entered the same, the Judges and Commissioners, as having now accomplished that whereto they came, were about to rise up and depart. But the Bishop of *Gloucester* thinking it not the best so to dismiss the people, being somewhat stirred with the

words

all things being indifferently examined, both the Articles laid to his charge, with the answers made unto them, and Winclif examined on both parts, and Council heard as well on the King and Queens behalf, his Accusers, as on the behalf of *Thomas Cranmer*, the party guilty, for that he wanted nothing appearing to his necessity, defence, &c. Which forsaide Commission, as it was in reading: Oh Lord, said the Archbishop, what Lies be these, that I have continually in Prison, and never could be suffered to have counsel or advocate at home, should produce to witnesse and appoint my counsel at *Rome*? God must needs punish this open and shameless lying. They read upon the Commission which came from the Pope, *Plenitudo potestatis*, (supplying all manner of defects in Archbishops, or Priests), committed in dealing with the Archbishop, and giving them full authority to proceed to deprivation and degradation of them, and so upon Excommunication to deliver him up to the secular Power, *Omnis appellatio remota*.

When the Commission was read, though they proceeding thereupon to his degradation, first cleansed and disfigured him, putting on him a Surplice, and then an Albe; after that a Velfment of a Subdeacon, and every other furniture, as a Priest ready to Mass.

When they had apparished him so? What, said he, I think I shall say Mass: Yes, said *Cuthbert* one of *Bowers* Chaplains, my Lord, I trust to see you say Mass for all this. Do you say, quoth he? that shall you never see, nor will I ever do it.

Then they invested him in all manner of robes of a Bishop and Archbishop, as he is in his Infatiable saying that at every thing there is most rich costly, to every thing in this of Canvas and old Cloths, with a Mitre and a Pall of the same fine done upon him in mockery, and then the Crozier-fall was put in his hand.

This done after the Popes Pontifical form and manner, *Bower*, who by the face of many years had borne, as it seemed, no great good will towards him, and now rejoiced to see this day wherein he might triumph over him, and take his pleasure at full, began to stretch out his eloquence, making his Oration to the Assembly after this manner of words.

This is the Man that hath ever defiled the Popes Holiness, and now is to be judged by him. This is the Man that hath pulled down from many Churches, and now is come to be judged in a Church. This is the Man that contemned the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, and now hanging over the Altar. This is the Man that like *Lucifer* late in the place of Christ upon an Altar to judge other, and now is come before an Altar to be judged himself.

Whereupon the Archbishop interrupting him said, that in that he belied him, as he did in many other things: For that which he would now seem to charge him withal, was his own fault, if it was any, and none of his. For the thing you mean, was in *Pauls Church* (said he) where I came to sit in Commission, and there was a Scaffold prepared for me and others, by you and your Officers, and whether there were any Altar under it or not, I could not perceive it, nor once suspected it, wherefore you do wittingly evil to charge me with it.

But *Bower* went on still in his Rhetoric, repeating, lying and railing against the Archbishop, beginning every sentence with, This is the Man, this is the Man, till at length there was never a Man but was weary of his unmanly usage of him in that time and place: In sum, that the Bishop of *Ely* afterward divers times pulled him by the sleeve to make an end, and bid him stand after when they went to Dinner, that he had broken promise with him: for he had intreated him earnestly to use him with reverence.

After all this done and finished, they began then to buitle toward his degrading, and first to take from him his Crozier-fall out of his hands, which he held fast and refused to deliver, and vithal, imitating the example of *Martin Luther*, pulled an Appout of his left Sleeve Altar under the writ, which he there and then delivered unto them, laying, I appeal to the next General Council; and herein I have comprehended my cause and form of it, which I desire may be admitted, and prayed divers of

the flanders by, by name to be witnesses, and especially *Mr. Cartwright*, to whom he spoke twice &c. The Copy of which his appellation, because it was not printed before, I thought here to exhibit, *ad rei memoriam*, as in form here followeth.

The tenor of the Appeal of the Archbishop of Canterbury from the Pope, to the next General Council.

In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost.

First, my plain Protestation made, that I intend to speak nothing against one holy Catholic and Apostolical Church, or the Authority thereof (which Authority I have in great reverence, and to whom my mind is inclined to obey) and if any thing peradventure, either by slipperiness of Tongue, or by indignation of abuses, or else by the provocation of mine Adversaries be spoken or done otherwise than well, or not with full reverence as becometh me, I am most ready to amend it.

Although the Bishop of *Rome* (whom they call Pope) beareth the room of Christ in Earth, and hath authority of God, yet by that power or authority he is not become unfathomable, neither hath he received that power to do all things, but to edifie the Congregation. Therefore if he shall command any thing that is not right to be done, he ought to take it patiently and in good part, in case he be not therein obeyed. And he must not be obeyed, if he command any thing against the Precepts of God: no, rather he may lawfully be resisted, even as *Paul* withstood *Peter*. And if he being aided by Princes, decreed percerchance by false suggestion, or with evil counsel, cannot be resisted, but the remedies of withstanding him be taken away, there is nevertheless one remedy of appealing (which to Princes can take away) and uttered by the very Law of Nature: forasmuch as it is a certain degree, which is meet for every body by the Law of God, of Nature, and of Man.

And whereas the Laws do permit a man to appeal not only from the griefs and injuries done, but also from such as shall be done hereafter, or threatened to be done, inasmuch that the inferior cannot make Laws of his own appealing to a superior Power; and since it is openly confessed, that a holy General Council, lawfully gathered together in the Holy Ghost, and representing the holy Catholic Church, is above the Pope, especially in matters concerning Faith; that he cannot make Decree: that men shall not appeal from him to a General Council: therefore I *Thomas Cranmer*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, or in time past Ruler of the Metropolitane Church of *Canterbury*, Doctor in Divinity, do say and publish before you the publick Notary and witnesses here present, with mind and intent to challenge and appeal from the persons and griefs underneath written, and to proffer my self in place and time convenient and meet, to prove the Articles that follow. And I openly confess, that I would lawfully have published them before this day, if I might have had either liberty to come abroad my self, or licence of a Notary and Witnesses. But further than I am able to do, I know well is not required of the Laws.

First, I say and publish, that *James* by the mercy that is of God, Priest, called Cardinal of the *Palace*, and of the title of our Lady in the way of the Church of *Rome*, Judge and Commisary specially deputed of our most noble Lord the Pope (as he afterwards) caused me to be cited to *Rome* where to appear fourteene days after the date of this citation, to make answer to certain Articles touching the pret of my fate and life. And whereas I was kept in Prison with most trait Ward, so that I could not in no wise be suffered to go to *Rome*, nor to come out of prison, and in so grievous causes concerning fate and life, no man is bound to send a Proctor, and though I would never so fain (and my Proctor, yes, by reason of poverty) I am not able (soall that ever I had, where-with I should bear my Proctors costs and charges, is quite taken from me) nevertheless the most reverend Cardinal aforesaid doth threaten me that whether I shall appear or not, he will nevertheless proceed in judgment against me: Wherein I feel my self to grieved, that nothing can be imagined more mischievous or further from reason.

Secondly, the reverend Father *James Brooks*, by the mercy of God Bishop of *Glocester*, Judge and under deputy (as he afterwards) of the most reverend Cardinal, caused me to be cited at *Oxford* (where I was then kept in prison) to answer to certain Articles, concerning the danger of my fate and life. And when I being unlearned and ignorant in the Laws, desired Council of the learned in the Law, that thing was most unrighteously denied me, contrary to the equity of all Laws both of God and Man. Wherein again I feel me most wrongfully grieved.

And when I refused the Bishop of *Glocester* to be my Judge, for most just causes, which I then declared, he nevertheless went on fill, and made process against me, contrary to the rule of the laws of appealing, which say, *I Judge that is refused ought not to proceed in the cause, but to leave off*. And when he had required of me answers to certain Articles, I refused to make him any answer: I said I would yet gladly make answer to the most renowned Kings and Queens deputies or attorneys mine answer should be extrajudicial, and that was permitted me. And with this my protestation made and admitted, I made answer; but mine answer was sudden and unprovided for: and therefore I desired to have a copy of mine answers, that I might put to some other change, and amend them; and this was also permitted me. Nevertheless, contrary to my promise made unto me, nor to my protestation, nor licence given to amend mine answer, the said reverend Father Bishop of *Glocester* (as I hear) commanded mine answers to be enacted (and so) by the force of the Law. In which thing again I feel me much grieved.

Furthermore, I could not for many causes admit the Bishop of *Rome* usurped Authority in this Realm, nor consent to it: For my Solemn Oath letting me, which I made in the time of King *Henry* the eighth, of most noble memory, according to the Laws of *England* and *Scotland*, is, because I knew the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome* which I usurped, to be against the Crown, Customs, and Laws of this Realm of *England*, inasmuch that neither the King can be Crowned in this Realm, without the consent of the Bishop, nor the Bishop can be consecrated, without the consent of the King: and the most grievous crime of *Heretic*, to be against the laws and customs of this Realm, except by the Bishop of *Rome* Authority, be accused both the King and Queen, the Judges, Writers, and Executors of the Laws and Customs, with all that consent to them. Finally, the whole Realm shall be accused.

Moreover, that heinous and usurped Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, through reservations of the Bishops, Provisions, Annates, Dispensations, Pardons, Aids, and other cursed merchandise of *Rome*, was wont exceedingly to spoil and confine the riches and subsistence of this Realm, all which things should follow again by recouping and receiving of that usurped Authority unto the unmeasurable loss of this Realm.

Finally, it is most evident by that usurped Authority, not only the Crown of *England* to be under keys, but the Laws and Customs of this Realm to be thrown down and trodden under foot, but also the most Holy Decrees of Councils, together with the precepts both of the Gospel and of God.

When in times past the Sun of righteousness being risen in the World, Christian Religion by the preaching of the Apostles began to be spread very far abroad and to flourish, inasmuch that their found went out into all the World; innumerable People, which walked in darkness, saw a great light, Gods glory every where published did flourish, the only care and care of the Ministers of the Church was purely and sincerely to preach Christ to the People to imbrace and follow Christs Doctrine. Then bursall of old which were Lady of the World, both Churches, as much as then the first begat to Christ, furnished with the food of pure Doctrine, did help them with their riches, favoured the oppressed, and was a sanctuary for the miserable, the rejoiced with them that rejoiced, and wept with them that wept. Then by the examples of the Bishops of *Rome*, riches were despised, worldly glory and pomp was trodden under foot, pleasures

and riot nothing regarded. Then this frail and uncertain life, being full of miseries, was laughed to scorn, whiles through the example of Romish Marys, men in every where pressed forward to the life to come. But afterward when the ungratified of damnable ambition, never satisfied avarice, and the horrible enormities of vices laid corrupted and taken the See of *Rome*; there followed every where almost the deformities of all Churches growing out of kind into the manners of other Churches, whiles, leaving their former innocency and purity, and slipping into foul and heinous ufages.

For the aforesaid and many other guifts and abuses (which I intend to prove, and do proffer my self in time convenient to prove hereafter) fine reformation of the above mentioned abuses is not to be looked for of the Bishop of *Rome*, neither can I hope by reason of his wicked abuses and Usurped Authority, to have him an equal judge in his own cause: therefore I do challenge and appeal in these writings from the Pope, having no good Council; and from the above named prelates, commissions, and judges, from their citations, process, and from all other things that have or shall follow thereupon, and from every one of them, and from all their sentences, censures, pains, and punishments of curfings, flogging, and interdicting, and from all others whatsoever, and denouncing and declarations (as they pretend) of Schism, of Heresy, Adultery, deprivation, degrading by them or by any of them, in any manner whatsoever, done and set forward to be attempted, to be done, and to be set forward hereafter (having always their honours and reverences) as unequal and unrighteous, most tyrannical and violent, and from every grief to come, which shall happen to me, as well for my self as for all and every one that cleaveth to me, or will hereafter be on my side, unto a free general Council, that shall hereafter lawfully be, and in a free place, to the which place I or a Proctor decreed by me, may freely and with liberty come, and to him or them, whom I may name by the Law, privileges, custom, or otherwise challenge and appeal.

I And I deliver the first, the second, and third time, instantly, more instantly, and most instantly, that I may have my managers, if there be any man that will undertake for me. And I make open promise of prosecuting this mine appellation, by the way of disannulling, abuse, inequality, and unrighteousness, or otherwise as I shall be better able: choice and liberty referred to me, to put to, diminish, change, correct, and interpret my layings, to reform all things after a better fashion, having always to me every other benefit of the law, and to them that either be, or will be on my part.

And touching my Doctrine of the Sacrament, and of ther my Doctrine, of what kind soever it be, I protest that it was never my mind to write, speak, or understand any thing contrary to the most Holy Word of God, or else against the Holy Catholic Church of Christ, but purely and simply to imitate and teach those things only, which I had learned of the sacred Scripture, and of the Holy Catholic Church of Christ from the beginning, and also according to the exposition of the most holy and learned Fathers and Martyrs of the Church.

And if any thing hath peradventure changed otherwise than I thought; I am ready, but *Heretic* I cannot be, for as much as I am erring in all things, to follow the judgment of the most sacred Word of God, and of the Holy Catholic Church, declining none other thing, then modestly and gently to be taught, if any where (which God forbid) I have swerved from the truth.

I And I protest and openly confess, that in all my Doctrine, and preaching, both of the Sacrament, and of other my Doctrine whatsoever it be, not only I myself, but also the things, as the Catholic Church, and the most holy Father *Paul* of old with an accord have meant and judged, bursall of old would gladly use the same words that they used, and not use any other words, but to fit my hand to all and singular their speeches, phrases, ways, and forms of speech, which they do use in their Treatises upon the Sacrament, and to keep fill their interpretation. But in this thing I only am accused for an *Heretic*, because by the Pope I allow not the Doctrine lately brought in of the Sacrament, and because I consent not to words not accounted for in Scripture, and unknown to the ancient Fathers,

but newly invented and brought in by men, and belonging to the delusion of Souls, and overthrowing of the pure and old Religion. Yeven&c.

This Appeal being put up to the Bishop of Ely, he said, My Lord, our Communion is to proceed against us, *Omnia appellations remota*, and therefore we cannot admit it.

Why (quoth he) then you do me the more wrong: for my case is not as every private mans case. The matter is between the Pope and me *immediate*, and none otherwise: and I think none ought to be a Judge in his own cause.

Well, quoth Ely, if it may be admitted it shall, and so received it of him. And then began he to perfwade earnestly with the Archbishop to confider his state, and to weigh it well, while there was time to do him good, promising to become a fute to the King and Queen for him; and so professed his great love and friendship that had been between them, heartily weeping, so that for a time he could not go on with his tale. After going forward, he earnestly affirmed, that if it had not been the King and Queens commandment, whom he could not deny, else no worldly commendment should have made him to have done it, concluding that to be one of the first foolwitt things that ever happened unto him. The Archbishop gently seeming to comfort him, said, he was very well content wittall: and so proceeded they to his degradation: the perfol form whereof, with all the rites and ceremonies thereto appertaining, taken out of the Popes Pontifical, because it is already defcribed at full in our first Book of Monuments, I shall refer the Reader to the fame.

Here then to be short, when they came to take off his Pall (which is a folemne vestment of an Archbishop) then said he, Which of you hath a Pall, to take off my Pall? Which imported as much, as they being his inferiours, could not degrade him. Whereunto one of them said, in that they were by Church, they were his inferiours, and not competent Judges: but being the Popes Delegates, they might take his Pall, and so they did, and so proceeding took away the order from him, as if he were put on. Then a Barber clipped his Hair round about, and the Bishop scraped the tops of his Fingers where he had been anointed, wherein Bishop *Boner* behaved himself, as roughly and unmanly, as any of the other Bishops was in his self and gentle. Whilst they were thus doing, All this (quoth the Archbishop) needed not: I had my self done with this gear long ago. Lark of all they stripped him out of his Gown into his Jacket, and put upon him a poor Yeoman Riddlees Gown, full bare and nearly new, and as favouredly made, as one might lightly fee, and a Townsmans Cap on his head, and so delivered him to the secular Power.

After this pageant of Degradation, and all was finished, then spake Lord *Beres*, saying to him, Now are you no Lord any more: and so whentover he spake to the People of him (as he was contently barling against him) ever he used this term, This Gentleman here&c.

And thus with great compassion and pity of every man in this self favoured Gown was he carried to Prison. Whom there followed a Gentleman of *Gloucestershire* with the Archbishops own Gown, whom standing by, and being thought to be toward one of the Bishops, had it delivered unto him; who by the way talking with him, said the Bishop of Ely provided his friendship with tears. Yet (said he) he might have used a great deal more friendship towards me, and never have been the worse thought on for I have well deserved it, and going into the Prison up with him, he was able to do it. Who answered him, saying, if he had a piece of false Pills, that he had better bet to eat: for he had been that day some-what troubled with this matter, and had eaten little, but now that it is past, my heart (said he) is well quieted.

Whereupon the Gentleman said, he would give him Money with all his heart, for he was able to do it. But he being one toward the Law, and fearing Mr. *Cranmer* could therefore give him nothing, but gave Money to the Bayliffs that should by, and said, that if they were good men, they would do it to him (for my Lord of Canterbury had not one penny in his Purse to feed him) and so left him, my Lord bidding him earnestly

favewell, commending himself to his Prayers and all his Friends. That night this Gentleman was said by *Boner* and Ely, for giving him this Money: and but for the help of Friends, he had been sent up to the Council. Such was the cruelty and iniquity of the times that men could not do good without punishment.

Here followeth the Recantation of the Archbishop, with his repentance of the same.

IN this mean time, while the Archbishop was thus remaining in durance (whom they had kept now in Prison almost the space of three years) the Doctors and Divines of Oxford busied themselves all that ever they could about Mr. *Cranmer*, to have him recant, assaying by all crafty practices and allurements they might devise how to bring their purpose to pass. And to the intent they might win him easily, they had him to the Deans house of *Christ Church* in the said University, where he lacked no delicate fare, played at the Bowls, had his pleasure for walking, and all other things that might bring him from Christ. Over and besides all this, secretly and lightly they suborned certain men, which when they could not expugn him by Arguments and Disputation, flouted by intreaty and fair promises, or any other means allure him to recantation; perceiving otherwise what a great wound they should receive, if the Archbishop had stood steadfast in his sentence: and again on the other side, how great profit they should get, if he as the principal Standard-bearer, should be overthrowed. By reason whereof the wily Papists flocked about him with threatening, flattery, intreating and promising, and all other means; specially *Henry Sydal*, and *Frier John a Spaniard*, *de Villa Garcina*, to the end to drive him, to the uttermost of their possibility, from his former sentence to recantation.

First, they set forth how acceptable it would be both to the King and Queen, and especially how painful to the King, and for his Soules health the same should be. They added moreover, how the Council and the Noble men bare him good will. They put him in hope, that he should not only have his life, but also be restored to his ancient Dignity, saying, it was but a small matter, and so easy that they required him to do, only that he would subscribe to a few words with his own hand; which if he did, there should be nothing in the Realm that the Queen would not easily grant him, whether he would have riches or dignity, or else if he had rather live a private life in quiet rest, in whatsoever place he listed, without all publick Ministry, only that he would let his name in two words to a little leaf of paper; but if he refused, there was no hope of health and pardon: for the Queen was so purposed, that she would have *Cranmer* a Catholicke, or else no *Cranmer* at all. Therefore he should chuse whether he thought it better to end his life shortly in the flames and fire-brands now ready to be kindled, than with much honour to prolong his lifemill the course of nature did call him: for there was no middle way.

Moreover, they exhorted him that he would look to his wealth, his elimination and quietness, saying, that he would be old, but that many years yet remained in this his lofly Age; and if he would not do it in respect of the Queens, yet he should do it for respect of his life, and not suffer that other men should be more careful for his health, than he was himself: saying, that this was agreeable to his notable learning and virtues; which being enjoyed with his life would be profitable both to himself and to many other; but being extinct by death, should be fruitless to no man: that he should consider that he went not too far; yet there was time enough to reforme all things said, and nothing wanted, if he wanted not to himself. Therefore they would him lay hold upon the occasion of his health while it was offered, lest if he would now refuse it while it was offered, he might hereafter feel it when he could not have it.

Finally, if the desire of life did nothing move him, yet he should remember that to die is grievous in all Ages, and especially in these his years and flower of his age; it were more grievous: but to die in the fire and such torments, is most grievous of all with the life, and provocations thereto flatterers could not to flatter

and urge him, using all means they could to draw him to their side; whose fide his Manly constancy did a great while resist. But at last when they made no end of calling and crying upon him, the Archbishop being overcome, whether through their importunity, or by his own imbecility, or of what mind I cannot tell, at length gave his hand.

It might be supposed that it was done for the hope of life, and better days to come. But as we may since perceive by a Letter of his sent to a Lawyer, the most cause why he deferred his sentence be delayed, was that he would make an end of *Marcellus Antonius*, which he had already begun: but howsoever it was, plain it was, to be against his Confidence. The form of which recantation made by the Friers and Doctors, whereto he subscribed, was this.

The Copy and words of Cranmers Recantation.

I *Thomas Cranmer*, late Archbishop of Canterbury, do renounce, abhor, and detest all manner of Heresies, and Errors of *Luther* and *Zuinglius*, and all other teachings which be contrary to sound and true Doctrine. And I believe most constantly in my heart, and with my mouth I confesse oneholy and Catholicke Church visible, without the which there is no salvation; and thereof I acknowledge the Bishop of *Rome* to be supreme Head in Earth, whom I acknowledge to be the highest Bishop and Pope, and Chiefe Vicar, unto whom all Christian People ought to be subject.

And as concerning the Sacraments, I believe and worship in the Sacrament of the Altar the very Body and Blood of Christ, being contained most truly under the forms of Bread and Wine; the Bread through the mighty power of God being turned into the Body of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and the Wine into his Blood. And in the other six Sacraments also (like as in this) I believe and hold as the Universal Church holdeth, and the Church of *Rome* judgeth and determineth.

Furthermore, I believe that there is a place of Purgatory, where Soules departed be purified for a time, for whom the Church doth godly and wholly pray, like as it doth honour Saints and make prayers to them.

Finally, in all things I profess, that I do not otherwise believe, than the Catholicke Church and Church of *Rome* holdeth and teacheth. I am forry that ever I held or thought otherwise. And I beseech Almighty God, that of his mercy he will vouchsafe to forgive me, whatsoever I have offended against God or his Church, and also I desire and beseech all Christian People to pray for me.

And all such as have been deceived either by mine Example or Doctrine, I require them by the Blood of Jesus Christ, that they will return to the unity of the Church, that we may be all of one mind, without schism or division.

And to conclude, as I submit my self to the Catholicke Church of Christ, and to the supreme Head thereof, so I submit my self unto the most excellent Majesties of *Philip* and *Mary*, King and Queen of this Realm of *England*, &c. and to all other their Laws and Ordinances, being ready always as a faithful subject ever to obey them. And God is my witness, that I have not done this for favour or fear of any person, but willingly and of mine own mind, as well to the discharge of mine own Confidence, as to the instruction of other.

This recantation of the Archbishop was not so soon conceived, but the Doctors and Prelates without delay caused the same to be imprinted, and set abroad in all mens hands. Whereunto for better credit, first was added the name of *Thomas Cranmer*, with a folemne subscription, then followed the witnesses of this recantation, *Henry Sydal*, and *Frier John de villa Garcina*. All this while *Cranmer* was in certain allowance of his life, although the same was faithfully promised to him by the Doctors: but after that they had their purposes, by the ref. they committed to all adventures, as became men of that Religion to do. The Queen, having now gotten a time to renew her old grief, renewed his recantation very gladly: but of her purpose to put him to death she would nothing relent.

The Queen here to be seen.

Now was *Cranmer* caught in a miserable taking, who neither inwardly had any quietness in his own confidence, nor yet outwardly any help in his Adversaries.

Besides this, on the one side was praife, on the other side scorn, on both sides danger, so that neither he could die heartily, nor yet unheartily live. And whereas he sought profit he fell into double diffidence, that neither with good men he could avoid secret shame, nor yet with evil men the note of diffimulation.

In the mean time, while these things were doing (as I The Queens Council with Dr. *Cranmer* burning.) in the Prison amongst the Doctors, the Queen taking secret counsel, how to dispatch *Cranmer* out of the way (who as yet knew nothing of her secret hate, and looked for nothing less then death) appointed *Dr. Cole*, and secretly gave him in commandment, that against the 21. of *March*, he should prepare a Funeral Sermon for *Cranmers* burning, and so instructing him orderly and diligently of her will and pleasure in that behalf, fended him away.

Soon after, the Lord *Williams* of *Tame*, and the Lord *Shandoy*, *Sir Thomas Bridges*, and *Sir John Brown* were sent for, with other worshipful men and Justices, commanded in the Queens name to be at *Oxford*, at the same day, with their Servants and Retinue, lest *Cranmers* death should raise there any tumult.

Cole the Doctor having this Lesson given him before, and charged by her commandment, returned to *Oxford*, and ready to play his part; who as the day of execution drew near, even the day before, came into the Prison to *Cranmer*; to try whether he should in the Catholicke Faith wherein before he had left him. To whom, when *Cranmer* had answered, that by Gods grace he would daily be more confirmed in the Catholicke Faith; *Cole* departing for that time, the next day following repaired to the Archbishop again, giving him a significant key of his death that was prepared: And therefore in the morning, which was the 21. day of *March* appointed for *Cranmers* execution, the said *Cole*, coming to him, asked if he had any more. To whom when he answered that he had none, he delivered him fifteen Crowns to give to the poor to whom he would, and so departing him as much as he could to constancy in Faith, departed thence about his business, as to his Sermon appointed.

By this party, and other like arguments, the Archbishop began more and more to fumble what they went about. Then because the day was not far past, and the Lords and Knights that were looked for were not yet come, there came to him the *Spanish* Frier, witness of his recantation, bringing a Paper with Articles, which *Cranmer* should openly profess in his recantation before the People, earnestly desiring him that he would write the said instrument with the Articles with his own hand, and sign it with his name: which when he had done, the said Frier desired that he would write another Copy thereof which should remain with him, and that he did also. But yet the Archbishop being not ignorant whereunto their secret devices tended, and thinking that the time was at hand in which he could no longer dispute the profession of his Faith with Christ's People, he put secretly in his bosom his Prayer with his Exhortation written in another Paper, which he minded to recite to the People, before he should make the said profession of his Faith, fearing lest if they had heard the Confession of his Faith first, they would not afterward have suffered him to exhort the People.

Soon after about nine of the Clock, the Lord *Williams*, *Sir Thomas Bridges*, *Sir John Brown*, and the other Justices, with certain other Noblemen, that were sent of the Queens Council, came to *Oxford* with a great train of waiting men. Also of the other multitude on every side (as is wont in such a matter) was made a great concourse, and greater expectation. For first of all, they that were of the Popes side were in great haste that day to hear something of *Cranmer*, that should flatter the vanity of their Opinion: the other party, which were endowed with a better mind, could not yet doubt, that he which by continual study and labour for so many years, had set forth the Doctrine of the Gospel, either would or could now in the last Act of his life forsake his part. Briefly, as every mans will inclined, either to

Cranmer is miserable.

The Queens Council with Dr. *Cranmer* burning.

as he was *Cranmer* execution.

Cranmer grows and subscribe the Articles with his hand.

Talk betweene Dr. *Cranmer* and the Archbishop.

T will weep for the Archbishop.

Lord *Beres* who doth the Archb. It is happy that Bishop had so much money yet to sell him Gentleman.

Cranmer toward to the Archb. by a Gentleman. This *Boner* had all his Lands for restoring the Tower in *Rome* time.

The Funeral Sermon before Cranmers death, made by Dr. Cole-

Q. Mary

this part or to that, so according to the diversity of their desires, every man wished and hoped for. And yet because in an uncertain thing the certainty could be known of none what would be the end; all their minds were hanging between hope and doubt. So that the greater the expectation was in so doubtful a matter, the more was the multitude, that was gathered thither to hear.

Dr. Crane
brought
Dr. Colu

CRAWFISH
up upon
Stage.

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Secondly, that he had been an Heretick, from whom as from an Author and only fountain all heretical Doctrines and schismatical Opinions, that so many years have prevailed in *England*, did first rise and spring; of which he had not been a secret favourer only, but also a most earnest defender even to the end of his life, sowing them abroad by writings and arguments, privately and openly, not without great ruine and decay of the Catholic Church.

And further, it seemed meet, according to the Law of equality, that as the death of the Duke of Northumberland of late, made even with *The Moor* Chancellor that died for the Church, so there should be one that should make even with *Fisher of Rochefter*; and because that *Ridley, Hooper, Ferrar*, were not able to make even with that man, it seemed that *Cramer* should be joynd to them to fill in their part of equality.

Besidesthese there were other just and weighty causes which seemed to the Queen and Council, which was not meet at that time to be opened to the Common People.

[illegible][illegible][illegible]

death there should be Dirges, Masses, and Funerals for him in all the Churches of Oxford for the
of his Soul.

Q. Mary. *The Prayer, Exhortation, and Confession of D. Crammer before his death*

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ANALYST **THEORETIC**

Cramer in all this mean time, with what great joy (of mind the flood hearing this Sermon, the outward shews of his body and countenance did better express) then any man can declare; one while lifting up his hands and eyes to Heaven, and then again for his sinners turning them down to the earth, as if he had seen the very image and shape of perfect sorrow lively in their expiress. More then twenty several times the tears gushed out abundantly, dropping down marvelously from his Fatherly Face. They which were present began to tell of this Sermon, and of his many more tears, then brail out from him at that time, all the Sermon while; and especially when they recited his prayer before the People. It is marvellous what communication and pity moved all mens hearts, that beheld his such countenance, and that the tears of tears in an old man of so Reverend Dignity.

Colo., after he had ended his sermon, called back the People that were ready to depart, to prayers. Brethren (said he) left any man should doubt of this mans earnest conversion and repentance, you shall hear him speak before you, and therefore I pay your Master *Cramer*, that you will now perform that you promised not long ago; namely, that you would openly express the true and undoubted proficition of your faith, that you may take away all suspicion from me, and that all men may understand that you are a Catholic indeed. I will give you a week to consider of this, and with a good will, when you shall have time, and by rising up, and putting off his cap, begun to speak thus unto the People.

I desire you, well beloved Brethren in the Lord, that you will pray to God for me, to forgive me my sins, which above all men, both in number and greatness, have committed. But among all the rest, there is one offence which mozt of all at this time doth vex and trouble me, in whereof in proceſs of my talk you ſhall hear more in his proper place, and then putting his hand into his Bosom, he drew forth his prayer, which he recited to the People

The prayer of Deftor Crummen. Audible.

Good Christian People, my dearly beloved Brethren and Sisters in Christ, I beseech you most heartily to pray for me to Almighty God, that he will forgive me all my sins and offences, which be many without number, and great above measure. But yet one thing grieves my Conscience more then all the rest, whereof, God willing, I intend to speak more hereafter. But how great and how many soever my sins be, I beseech you to pray God of his mercy to pardon and forgive them all. And here kneeling down, he said.

the
first
of
these
writings

O Father of Heaven, O Son of God Redeemer of the World, O Holy Ghost, three persons and one God, have mercy upon me! wretched sinful and miserable sinner. I have offended both against Heaven and Earth, more than my tongue can express. Whether then be my sins, or whether I shall live? To Heaven I may be refused, for I am full of sin; and to Hell I am the more place of punishment I incur. To thee therefore, O Lord, do I turn; to thee do I humble my self, saying, O Lord my God, my first begotten, but yet have mercy upon me for thy great mercy. The great mystery that God became man, and wrought for little or few offences. Thou didst not spare thy Son O Heavenly Father, unto death for small sin only, but for all our sins, that we might be saved, so that the sinner return to thee with his whole heart, as I do here at thy present. Wherefore have mercy on me, O God, whose property is always to have mercy, have mercy upon me, O Lord, for thy great mercy. I crave nothing but mercy, for thy thy names sake, that it may be believed thereby, and for thy names sake, that it may be glorified thereby, and for thy names sake, that it may be glorified thereby. And then he saith, said:

Every man (good People) desireth at the time of his death to give some good exhortation that others may remember the same before their death, and be the better thereby: so I beseech God grant me grace, that I may

ef | speak something at this my departing, whereby God may
d | be glorified, and you edified.

First, it is an heavy cause to see that many folk
much dose upon the love of this false World, and be
careful for it, that of the love of God, or the World to
come, they mean to care very little or nothing. There-
fore this shall be my first exhortation : That you not
think much more of this *glazing World*, but upon
God, and the *World to come*, and to learn to
know what this *leffon nature* teacheth, *That the love of this World is hatred against God*.

The second exhortation is, That next under God you
obey your King and Queen willingly and gladly, without
murmuring or grudging; not for fear of them only, but
much more for the fear of God; knowing that they be
your : and therefore, appointed by God to rule and govern
you : and they whosoever resisteth them, resisteth the
ordnance of God.

The third exhortation is, That you love altogether like Brethren and Sisters. For alas, y^e it is to see what contention and hatred one Christian man beareth to another, not taking each other as Brethren and Sisters, but rather as strangers and mortal enemies. But I pray you learn and bear well away this one lesson. To do good unto all men as much as in you lieth, 126 hurt no man, no more then you would hurt your o^r natural loving Brother or Sister. For this you may be sure of, that whosoever hateth any person, and goeth about maliciously to hinder or hurt him, surely, and without all doubt God is not with that man, although he think himself never to much

The fourth exhortation shall be to them that have great substance and riches of this World, That they will well consider and weigh three sayings of the Scripture. One is of our Saviour Christ himself, who saith, Luke 18. *It is hard for a rich man to enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.* A fore saying, and yet spoken of him that knoweth the truth.

The second is of St. *John*, 1 *John* 3. whose saying is this, *He that hath the substance of this World, and seeth his Brother in necessity, and shutteth up his mercy from him, how can he say that he loveth God?*

The third is of *St. James*, who speaketh to the covetous rich man after this manner, *Weep you and howl for the misery that shall come upon you: your riches do rot, your cloaths be moth-eaten, your gold and Silver dust canker and rust, and their rust shall beat witness against you, and consume you like fire: you gather a board of treasure of Gods indignation against the last day.* Let them that be rich ponderwell these three sentences: for if they ever had occasion to shew their charity, they have it now at this present, the poor People being so many, and

And now for as much as I am come to the last end of my life, whereupon hangeth all my life past, and all my life to come, either to live with my Master Christ for ever in joy, or else to be in pain for ever with wicked Devils in Hell, and I see before mine eyes presently either Heaven ready to receive me, or else Hell ready to swallow me up: I shall therefore declare unto you my very faith how I believe, without any colour of dissimulation: for now is notime to difsemble, whatsoever I have said or written in times past.

First, I believe in God the Father Almighty, maker of the Heaven and Earth, &c. And I believe every Article of the Catholick faith, every word, and sentence taught by our Saviour Jesus Christ, his Apostles and Prophets, in the new and old Testament.

And now I come to the great thing, which so much troubleth my conscience, more then any thing that ever I did or said in my whole life, and that is the setting abroad of a writing contrary to the truth; which now here I renounce and refuse, as things written with my hand, contrary to the truth which I thought in my heart, and written for fear of death, and to save my life, if it might be, and that is, all such bills and papers which I have written or signed with my hand since my degradation; wherein I have written many things untrue. And forasmuch as my hand offended, writing, contrary to my heart, my hand shall first be punished therefore: for my heart I hope to see, from heaven, be justified.

The Arch-
bishop
Cranmer
is
being
dragged
down
from
the
stage
by
Papists.

And as for the Pope, I refuse him, as Christ's enemy and Antichrist, with all his false Doctrine. And as for the Sacrament, I believe as I have taught in my book against the Bishop of Winchester, the which my book teacheth to be a Doctrine of the Sacrament, that it shall stand at the last day before the Judgment of God, where the Papistical Doctrine contrary thereto shall be ashamed to lose his face.

The expect-
ation
of
the
people
is
great
to
see
the
Arch-
bishop.

Here he came out upon another, whose expectation he had so notably deceived. Some began to admonish him of his recantation, and to accuse him of falsehood.

The Papists
to
give
evidence
against
the
Arch-
bishop.

Briefly, it was a World to see the Doctors beguiled to great a hope. I think there was never crueler more notably or better in time deluded and deceived. For it is not to be doubted but they looked for a Glorious Victory, and a perpetual Triumph by this mans recantation.

Who as soon as they heard these things, began to let

down their ears, to rage, fret, and fume; and to much the more, because they could not revenge their grief: for they could now no longer threaten or hurt him. For the most miserable man in the World can die but once; and whereas of necessity he must needs die that day, though the Papists had been never so well pleased: now being never so much offended with him, yet could he not be twice killed of them. And so when they could do nothing else unto him, yet left they should say nothing, they ceased not to object unto him his falsehood and diffimulation.

And
as
the
Arch-
bishop
was
being
dragged
down
from
the
stage
by
Papists.

Unto which accusation he answered, Ah my Masters (quoth he) do not you take it so. Always since I lived hitherto, I have been a hater of falsehood, and a lover of simplicity, and never before this time have I diffimiled; and in saying this, all the tears that remained in his Body appeared in his eyes. And when he began to speak more of the Sacrament and of the Papacy, some of them began to cry out, yelp, and bawl, and specially *Cole* cried out upon him; Stop the Heretics mouth, and take him away.

Cranmer
was
in
great
pain
to
see
the
Arch-
bishop
being
dragged
down
from
the
stage
by
Papists.

The description of Dr. Cranmer, how he was plucked down from the stage, by Priests and Papists, to the true confession of his faith.



Cranmer
being
dragged
down
from
the
stage
by
Papists.

The Arch-
bishop
being
dragged
down
from
the
stage
by
Papists.

The burning of Dr. Thomas Cranmer, Archbishop of Canterbury, with his hand fast to the stake, in the presence of his judges.



The Arch-
bishop
being
dragged
down
from
the
stage
by
Papists.

The Arch-
bishop
being
dragged
down
from
the
stage
by
Papists.

And then Cranmer being pulled down from the stage was led to the fire, accompanied with those Priests, vexing, troubling, and threatening him most cruelly. What madnes (say they) hath brought thee again into this error (by which thou wilt draw innumerable Souls with thee into hell) To whom he answered nothing, but directed all his talk to the People, saying that to one trouble him in the way he spake, and exhorted him to get him home to his study, and apply his book diligently, saying, if he did diligently call upon God, by reading more he should get knowledge.

But the other Spanish barke, raging and foming, was almost out of his wits, always having this in his mouth, *Non fecisti? dicit tu non?* But when he came to the place where the Holy Bishops and Martyrs of God, *Hugh Latimer* and *Richard* were burnt before him for the confession of the truth, kneeling down he prayed to God, and not long tarrying in his prayers, putting off his garments to his shirt, he prepared himself to Death. His shirt was made long down to his feet. His feet were bare. Likewise his head, when both his cups were off, was so bare, that one hair could not be seen upon it. His beard was long and thick, covering his face with marvellous gravity. Such a countenance of gravity moved the hearts both of his friends, and of his enemies.

Then the Spanish Friars *John* and *Richard*, of whom mention was made before, began to exhort him and play their parts with him freely, but with vain and loft labour. Cranmer with steadfast purpose abiding in the profession of his Doctrine, gave his hand to certain old men, and other that stood by, bidding them farewell.

And when he had thought to have done so, likewise to *Ely*, the said *Ely* drew back his hand and refused, saying, he was not lawfull to salute Heretics, and specially such a heretic as he had returned unto the opinions that he had before forsaken. And if he had known before that he would have done so, he would never have used his company so familiarly, and chid those Sergeants and Citizens, which he had refused to give him their hands. This *Ely* was a Priest lately made, and a student in Divinity, being then one of the fellows of *Bradenos*.

Then was an iron chain tyed about Cranmer, whom the Priests perceived to be more steadfast than that he could like, he moved from his sentence, they commanded the fire to be set unto him.

And when the wood was kindled, and the fire began to burn near him, scratching out his Arm, he put his right hand into the flame, which he held so steadfast and immovable (saying that once with the same hand he signed his face) that all men might see his hand burnt before the Body was touched. His Body did abide the burning of the flame with such constancy and steadfastness, that standing always in one place without moving his Body, he seemed

to move no more than the Stake to which he was bound; and his eyes were lifted up into heaven, and oftentimes he repeated his unworthy right hand, so long as his voice would suffer him; and using often the words of *Stephen*, *Lord Jesus receive my Spirit*, in the greatness of the flame he gave up the ghost.

This fortitude of mind, which perchance is rare and not found among the Spaniards, when *Frier John* saw, thinking it came not of fortitude, but of desperation, although such manner of examples which are of like condition, have been common here in *England*, run to the *Lord Williams of Tame*, crying that the Archbishop was vexed in mind, and died in great dejection. But he which was not ignorant of the Archbishops constancy, being unknown to the Spaniards, smiled only, and (as it were) by silence rebuked the Friars folly. And this was the end of this learned Archbishop, whom, left by evil fabricating he should have perished, by well recanting God preserved; and left he should have lived longer with flame and reproof, it pleased God rather to take him away, to the glory of his name and profit of his Church. So good was the Lord both to his Church, in justifying the same with the testimony and blood of such a Martyr; and to good also to the man with this Crook of Tribulation, to purge his offences in this world, not only of his recantation, but also of his standing against *John Lambert* and *Mr. Allen*; or if there were any other, with whose burning and blood his hands had been before this polluted. But especially he had to rejoice, that dying in such a cause, he was numbered amongst Christs Martyrs, much more worthy the name of *St. Thomas of Canterbury*, than he whom the Pope fully before did Canonize.

And thus have you the full story concerning the life and death of this Reverend Archbishop and Martyr of God, *Thomas Cranmer*, and also of divers other that learned fact of Christs Martyrs burned in *Queen Marys* time, of whom this Archbishop was the last. Being burnt about the very middle time of the reign of that Queen, and almost the very middle man of all the Martyrs which were burned in all her Reign besides.

Now after the life and story of this forefard Archbishop discoursed, let us adjoin withal his Letters, being given first with his famous Letter to *Queen Mary*, which he wrote unto her incontinent after he was cited up to *Rome* by *Bishop Brooks* and his fellows, the tenor whereof here followeth.

Letters of Doctor Thomas Cranmer Archbishop of Canterbury.

The Archbishop of Canterburys Letter to the Queens Highness.

IT may please your Majesty to pardon my presumption, that I dare be so bold to write to your Highness. But very necessity constraineth me, that your Majesty may know my mind, rather by mine own writing, than by other mens reports. So is it that upon Wednesday, being the 12. day of this Month, I was cited to appear at *Rome* the 8. day after, there to make answer to such matters as should be objected against me upon the behalf of the King and your most Excellent Majesty, which matters the Thursday following were objected against me by *Dr. Morin* and *Dr. Sier*, your Majesties Proctors before the Bishop of *Gloucester*, sitting in Judgment by Commission from *Rome*. But (alas) it cannot but grieve the heart of a natural Subject, to be accused of the King and Queen of his own Realm; and specially before an outward Judge, or by Authority coming from any person out of this Realm; where the King and Queen, as if they were Subjects within their own Realm, shall complain and require Justice at a strangers hands against their own Subject, being already condemned to death by their own Laws. As though the King and Queen could not do or have Justice within their own Realm against their own Subjects, but they must seek it at strangers hands in a strange Land; is the like whereof (I think) was never seen. I

would have wished to have had some more Advantage; and, I think, that death shall not grieve me much more, than to have my most dread and most gracious Sovereign Lord and Lady, to whom under God I do owe all obedience, to be mine Accusers in Judgment within their own Realm, before any stranger and outward Governor. But forasmuch as in the time of the Prince of most famous memory, *King Henry* the Eighth your Graces Father, I was sworn never to consent, that the Bishop of *Jury* should have or exercise any Authority or Jurisdiction in this Realm of *England*, therefore I will allow his Authority contrary to mine own Oath, I refused to make answer to the Bishop of *Gloucester* sitting here in Judgment by the Popes Authority, lest I should run into Perjury.

Another cause why I refused the Popes Authority, is this, that his Authority, as he claimeth it, is repugnant to the Crown Imperial of this Realm, and to the Laws of the same; which every true Subject is bound to defend. First, for that the Pope faith, that all manner of Power, as well Temporal as Spiritual, is given him of him of God; and that the Temporal Power he giveth unto Emperours and Kings, to use it under him, but so as it be always at his Commandment and beck.

But contrary to this claim, the Imperial Crown and Jurisdiction Temporal of this Realm is taken immediately from God, to be used under him only, and is subject unto none, but to God alone.

Moreover, to the Imperial Laws and Customs of this Realm the King in his Coronation, and all Justices when they receive their Offices, be sworn, and all the whole Realm is bound to defend and maintain. But contrary to this, hereunto, the Pope by his Authority maketh void, and commandeth to blot out of our Books, all Laws and Customs being repugnant to his Laws, and declareth accused all Rulers and Governors, all the makers, writers, and executors of all such Laws or Customs; as it appeareth by many of the Popes Laws, whereof one or two I shall rehearse. In the Decree, which I have written thus, *Constitutiones contra Canones & Decreta Praefatum Romanorum vel bonos mores, nullius in momenti*. That is, The Constitutions or Statutes enacted against the Canons and Decrees of the Bishops of *Rome* or their good Customs, are of none effect. Also, *Extra de sententia Excommunicationis, noviter, Excommunicamus omnes Haereticos utriusque sexus, quocunque nomine constant, & fautores, & receptores, & defensores eorum; nec non & qui de cetero servari fecerint statuta edita & consuetudines contra Ecclesiam liberatam, nisi ea de capitularibus suis intra duos menses post hujusmodi publicationem sententiae fecerint cessare. Item, Excommunicamus statutores, & scriptores statutorum ipsorum, nec non pastores, consules, rectores, & consiliarios locorum, ubi de cetero hujusmodi statuta & consuetudines edita fuerint vel servata; nec non & illi qui secundum ea praesumptimur iudicare, vel in publicum forum scribere iudicatos.* That is to say, We Excommunicate all Heretics of both Sexes, what name soever they be called by, and their fautors, and receptors, and defenders; and also them that shall hereafter cause to be observed the Statutes and Customs made against the liberty of the Church, except they cause the same to be put out of their Records and Chapters within two months after the publication thereof. Also we Excommunicate the Statute-makers and writers of those Statutes, and all the Portellates, Consuls, Governors and Counsellors of places, where such Statutes and Customs shall be made or kept; and also those that shall presume to give judgment according to them, or shall notice in public form the matter so adjudged.

Now by these Laws, if the Bishop of *Rome* Authority which he claimeth by God, be lawful, all your Majesties Laws and Customs of your Realm, being contrary to the Popes Laws, be naught, and as well your Majesty, as your Judges, Justices, and all other Executors of the same, stand accused amongst Heretics, which God forbid. And yet this Curse can never be avoided (if the Pope have such power as he claimeth) until such times as the Laws and Customs of this Realm (being contrary to his Laws) be taken away and blotted out of the Law Books. And although there be many Laws

The first
cause why
the Arch-
bishop
would not
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swer to the
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cause it
was repug-
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Laws of
England.

The second
cause is, that
the Popes
Authority is
repugnant
to the
Laws of
England.

The third
cause is, that
the Popes
Authority is
repugnant
to the
Laws of
England.

The fourth
cause is, that
the Popes
Authority is
repugnant
to the
Laws of
England.

The Popes
Laws and
Customs
are
repugnant
to the
Laws of
England.

forasmuch as I have alleged in my Book many old Authorities, both Greeks and Latins, which above a thousand years have been continually used by all men, and by taught as I do; if they should bring forth but one old Author, that faith in these old Authorities could be proved to be true, I offered six or seven years ago, and do offer yet still, that I will give place unto them.

But when I bring forth any Author that faith in most plain terms as I do, yet faith the other part, that the Authors meant not so; as who should say, that the Authorities make one thing, and meant clean contrary. And upon the other part, when they cannot find any one Author, that faith in words as they say; yet say they, that the Authors meant as they say. Now, whether I or they speak more to the purpose herein, I refer the judgement of all indifferent hearers; I see the old Church of Rome, above a thousand years together, neither believed nor used the Sacraments, as the Church of Rome hath done of late years.

For in the beginning, the Church of Rome taught a pure and a sound Doctrine of the Sacrament. But after that the Church of Rome fell into a new doctrine of Transubstantiation, with the Doctrine they changed the use of the Sacrament contrary to that which Christ commanded, and the old Church of Rome used above a thousand years. And yet to deface the old, they say that the new is the old: wherein for my part I am content to stand to the trial. But their Doctrine is so fond and uncomfortable, that I marvel that any man would allow it. I knew what it is. But howsoever they bear the People in hand, that which they write in their Books hath neither Truth nor comfort.

For by their Doctrine, of one Body of Christ is made two bodies: one natural, having difference of members, with form and proportion of mans perfect Body, and this Body is in Heaven: but the Body of Christ in the Sacrament, by their own Doctrine, must needs be a more true Body, having neither difference of members, nor form, fashion or proportion of a mans natural Body. And such a Body is in the Sacrament (teach they) and goeth into the mouth with the form of Bread, and endureth no further than the form of Bread, grows, nor turreth no longer than the form of Bread is in the mouth in digesting. So that, when the form of Bread is digested, that Body of Christ is gone. And forasmuch as evil men be as long in digesting as good men, the Body of Christ (by their Doctrine) endureth as far, and turreth as long in wicked men as in goodly men. And what comfort can be herein to any Christian man, to receive Christs unperfected Body, and to enter no further than the stomach, and to depart by and by as soon as the Bread is consumed?

It seemeth to me a more found and comfortable Doctrine, that Christ hath but one Body, and that hath form and fashion of a mans true Body; which Body spiritually entereth into the whole man, Body and Soul: and though the Sacrament be consumed, yet whole Christs body remaineth, and feedeth the receiver unto eternal life, if he continue in godliness, and never departeth until the receiver forsake him. And as for the wicked, they have not Christ within them at all, who cannot be where *Belia* is. And this is my Faith, and (as me meetly) a found Doctrine, according to Gods Word, and sufficient for a Christian to believe in that matter. And if they can be shewed unto me, that the Popes Authority is not prejudicial to the things before mentioned, or that my Doctrine in the Sacrament is erroneous (which I think cannot be shewed) then I never was nor will be so perverse to stand willfully in mine own Opinion, but I shall with all humility commend my self unto the Pope, not only to kiss his feet, but another part also.

Another cause why I refused to take the Bishop of Gloucester for my Judge, was the respect of his own person, being more than once perjured. First, for that he being divers times sworn never to confute that the Bishop of Rome should have any jurisdiction within this Realm, but to take the King and his Successors for supreme heads of this Realm, as by Gods Laws they be contrary to that lawful Oath the said Bishop late then in judgment by Authority from Rome, wherein he was perjured, and not worthy to sit as a Judge.

The second perjury was that he took his Bishoprick

both of the Queens Majesty and of the Pope, making Anno to each of them a solemn Oath which oughts to be contrary 1576. to the one must needs be perjured. And furthermore in swearing to the Pope to maintain his Laws, Decrees, Constitutions, Ordinances, Reservations, and Provisions, he declared himself an enemy to the Imperial Crown, and to the Laws and customs of this Realm, whereby he declared himself not worthy to sit as a Judge within this Realm. And for these considerations I refused to take him for my Judge.

This was written in another Letter to the Queen.

I Learned by Dr. Martin, that at the day of your Majesty's Coronation, you took an Oath of obedience to the Pope of Rome, and the same time took another Oath to this Realm, to maintain the Laws, Liberties, and Customs of the same. And if your Majesty did make an Oath to the Pope, I think it was according to the other Oaths which you took to this Realm, to defend the which is, to be obedient to him, to defend his laws, and person, to maintain his authority, honour, laws, lands, and privileges. And if it be so, (which I know not, but by report) then I beseech your Majesty to look upon your Oath made to the Crown and Realm, and to regard and weigh the two Oaths together, to see how they do agree, and then do as your own Conscience shall give you. For I am fairly persuaded, that willingly your Majesty will not offend, nor do against your Conscience for any thing.

But I fear me that there be contradictions in your Oaths, and that those which should have informed your Grace thoroughly, did not do their duties therein. And if your Majesty ponder the two Oaths diligently, I think you shall perceive you were deceived; and then your Highness may use the matter as God shall put in your heart. Furthermore, I am kept here from company of learned Men, from Books, from Councils, from Pen and Ink, and saving at this time to write unto your Majesty, which all were necessary for a man being in my case. Wherefore I beseech your Majesty, that I may have the best of these as may stand with your Majesties pleasure. And as for my appearance at Rome, your Majesty will give me leave, I will appear there. And I trust that God shall put in my mouth to defend his Truth there, as well as here. But I refer it wholly to his Majesties pleasure.

Another Letter of the Archbishop to Dr. Martin, and Dr. Story.

I Have me commended unto you. And as I promised, I have sent my Letters unto the Queens Majesty and to you. I have sent my Letters to you, and deliver them with all speed. I might have sent them by the Carrier, but he was not sure. But hearing Mr. Bayliff say, that he would go to the Court on Friday, I thought him a meet messenger to send my Letters by. For better is later and surer, than sooner and never to be delivered. For one thing I have written to the Queens Majesty indolently and sealed; which I require you may be delivered without delay, and not be opened until it be delivered unto her Grace own hands. I have written all that I remember I said, except that which I spake against the Bishop of Gloucesters own person, which I thought not meet to write. And in some places I have written more, then I said, which I would have enforced to the Bishop if you would have suffered me.

You promised I should see mine Answers to the fifteen Articles, that I might correct, amend, and change them when I thought good, which your promise you kept not. And mine answer was not made upon my Oath, as I repeated, nor made in Judicio, but extra Judicium, as I praised, for the Bishop of Gloucester as Judge, but I cannot say to you the King and Queens Prayers. I trust you did sit, when he came with me without fraud or craft, and so me and him both would wish to be in like case your favour. Remember that *Quia mensura mensuri fuerit, eadem mensurabitur vobis. Id est, quod mensurae vos metes, eadem mensurae vos metentur.* Thus fare you well, and God send you his Spirit to induce you into Truth.

Yo

Ye heard before how the Archbishop Dr. Cranmer in the month of February was cited up to Rome, and in the month of March next following was degraded by the Bishop of Ely and Bishop of Rome. In time of which his degradation he put up his Appellation.

In this Appellation, because he needed the help of some good and godly Lawyer, he writeth to a certain Friend of his about the same: the Copy of which Letter in Latine is before expressed in the old Book of Acts, there to be read. The English of the same I thought good here to insert, as under followeth.

A Letter of Doctor Cranmer Archbishop, to a Lawyer for the drawing out of his Appeal.

The Law of nature requireth of all men, that so far forth as it may be done without offence to God, every one should seek to defend and preserve his own life. Which thing, when I about three days ago be thought my self, and therewithal remembered how that Martin Luther appealed in his time from Pope Leo the Tenth, to a general Council (left) should I might rashly and unadvisedly to call away my self I determined to appeal in like sort to some lawful and free general Council. But being the order and form of an Appeal pertaineth to the Lawyers, whereof I my self am ignorant, and fearing that Lawyers Appeal cometh not to my hand, I purposed to break my mind in this matter to some faithful Friend and skillful in the Laws, whole help I might use in this behalf, and you only among other came to my remembrance as a man most meet in this University for my purpose. But this is a matter that requireth gratification, but that no man know of it before it be done. It is for that I am summoned to make mine answer at Rome, the 16. day of this month; before the which day I think it good after conference pronounced, to make mine Appeal. But whether I should first appeal from the Judge Delegate to the Pope, and to afterwards to the general Council, or else leaving the Pope, I should appeal immediately to the Council, herein I stand in need of your counsel.

Many causes there be for the which I think good to appeal. First, because I am by an Oath bound never to consent to the receiving of the Bishop of Romes Authority into this Realm. Besides this, while I have continued in disobedience to the Articles objected unto me by the Bishop of Gloucester, appointed by the Pope to be my Judge, yet I was content to answer Martin and Story, with this Protestation, that mine answer should not be taken as made before a Judge, nor yet in place of judgment, but as pertaining nothing to judgment at all; moreover, after I had made mine answer, I required to have a Copy of the same, that I might either by adding thereto, or by altering or taking from it, correct and amend it as I thought good. The which though both the Bishop of Gloucester, and also the King and the Queens Proctors promised me, yet have they altogether broken promise with me, and have not permitted me to correct my said answers according to my request, and yet notwithstanding have (as I understand) registered the same as Acts formally done in place of judgment.

Finally, forasmuch as all this my trouble cometh upon my departing from the Bishop of Rome, and from the Popish Religion, so that now the quarrel is between the Pope himself and me, and no man can be a lawful and indifferent Judge in his own cause; it seemeth (me thinks) good reason, that I should be suffered to appear to some general Council in this matter; specially seeing the Law of nature (as they say) denieth no man the remedy of appeal in such cases.

Now, since it is very requisite that this matter should be heard as close as may be, it appears for lack of perfect Skill herein you shall have need of further advice; then I beseech you even for the fidelity and love you bear to me in Christ, that you will open to no Creature alive who the cause is. And forasmuch as the time is now at hand, and the matter requireth great expedition, let me obtain as much of your labour as you can, that laying aside all other your studies and business for the time, you will apply this my matter only, till you have brought it to pass. The chiefest cause in very deed (to tell you the Truth) of this mine Appeal is, that I might gain time (if it shall

so please God) to live until I have finished mine answer against Martin Amnius Colaninus, which I have now in hand. But if the Adversaries of the Truth will not admit mine Appeal (as I fear they will not) Gods will be done; I put not upon it, for that God may there be glorified, be it by my life, or by my death. For it is much better for me to die in Christs quarrel and in the reign with him, then here to be flung up, and kept in the Prison of this Body, unless it were to continue yet still as I am in this warfare, for the commodity and profit of some Brethren, and to the further advancing of Gods glory. To whom be all glory for evermore. Amen.

There is also yet another cause why I think good to Appeal, that whereas I am cited to go to Rome to answer there for my self, I am notwithstanding kept here full in Prison, that I cannot there appear at the time appointed: And moreover, forasmuch as the liberty I stand in, is a matter of life and death, so that I have great need of learned counsel for my defence in this behalf; yet when I made my earnest request for the same, all manner of Council and help of Proctors, Advocates, and Lawyers was utterly denied me.

Your loving Friend, Tho. Cranmer.

Another Letter of Dr. Cranmer Archbishop, to Mrs. Willington, exhorting her to fly in the time of Persecution.

The true comforter in all distress is only God, through his Son Jesus Christ; and whosoever hath him, hath comfort enough if he were in a wilderness all alone: as I have seen by their hard journey thousand in his Company, if God be absent, is in a miserable wilderness, and degradation. In him is all comfort, and without him is none. Wherefore I beseech you seek your dwelling there where you may truly and rightly serve God, and dwell in him, and have him ever dwelling in you. What can be so heavy a burden as an unquiet Conscience, to be in such a place as a man cannot be suffered to serve God in Christs Religion? If you be loath to depart from your kin and Friends, remember that Christ calleth them his Mothers, Sisters, and Brothers, that he do Fathers will. Where we find there fore God truly honoured according to his will, there we can lack neither Friend nor Kin.

If you be loath to depart from thelander of Gods Word, remember that Christ when his hour was not yet come, departed out of his Country into Samaria, to avoid the malice of the Scribes and Pharisees; and commanded his Apostles that if they were persecuted in one place, they should fly to another. And was not Paul led down by a basket out at a window, to avoid the persecution of the Arians? And what wisdom and policy be used from time to time to escape the malice of his enemies, the Acts of the Apostles do declare. And after the same sort did the other Apostles, albeit, when it came to such a point, that their could no longer escape danger of the persecutors of Gods true Religion, then they blessed themselves, that they flying before came not of fear, but of godly wisdom to do correct his said answers according to my request, and yet notwithstanding have (as I understand) registered the same as Acts formally done in place of judgment.

Wherefore I exhort you as well by Christs commands, as by the example of him and his Apostles; to withdraw your self from the malice of yours and Gods Enemies, into some place where God is most purely served; which is no flandering of the Truth, but a preserving of your self to God, and the Truth, and to the peace and comfort of Christs little flock. And that you will do, do it with speed, lest by your own fault you fall into the persecutors hands. And the Lord send his holy Spirit to lead and guide you wheresoever you go, and all that be godly will pray, Amen.

Unto these former Letters of Dr. Cranmer Archbishop, written by him unto others, it seemeth to me not much out of place to annex withal a certain Letter also of Dr. Taylor, written to him and his fellow-persecutors: the tenor of which Letter here followeth.

B b a

To

On Master Sheriff, now must you be their Butcher, that you may be guilty also with them of innocent Blood. *Amo* 1556, and the 23 day of *March*, *Amo* 1556, and the 24 day of the same month they were carried out of the Common Gaol to a place betwixt *Salisbury* and *Wilton*, where were two Poles set for them to be burnt at. Which Men coming to the place naked down, and made their Prayers secretly together, and then being disclosed to their Shirts, *John Maundrel* spake with a loud voice, *Not for all Salisbury*, which words men judged to be an answer to the Sheriff, which offered him the Queens Pardon if he would recant. And after that in like manner spake *John Spicer*, saying, this is the joyfull day that ever I saw. Thus were they three burnt at two Stakes: where most confidently they gave their Bodies to the fire, and their Souls to the Lord for testimony of his Truth.

As touching *William Coberley*, this moreover is to be noted, that his Wife also, called *Aliee*, being apprehended, was in the Keepers house the same time detaining her husband was in Prison. Where the Keeper's Wife named *Agnes Penicote*, had fiercely heated a Key fire hot, and laid it in the grass in the backside. So speaking to *Aliee Coberley* to fetch her the Key in all haste, the said *Aliee* went with speed to bring the Key, and so taking up the Key in half, presently burn her hand. Whereupon the crying out at the sudden burning of her hand; Ah thou drab, quoth the others, thou that canst not abide the burning of the Key, how wilt thou be able to abide burning thy whole Body, and so the afterward revoked. But to return again to the story of *Coberley*, who being somewhat learned, and being at the Stake after his Body was scorched with the fire, and his left arm drawn and taken from him by the violence of the fire, that the flesh being burnt to the white bone, at length he stooped over the Chain, and with the right hand, being somewhat flaked, knocked upon his breast, saying, the Blood and matter issuing out of his mouth. Afterward when they all thought he had been dead, suddenly he rose right up with his Body again. And thus much concerning these three *Salisbury* Martyrs.

A discourse of the Death and Martyrdom of six other Martyrs suffering at London, whose names here followeth.

About the 23 day of April, *Amo Dom.* 1556. were burned in *Smithfield* at one fire, these six constant Martyrs of Christ, suffering for the profession of the Gospel, viz.

Robert Draken, Minister.
William Tyms Curate.
Richard Spurge Sheerman.
Thomas Spurge, Fuller.
John Covel, Weaver.
George Ambrose, Fuller.

They were all of *Essex*, and so of the Diocese of *London*, and were sent up, some by the Lord *Rich*, and some by others at sundry times, unto *Stephen Gardiner* Bishop of *Winchester*, then Lord Chancellor of *England*, and about the 23 day of *March*, *Amo* 1555. Who after small examination, sent them, some unto the *Kings Bench*, and others unto the *Marshalsea*, where they remained almost all the whole year, until the death of the said Bishop of *Winchester*, and had during that time nothing said unto them. Whereupon, after that *Dr. Heath*, Archbishop of *Tork* was chosen to the office of Lord Chancellorship, four of these persecuted Brethren, being now weary of this their long imprisonment, made their supplication unto the said *Dr. Heath*, requiring his favour and aid for their deliverance: the Copy whereof ensueth.

To the right reverend Father, Thomas Archbishop of York, Lord Chancellor of England.

My place your honourable good Lordship, for the love of God to tender the humble suit of your Lowliness poor Orators, whose names are subscribed, which have lain in great misery in the *Marshalsea*,

by the space of ten months and more, at the commandment of the late Lord Chancellor, to their utter undoing, with their Wives and Children. In consideration whereof, your Lordships said Orators do most humbly pray and beseech your good Lordship to suffer them to be brought before your Honour; and there, if any man of good Confidence can lay any thing to our charges, we will either to declare our innocency against their accusations, or if otherwise their accusations can be proved true, and we faulty, we are ready (God helping us) without condign punishments to satisfy the Law according to your wise judgment, as we hope, full of fatherly mercy toward us and all men, according to your goodly Office, in the which we pray for your godly success to the good pleasure of God, Amen.

This Supplication was sent (as is said) and subscribed with the names of these four under following?

Richard Spurge
Thomas Spurge
George Ambrose
John Covel

Richard Spurge.

Upon the receipt and sight hereof, it was not long after, but Sir *Richard Read* Knight, then one of the Officers of the Court of the Chancery, the 16 day of *January*, was sent unto the *Marshalsea* to examine the said four Prisoners; and therefore beginning first with *Richard Spurge* upon certain demands, read the same, and then thereunto: the effect whereof was, that he with others were complained upon by the Parson of *Becking* what he said to the Lord *Rich*, for that they came not unto their Parish Church of *Becking*, where they had inhabited; and thereupon was by the said Lord *Rich* sent unto the late Lord Chancellor, about the 22 day of *March* last past *Amo* 1555.

And further, he said, that he came not to the Church since the first alteration of the English service into Latin (Christmas day then a twelvemonth only excepted) and that, because he milked both the farnest and the Malt also, as not consonant and agreeing with Gods holy Word.

Moreover, he required that he might not be any more examined upon the matter, unless it pleased the Lord Chancellor that then was, to know his fault therein, which to him he would willingly utter.

Thomas Spurge.

Thomas Spurge being then next examined, made this answer in effect that the other had done; and confessing, that he absented himself from the Church, because the Word of God was not there truly taught, and not the Sacraments of Christ duly ministered in such sort as was prescribed by the same Word. And being further examined of his belief concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, he said; That if any could accuse him therein also, he would then make answer as God had given him knowledge therein.

George Ambrose.

He like answer made *George Ambrose*, adding moreover, that after he had read the late Bishop of *Winchester* Book, intitled, *De vera ecclesia*, with the *Boners* Preface therunto annexed, inveighing (both) against the Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*, he did much less let by their doings then before.

John Covel.

John Covel agreeing in other matters with them, answered, that the cause why he did forbear the examination to the Church, was that the Parson there had preached two contrary Doctrines. For first, in a Sermon, he made at the Queens first entry to the *Croyn*, he did exhort the People to believe the Gospel; for it was the Truth, and if they did not believe it, they should be damned. But in a second Sermon, he preached that the

Telament was false: in forty places, which contrariety in him was a cause amongst other of his absenting from the Church.

Robert Draken.

About the fourth day of *March* next after, *Robert Draken* also was examined, who was Master of *Thunderley* in *Essex*, and had there remained the space of three years. He was first made Deacon by *Dr. Taylor* of *Hadley*, at the commandment of *Dr. Crammer*, late Archbishop of *Canterbury*. And within one year after (which was the third year after *King Edward*) he was by the said Archbishop and *Dr. Ridley* Bishop of *London*, admitted Minister of Gods holy Word and Sacraments, not after the order then in force, but after such order as was after established; and was presented unto the said Benefice of *Thunderley* by the Lord *Rich*, at the suit of *Mr. Causton* and *Mr. Treheron*; and now notwithstanding was sent up by the said Lord *Rich*, with the others before-mentioned: and at his coming to the Bishop of *Winchester*, was by him demanded whether he would conform himself like a Subject to the Laws of this Realm then in force. To the which he said he would abide all Laws that stood with the Laws of God; and thereupon was committed to Prison, where he and the rest above-named did remain ever since.

William Tyms.

Now remaineth likewise to declare the examination of *William Tyms*, Deacon and Curate of *Hockley* in *Essex*. But before I come to his Examination, first here is to be opened and set forth the order and manner of his trouble, how and by whom he was first apprehended in *Essex*, and from thence sent up to *London*: the story whereof followeth in this manner.

The story of William Tyms Deacon and Curate of Hockley, with the manner of his taking.

There was at *Hockley* in Queen *Maries* days two Sermons preached in the Woods, the which Woods were appertaining to *Mr. Tyrel*; and the name of the one Wood was called *Plumkrough-Wood*, and the other *Bucks-Wood*, and there was at the same Sermons an English man and his wife with him, whose name was *John Gye*, the which *Gye* was *Mr. Tyrels* Servant, and did dwell under him, being his Herd at a Farm of his called *Amwell* there. Shortly after it was known to *Mr. Tyrel*, how that his Woods were polluted with Sermons, the which he did take very evil, and much matter did arise about it, as an unlawful Assembly, the which was laid to *John Gyes* charge, because he did not disclose that unlawful act to his Master, being then in the Commission of Peace, appointed at that time to keep the Gospel, the which he did to the uttermost, as it may appear in many of his acts. Good God give him repentance if it be thy will.

Shortly after it pleased *Mr. Tyrel* to come to *Hockley* to fit out this matter, so that to know who was at these Preachings. Well, there were found many faults; for it is supposed there were an hundred persons at the least. So it pleased *Mr. Tyrel* to begin first with *John Gye*, and asked him where that naughty fellow was that served their Parish one *Tyms*; for it is told me (said he) that he is the cause of this naughty Fellow being into the Country. Therefore I charge thee *Gye* to fetch me this naughty Fellow *Tyms*, for thou knowest where he is. No, said *Gye*, I do not know. So in no wise could he make him fetch him.

Then stepped forth another of *Master Tyrels* men, willing to shew his Master pleasures, whose name was *Richard Sheriff*, and said to his Master; Sir, I know where he is. Well, said *Master Tyrel*, go to the Constables, and charge them to bring him to me.

So this Sheriff being diligent, made sure work, and he did bring him before his Master with the Constables, whose names be these *Edward Hedges*, and *John James*.

So when he came before the said *Mr. Tyrel*, then *Mr. Tyrel* commanded all men to depart; and it was wisely

done, for he was not able to open his mouth against *Tyms* without reproach, and there he kept him about three hours. But there were some that listened at the walls, and heard *Mr. Tyrel* say thus to *Tyms*. Methinketh (said he) that when I fee the blessed Rood, it maketh me think of God.

Why Sir, said *Tyms*, if an Idol that is made with mans hands doth make you remember God; how much more ought the Creatures of Gods word, as man being his workmanship, or the grass, or the Trees that bring forth fruit, make you remember God?

So *Mr. Tyrel* ended his talk with *Tyms* it should seem in an hour, for he brast out and called him traitorously.

Why Sir, said *Tyms*, in King *Edwards* days you did affirm the Truth that I do now. Affirm, quoth *Tyrel*? say by Gods Body, I never thought it with my heart.

Well, said *Tyms*, then I pray you Master *Tyrel* bear with me, for I have been a Traitor but a while, but you have been a Traitor six years.

After this *Tyms* was sent to *London* to the Bishop, and from him to the Bishop of *Winchester*, and so from up to him to the *Kings Bench*, and then was *Mr. Tyrels* rage ended with them that were in the Woods at the Sermons. So *Mr. Tyrel* took away *Gys* Coat, and gave it to *John Traisard*, and sent him to *St. Sepulchre* to see good rule kept there.

When *Tyms* came before the Bishop of *London*, there was time that the Bishop of *Bartholomew* there was *Wil.* brought examined mightily God wrought with this true hearted man, that he had wherewith to answer them both; for the Constables did say that brought him before the Bishop, that they never heard the like. Then the Bishop (as though he would have had *Tyms* to turn from the Truth) said to the Constables, I pray you (said he) give him good counsel, that he may turn from his error. My Lord, said the Constables, he is at a point, for he will not turn.

Then both the Bishops waxed weary of him, for he troubled them about five or seven hours. Then the Bishops began to pity *Tyms* case, and to flatter him, saying, Ah good Fellow (did they) thou art bold, and thou hast a good fresh spirit, we would thou hadst learning to thy spirit. I thank you (my Lords) said *Tyms*, and both you be learned, and I would you had a good spirit to your learning. So thus they broke up, and sent *Tyms* to the Bishop of *Winchester*, and there were *Edward Hedges* and *John James* the Constables afore-named discharged, and *Tyms* was commanded to the *Kings Bench*, where he was mightily strengthened with the good men that he found there.

And thus hitherto ye have heard, first upon what occasion this *William Tyms* was apprehended, how he was intreated of *Mr. Tyrel* the Justice, and by him sent up to the Ordinary of the Diocese, which was Bishop *Boner*; who after certain talk and debating he had with the said *Tyms*, at length directed him to the Bishop of *Winchester*, being then Lord Chancellor, and yet living, and so was commanded by him upon the same to the *Kings Bench*.

Here by the way is to be understood, that *Tyms* as he was but a Deacon, so he was but simply, or at least not Priestly appraised, forasmuch as he went not in a Gown, but in a Coat, and his Hosen were of two colours, the upper part white, and the nether flocks of Sheeps ruff. Whereupon the proud Prelate finding for him to come before him, and seeing his simple attire, began to mock him, saying, Ah Sirra, are you a Deacon? Yes, my town the Bishop, that I am, quoth *Tyms*. So methinketh, said the Bishop, ye are decked like a Deacon. My Lord, said *Tyms*, my vesture doth not so much vary from a Deacon; but methinketh, your apparel doth as much vary from an Apostle.

So then there spake one of the Bishops Gentlemen, My Lord (did he in mockery) give him a Cloak, a Tuff and a Double, and he will be wily. But the Bishop bade, have him away, and commanded him to come before him again the next day at an hour appointed.

But

Letters of William Tyms.

To his faithful Sister in the Lord, Parishoner in the Town of Hockley, named Agnes Glafcock.

A Letter of W. Tyms to Agnes Glafcock.

THE grace, mercy, and peace of God our Father through Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour, with the sweet comfort of his holy and mighty Spirit, to the performance of his will, to your everlasting comfort, be with you my dear Sister Glafcock, both now and evermore, Amen.

My most dear and entirely beloved Sister, yea Mother I might rightly well call you for the Motherly care which you have always had for me, I have me most heartily commended unto you, giving God most hearty thanks for you, that he hath given you so loving a heart to Christ's poor Gospel, and his poor afflicted flock for the fame; and as you have full golly begun, so I beseech God to give you power to go forward in the fame, and never more to look back, fearing neither fire neither sword; and then I warrant you, you have not far to run.

And now (my dear Heart) remember well what I have taught you when I was present with you, and also written being absent, and no doubt we shall shortly meet again with a most joyful meeting. I go upon Friday next to the Bishop of London Cole-house, which is the 20. day of March, where I think it will be hard for any of my Friends to speak with me. Howbeit I trust I shall not long tarry there, but shortly after be carried up after my dear Brethren and Sisters, which are gone before me into Heaven in a fiery Chariot: therefore now I take my leave of you, till we meet in Heaven; and hie you after. I have tarried a great while for you, and feigning you be so long a making ready, I will tarry no longer for you. You shall find me merrily singing, *Holy, holy, Lord God of Sabaoth*, at my Journey's end. Therefore now (my dear Heart) make good haste, and byer not by the way, lest night take you, and ye be hurt out of the gate with the boishil Tyrants. And now (my Sister) in witness that I have taught you nothing but the truth, here I write my name with my Blood for a testimonial unto you, that I will feel the simple Doctrine which I have taught you, with the rest, and you well. And God defend you from Antichrist, and all his Ministers, the false Priests, Amen.

These words following were written with his own Blood.

Continue in Prayer. By me Will Tyms in the Ask in Faith. King-Bench for the And obtain your desire. Almighty God of Christ.

Another Letter of the said William Tyms, wherein he doth comfort his Sister Glafcock, being in great joy and repentance for going to the Mass.

Another Letter of W. Tyms to his Sister Agnes.

GOD be merciful unto you, pardon and forgive all your sins, and fend you Faith to believe the fame, that you may be partaker of his heavenly Kingdom, Amen.

My dear Sister, I have most heartily commended unto you; and as I have lamented your falling from God, by being partaker with that Idolatrous Priest; so have I, since I heard of your earnest repentance, very much rejoiced, and also praised Almighty God for his mercy shewed unto you, in that he hath not left you to your self, but since your denial, he hath shewed his mercy on you, by looking back on you as he did on Peter, and so you are to repent as Peter did, and bitterly to weep for your sins: whereas if God had left you to your self, you had run forward from one evil to another, till at length your heart should have been hardened, or else you should have depaired of the mercy of God. And seeing that God hath been so merciful unto you, as he hath been to you not unthankful unto him for the fame. For I certify you that your sorrowful heart, that you have had, doth declare unto me that God hath pardoned and forgiven all your sins for the blood-shedding of that immaculate Lamb, Jesus Christ our Lord and Saviour.

Therefore as Peter; after the time that Christ had forgiven him his sin, did boldly confess Christ before all his enemies; even so my dear heart in the Lord, seeing that God hath so mercifully pardoned and forgiven you your sins, now cleave unto him, and be at defiance with his enemies the Papists; and as they do bear witness with their Father the Devil, by going to the Church, and shedding the innocent blood of all those that will not go with them; even so do you bear witness with Christ, by not coming there: for all those that do go thither shall be partakers of their Brethren's blood, that is shed for the testimony of Christ, except they repent and amend; which grace that they may do, I beseech the eternal God for his Christs sake, if it be his good will, to give them in his good time. And the same good God that hath been so merciful unto you to call you to repentance, him I beseech to keep you in his faith and love, that you may have always assistance in him, and evermore feel his honour and glory to your everlasting comfort in Christ, Amen. Thus fare you well, from the Kings-Bench this 23. of August.

By me William Tyms.

Another Letter of William Tyms to certain golly Women of his Parish, followers of the Gospel.

RACE, mercy, and peace from God the Father, through our Lord Jesus Christ, be with you both now and evermore, Amen.

Dear Sisters, I have me most heartily commended unto you, thanking you for the great kindness shewed unto me in this time of mine imprisonment; and not only unto me, but also unto my poor Wife and Children; and also for the great kindness that you shew unto all the living Saints that be dispersed abroad, and are fain to hide their heads for fear of this cruel persecution.

Dear Sisters, when I do remember your constancy in Christ, I call to remembrance the constancy of divers golly Women, as *Suzannah, Judith, Hester*, and the good wife of *Nabal*, that through her godly conditions saved both her husbands life, and all her household, when *David* had thought to have slain him for his charity answer that he sent him. Also I do remember *Rahab*, that lodged the Lord Spies, how God preserved her and her whole household for her faithfulness that she bare to Gods People. So I do believe that when the Lord shall find his Angel to destroy these Idolatrous Egyptians here in England, and shall find the blood of the Lamb sprinkled on the door-post of your hearts, he will go by and not hurt you, but spare your whole households for your fakes. Also I do remember *Mary Magdalene*, how faithful she was; for she was the first that preached the Resurrection of Christ. Remember the blessed Martyr *Anne Askew* in our time, and follow her example of constancy. And for the love of God take heed that in no case you do content to Idolatry, but stand fast to the Lord, as the good Woman did that had her seven Sons put to death before her face, and she always comforting them, yea and last of all suffered death her self, for the testimony of her God, which is the living God. Thus I beseech God to fend you grace and strength to stand fast to the Lord, as he did, and so you shall be fare of the same Kingdom that he is fure of; to the which Kingdom I pray God bring both you and me, Amen.

By me William Tyms, Prisoner in the Kings-Bench.

Another Letter of William Tyms to his Friends in Hockley.

THE grace of God the Father, through the merits of Jesus Christ our Lord and our Saviour, with the continual aid of his holy and mighty Spirit, to the performance of his will, to our everlasting comfort, be with you my dear Brethren, both now and evermore, Amen.

My dearly Beloved, I beseech God to reward the great goodness that you have shewed unto me, for ever to your own benefits; and as you have always had a most golly love unto his Word, even so I beseech him

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Another Letter of W. Tyms to his Sister Colfox and Agnes Glafcock.

give you grace to love your own Souls, and then I trust you will flee from all those things that should displease our good and merciful God, and hate and abhor all the company of those that would have you to worship God any otherwise than is contained in his holy Word. And beware of those Matters of Idolatry, that is, these Papistical Priests. My dear Brethren, for the tender mercy of God, remember well what I have said unto you, and also written, the which I am now ready to seal with my Blood. I praise God that ever I lived to see the day, and blessed be my good and merciful God, that ever he gave me a Body to glorify his Name. And (hear Hearts) I do now write unto you for none other cause, but to put you in remembrance, that I have not forgotten you, to the end that I would not have you forget me but remember well what I have simply by word of mouth and writing taught you. The which although it were most simply done, yet truly, as your own Conscience beareth me record: and therefore in any case take good heed that you do not that thing which your own Conscience doth condemn. Therefore come out of *Sodom*, and go to Heaven-wind with the servants and martyrs of God, let you be partakers of the vengeance of God that is coming upon this wicked Nation, from the which the Lord God defend you, and fend us a joyful meeting in the Kingdom of Heaven: unto the which God bring you all, Amen. Thus now I take my leave of you for ever in this world, except I be burned amongst you, which thing is uncertain unto me, as yet.

By me your poorest and most unworthy Brother in Christ, W. Tyms, in Newgate, the 12. day of April condemned to die for Christs Perity.

Another Letter of William Tyms, giving thanks to his Parishoners, for their Charity shewed to his Wife, being brought to bed of a Child in his Captivity.

THE everlasting peace of our dear Lord and only Saviour Jesus Christ, with the sweet comfort of his holy and mighty Spirit, to the increase of your Faith, and to the performance of his will, and to your eternal comfort in the everlasting Kingdom of heaven, be with you my dear Brethren and Sisters both now and ever, Amen.

My most dear Brethren and Sisters in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, I have me most heartily commended unto you, with hearty thanks for all the great liberality that you have shewed unto me, and especially now in this time of my necessity, when that God hath sent my poor Wife a Child in my Captivity; which is no little care to me, so to provide, that I might keep both the Child and my Wife from the Antichristian Church: the which thing I thank my God, through his most gracious providing, I have yet done, though it be (as ye know) great Charge, not to me, but to the Congregation of God; and it grieveth me that I have been so chargeable to them as I have been, and specially you my dear Brethren, I being so unworthy a member as I have been, and also of so small acquaintance; but such is the merciful goodness of God, so to move your hearts with Charity towards me. And as he hath moved your hearts so to do, even so I beseech God to give you power to forsake and refuse all things which be displeasing in his sight, and to do all things which be requisite to a Christian; and fend you grace to go forwards in the fame as you have golly begun, neither fearing fire nor sword. And my most dear Hearts, remember well the simple plain Doctrine which I have taught you, and also written unto you, which was the Truth, and for a testimony of the same, I trust that you shall shortly hear, or else see that I will seal the same with my Blood. And in the mean time I desire you all to remember me in your prayers, as I know you do, and as with Gods help I will do for you, that God for his dear Son Christs sake, will so finish the days of our pilgrimage, that we may rest together with *Abraham, Isaac, and Jacob*, in the everlasting kingdom of Heaven; to the which I beseech the eternal God for his Christs sake to bring both you and all yours, Amen.

By me William Tyms.

Another Letter of William Tyms to his Sister Colfox and Agnes Glafcock.

RACE and peace from God the Father of all mercy. Through the merits of our dear Saviour Jesus Christ, to be perceived and felt in the hearts of you, my dearly beloved Sisters in the Lord, by the mighty working of the Holy Ghost the Comforter, both now and evermore, Amen.

My most dear and entirely beloved Sisters in the Lord, after my most hearty Commendations, according to my most bounden duty, I do as I am accustomed, or at least bound to do, that is, give you warning of your Enemies, which be the Papists, and take good heed to them, for they strive a crafty Manner, to lead you from the true faith, he leecheth not, but goeth about like a roaring Lion, seeking whom he may devour. For your old familiar Friends, or worldly Companions, when they see that you will not run to the Idols Temple with them, it will seem a strange thing unto them, that ye run not to the same excess of riot, as St. Peter faith, and therefore they will speak evil of you, rail on you, and persecute you.

But, my dear Sisters, let it not trouble you, for it is but to try you, and let it not seem a strange thing unto you. But when they do so, remember wherefore it is, and for whose fakes, even because you will not forsake God as they do. For the hatred they bear you, is for the Word of God, and then it is Gods cause, and I tell you he will revenge it. And therefore if ye be railed on, and troubled for his fakes, think your selves most happy. For if you suffer with the Patriarchs, Prophets and Apostles, then shall ye be fure to be partakers of the same joy that they are in. Ye, you have heard by the Word of God, how cruelly the Tyrants always have persecuted the true Members of Christ, as he himself hath promised that they shall do unto the end of the world.

By the way I will bring to your remembrance the holy Martyr St. Stephen, who for favouring, maintaining and defending the same Doctrine that we now suffer for, was called a Blasphemer, and stoned to death at *Jerusalem*. And the same Doctrine was diversly afflicted all the world over for the same by this vicious generation. Against the faithful witnesses of Christ was slain at *Perga*, *Polycarpus*, *Talon* for receiving of *Paul and Silas*, with other Apostles, and teachers of the Gospel, was brought before the Council at *Thessalonica*, and accused for a seditious trayson against *Cesar*. No marvel therefore though at this day we be vexed on the same foot, maintaining the same cause, and favouring the teachers thereof. There are other reward following the true Servants of God now, than hath been aforetimes? No surely, for so hath Christ promised. And if they have persecuted him, needs must they persecute his Members; if they have called the Mother of the house *Babylon*, to will they do his household; *You shall be hated of all men* (saith Christ) *for my Names sake*.

It is no new thing, my dear Hearts, to see the true Members of Christ handled as in our days they be, as it is not unknown to you how they be cruelly treated, and blasphemed without any reason or cause. For Heretics must they be taken, which follow not their traditions. And then they may as well call Christ an Heretic, for he never allowed their right Ceremonies. He never went a procession with a Cope, Crofs, or Candlestick. He never sented Image nor fane Latin Service. He never fasted in Confession. He never preached of Purgatory, nor of the Popes Pardons. He never honoured Saints, nor prayed for the Dead. He never hid Mass, Mattins, nor Evensong. He never commanded to fast Friday nor Vigils, Lent nor Advent. He never hallowed Church nor Chalice, Affes nor Palms, Candles nor Bells. He never made holy Water nor holy Bread, with such like. But such dumb Ceremonies, not having the express commandment of God, he calleth the leaven of the *Pharisees*, and damnable hypocrisy; admonishing his Disciples to be ware of them. He curseth all those that add to his Word such beggarly traditions, wiping their names clean out of the Book of Life. St. Paul faith, they have no portion with Christ, which wrap themselves again with such yokes of bondage.

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Word, which only is the root of all love and faithful obedience unto her Grace, and of all honestly, good life, and virtuous concord among her Commons. And thus we fear, left the Root being taken away, the Branches will soon wither and be fruitless. And when the Philistines have stopped up the Well-spring, the fair Streams that should flow shall soon be dried up. And all our Watchmen, our true Preachers have taught us, that as long as we retained Gods Word, we should have God our gracious merciful Father; but if we refused and cut off the Lords yoke of his Doctrine, then shall we look for the Lords wrath and severe visitation to plague us, as he did the Jews for the like offences. And *Psalm faith, Rom. 2. God gave to them the spirit of unquietness and upraised eyes wherewith they should not see, and ears wherewith they should not hear, until this day: And as David saith, Psalm 69. Let their table be made a snare to take them: fetters withal, a trap to catch them, and a stumbling block to fall at. Let their eyes be blinded that they see not, and bow thou down their backs always.*

What unquietness followeth the lack of Gods word.

O merciful God, all this is now come upon us, and daily more and more increased, and we fear at last it will bow down our backs, that we shall utterly be destroyed; the troublesome spirit of uprors and unquietness daily troubleth mens hearts and worketh such unquietness in all places, that no man that loveth quietness can tell where to place himself. Men have eyes and feet, not how grievous an offence it is to cast off the yoke of Gods Doctrine, and to bear the heavy burden that unfaithful Hypocrites lay upon us. We have ears and hear not the warning of Gods Word, calling us to true Repentance, nor his threats against our Impiety. Our most sweet tablet of Christs Word and most holy Communion is taken away, and turned to a most pernicious snare, through the brawling Disputations of men. And as the Idol of Abomination betokened final subversion unto the Jewish Nation; so we fear, this setting aside of the Gospel and holy Communion of Christs, and the placing in of a Romish Religion, betokeneth defolation of this noble Realm of England to be at hand.

For the Plagues of Hunger, Repentance, and Sword, come not long tarry, but except we repent, and turn again to the Lord, our backs shall be bowed, that the like horrible Plagues were never seen. And no marvel: for the like offence was never committed, as to reject and cast off Christs his Word, and in plain English to say, *We will not have him to reign over us.* O Lord, how terrible is it that followeth in the Gospel? *Thou mine enemies that would not have me to reign over them, bring thine thier, and slay them before me.* Luke 19. God be merciful unto us, and move the Queens Majesties heart, and the hearts of her honourable Council, and your hearts (right honourable Commissioners) to weigh these dangers in due time; and to call Gods Word into your Council, and then you shall see how it agreeth with this Bishop-like Commandment; and to be as wary to avoid the contempt of the eternal God, and dangers of the time, as you are prudent and wise in matters of this World, left if the Almighty be contentment, and kindle forth his Arm which no man can turn, and rendle his Wrath, that no man can quench.

Warning to Q. Mary, to her Council, and Commissioners.

We have humbly opened unto your Conferences, doubtless fore wounded and grieved by this Commandment; and we meekly pray and beseech the Queens Majesty, for the precious death and bloodshedding of Jesus Christ our Saviour, to have mercy and pity upon us her Graces poor Commons, faithful and true Subjects. Members of the same Body Politick, wherof her Grace is Supreme Head. All our Bodies, Goods, Lands and Lives are ready to do her Grace faithful obedience, and true service of all Commandments that she doth not against God, and his Word; but in things that import a denial of Christs, and refusal of his Word and holy Communion, we cannot consent nor agree unto it. For we have bound our selves in Baptism to be Christs Disciples, and to keep his holy Word and Ordinances. And if we deny him before men, he will deny us before his heavenly Father and his holy Angels in the day of Judgement; which we trust her benign Grace will not require of us.

The duty of true Subjects declared, and their faithfulness to the Queen.

And we humbly beseech her Majesty, that we be not enforced unto it; but as we serve her Grace with Body

and Goods, and due Obedience, according to Gods Commandments we may be permitted freely to serve God and Christ our Saviour, and keep unto him our Souls which he hath with his precious blood redeemed, that so (as Christ teacheth) we may render to *Cæsar* that which is due to *Cæsar*, and to God that which is due to God.

For we think it no true Obedience unto the Queens Majesty, or to any other Magistrate ordained of God, under him to obey in the things contrary to Gods Word, but the same be never so freightly charged in her Graces Name. The Bishop of Winchester hath truly taught in the point, in his Book of true Obediences, that true Obedience is in the Lord, and not against the Lord: as the Apostle answered before the Council at Jerusalem, commanding them no more to preach in the Name of the Lord Jesus. Judge you (said they) whether it be *his* right in the sight of God, to hear you rather than God. And again they said, *We must obey God rather than Man.* Wherefore we learn, that true Obedience is to obey God, King of all Kings, and Lord of all Lords, and for him, in him, and not against him and his Word, to obey the Princes and Magistrates of this World, who are not truly obeyed when God is disobeyed, nor yet disobeyed when God is faithfully obeyed.

Tobias disobeyed not his King, although contrary to the Kings Commandment, and contrary to the usage of all other Kings, when they went to *Dan* and *Belbel*, he went unto *Jerusalem*, and worshipped in the Temple of the Lord. The three young men to *Babylon*, refusing *Nebuchadnezzars* commandment, pleaded God more than the whole Multitude that obeyed. And *Daniel* that prayed to the God of Heaven, contrary to King *Darius*s Commandment, bare a more true and faithful heart to the King, than those wicked Counsellors, that procured that wicked Law, or chose that for fear or flattery obeyed it. Which two Pencilless (fear and flattery) have ever destroyed true Obedience to God and Man; when wicked godless men (that care not if the Devil were worshipped, so they might get and obtain riches, promotions, and dignity, and worldly glory) turn us and fro, at every word of disobedience; and weak and frail men fearing loss of goods, punishment, or death, do outwardly in body that thing, that their hearts and consciences inwardly abhorre, and so outwardly defy God, and think irreconcilable with man, which diffimulation we hear yearly hate of all men, and most uncomely for Christian men.

Wherefore, we humbly beseech the Queens Majesty, with pity and mercy to tender the lamentable fate of us her poor Subjects, which be by this Commandment fore hurt, and wounded in our Consciences, and driven to many miseries, and by the malicious attempts of wicked men suffer great wrongs and injuries, losses, loss of goods, and bodily vexations. We think not good, by any unlawful cry or commotion to feed remedy; but intend, by Gods grace, to obey her Majesty in all things, not against God, and his holy Word. But unto such ungodly Bishop-like Commandments, as are against Gods Word, we answer with the Apostles, *God must be obeyed rather than Man.* If Persecution shall ensue (which some threaten us with) we desire the heavenly Father, according to his promises, to look from Heaven, to hear our cry to judge between us and our Adversaries, and to give us faith, strength and patience to continue faithful unto the end, and to batten their evil days, for his chosen sake; and so we faithfully believe it will be.

Notwithstanding, we trust the Queens gracious and merciful heart will not suffer such tyranny to be done against her poor, innocent, faithful and obedient Subjects, that daily pray unto God for her; which we trust, in this world, but to see unto her Highness, our most gracious and benign Sovereign; whom we pray and beseech, for the dear blood of Christs, to pity our lamentable case and hurt of Conscience, and to call back all such Gods Commandments as are against Gods honour, as the good King *David*, *Asaph*, *Trajanus*, *Theodosius*, and divers other have done, and permit the holy Word of God and true Religion (as forth by our most holy and innocent King *Edward*, a very Saint of Gods joy) be restored again unto our Churches, to be frequented amongst us. So shall we grow and increase in the knowledge of God

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and of Christs true repentance and amendment of Life: so shall we exhibit true obedience to our lawful Magistrate, and all superiours ordained of God: so shall love and charity (of late through this commandment so decayed) be again restored, the honour of her regal estate the more confirmed and established and godliness and virtuous life among her loving Subjects increased & maintained.

And we most heartily pray you (Right Honourable Commissioners) to be means unto the Queens Highness, and to her Honourable Council, that this our humble suit may be favourably tendered, and graciously heard and granted. And we will not cease day and night to pray unto the Heavenly Father long to preserve her Grace and all other Magistrates in his fear, and love, and in prosperous peace and wealth, with long life and honor, Amen.

Your poor suppliants, the lovers of Christs true Religion in Norfolk and Suffolk.

The Story of John Harpole, of the Parish of S. Nicholas in Rochester, Joan Beach Widow, of Tunbridge, Martyr.

Touching the Examination of *Joan Beach* Widow, and of *John Harpole* within the Diocese of *Rochester*, by *Maurice* Bishop of the said Diocese, remembrance was made before in the Story of *Nicholas Hall*, wherein was declared the four Articles Confrontal of the Bishop, objected and laid, as unto the said *Nicholas Hall* and his company, so also to this *Joan Beach* Widow: wherof the first was this;

1. That the was of the Parish of *Tunbridge*, in the Diocese of *Rochester*.

2. Item, that all persons which preach, teach, believe, or say anywise or contrary to that their Mother, Holy Catholic Church of Christ, are Excommunicate Persons and Heretics.

3. Item, that the said *Joan Beach* hath, and yet doth affirm, maintain, and believe contrary to the said Mother Church of Christ, viz. that in the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, under form of Bread and Wine, there is not the very Body and Blood of our Saviour in substance, but only a token and memorial thereof; that the very Body and Blood of Christ is in Heaven, and not in the Sacrament.

4. Item, that the hath been, and yet is, amongst the Parishioners of *Tunbridge*, openly avowed, and vehemently suspected to be a Sacramentary and Heretic.

Her personal Answers to the said Articles.

TO the which forefild Articles, her answers were these. First, that she was and is of the said Parish of *Tunbridge*, in the Diocese of *Rochester*.

2. That all persons which do Preach and hold otherwise and contrary, to that which the Holy Catholic Church of Christ doth adhere to be reputed for Excommunicate and Heretics; adding withal, that nevertheless she believeth not the Holy Catholic Church to be her Mother, but believeth only the Father of Heaven to be her Father.

3. Thirdly, that the hath, and yet doth verily believe, hold and affirm in the Sacrament of the Altar under form of Bread and Wine, not to be the very Body and Blood of our Saviour in substance, but only a token and remembrance of the same; that she doth believe, and yet doth not believe in substance, but only in token, and this Body and Blood of our Saviour in Heaven, and not in the Sacrament.

Lastly, as touching how the hath been, or is noted and reputed among the Parishioners of *Tunbridge*, the said, she would not; howbeit she believed, she was so taken and reputed.

Examination and Condemnation of John Harpole and Joan Beach.

THE like matter, and the same four Articles were also the same present time and place ministered to *John Harpole* by the forefild Bishop *Maurice* who after the like answers received of him, as of the other before, adjudged and condemned them both together to death, by one form of Sentence, according to the tenour and course

of their several Sentence, which we may read before in *Master Rogers* Story.

And thus these two Christian Martyrs coupled in one confession, being condemned by the Bishop, suffered together at one fire, in the Town of *Rochester*, where they together ended their lives about the first day of this present Month of *April*.

John Hallier, Minister and Martyr.

NEXT after these faithful Martyrs of *John Hallier* the Minister, who first he brought up in the School of *Eaton*, was afterward Scholar, and then Conductor in the Kings College at *Cambridge* suffered under Doctor *Thurlyb* Bishop of *Ely*, and his Chancellor, for the sincere setting out of the light of Gods Gracious Gospel, revealed in these our days. In whose behalf this is to be lamented, that among so many faithful and stirring pens in that University, so little matter is left unto of *Thurlyb*, touching the process of his judgment and order of his sufferings which so innocently gave his life in such a cause, rather, among the midst of them. By certain Letters which he suffered as earnest in that Doctrine of truth, which every true Christian Man ought to embrace. His Martyrdom was about the second day of this present Month of *April*.

Letters of Master John Hallier, Minister.

A Letter of John Hallier to the Christian Congregation, exhorting them faithfully to abide in the Doctrine of the Lord.

IT standeth now most in hand (O dear Christians) all a Letter, as that then look to be accounted of Christs flock, because of the great and terrible day, when a separation shall be made of the sort that shall be received from the others, and other which shall be refused, faithfully in this time of great afflictions to hear our Master Christs voice, the only true Shepherd of our Souls, which faith, *Whosoever shall endure to the end, he shall be saved.* For even Math. 24. we may see that great trouble in hand (as here in *England* and we may well see) that our Saviour Christ, Jesus of Nazareth, which should follow the true and sincere Preaching of his Gospel. Therefore in this time we must needs either them that we be his Faithful Soldiers, and continue in his battle unto the end, putting on our armour, that is, the buckler of faith, the breastplate of love, the helmet of hope and Salvation, and the sword of the Holy Word (which we have heard plentifully with all instance of Supplication and Prayer; or else if we do not work and labour with these, we are Apostates and false Soldiers, thinking most unthankfully from our gracious and sovereign Lord and Captain Christ, and leaving to *Belial*. For as he faith plainly, *Luke 14. Whosoever heareth not my Gospel, and followeth me, he cannot be my disciple.* And *Math. 6. No man can serve two Masters: for either he must hate the one, or love the other, or else he shall leave to the one, and despise the other.* The which thing the Faithful Prophet *Helias* signified when he came to the prophets, and said, *Why halt ye between two Opinions? If ye love the Lord, follow him, or if Baal be better, follow him.* 3 Reg. 18.

Now let us not think, but that the same was recorded in writing for our instruction, whom the ends of the World are come upon, as the Apostle *S. Paul* faith, *Rom. 16. Whosoever things are written aforehand, they are written for our learning.* If Christ be that only good and true Shepherd that gave his life for us, then let us that bear his mark, and have our Consciences sprinkled with his blood, follow altogether, for our Salvation, his heavenly voice and calling, according to our profession and first promise. But if we shall not do so, certainly (say what we can) we shall have the name of Christ, yet we be none of his Sheep indeed. For he faith very manifestly, *John 10. My Sheep hear my voice, and follow me: a stranger they will not follow, but will flee from him; for they know not the voice of a stranger.*

Therefore let every Man take good heed in these perilous days (whereof we have had so much warning afore hand)

How far a Prince ought to require obedience of his subjects.

Q. Mary.

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hand that he be not beguiled by the goodly outward show and appearance, as Eve was of our old subtil enemy, the willful craft and wilfulness to be manifold and divers, (of full of close windings, that if he cannot bring him directly and the plain straight way to come him in by guile, then he will allure him and wind him in by some other false ways (as it were) a man that he shall not perceive it, to deceive him virtual, and to steal from him that goodly victory of the incorruptible and Eternal Crown of Glory, which no Man else can have, but that fighteth lawfully: as at this present day, if he cannot induce him throughly, as other do, to favour his Devilish Religion, and of good will and free heart to help to uphold the same, yet he will inveigle him to resort to his wicked and whorish School-House, and at the last will be covertant and keep company with his congregation there, and to hold his peace and say nothing, whatsoever he think, so that he be not a Diligent Soldier and a good labourer on Christs side, to further his Kingdom, by that subtil means flattering him that he shall both save his life, and all his goods, and live in quiet. But if we look well on Christs Holy Will and Testament, we shall perceive that he came not to make any such peace upon Earth, nor yet that he gave any such peace to his Disciples: I have peace with you (saith he) my peace I give you, not as the World giveth, but as I give unto you. Let not your heart be troubled, nor fear, for I have spoken unto you, that in me ye shall have peace. In the World ye shall have affliction, but he of good cheer, I have overcome the World. The Scripture is not greater than my Lord and Master. If they have persecuted me, they shall also persecute you. If any Man come to me, and hate not his own Father and Mother, Wife, Children, Sisters, yea, and moreover his own Life, it is not possible for him to be my Disciple. Blessed be ye that now weep for ye shall laugh and weep. He that shall now laugh, for ye shall mourn and weep. He that will find his life, shall lose it.

Therefore the God of that true peace and comfort, preserve and keep us, that we never obey such a false flattering, which at length will pay us some once for all, bringing for temporal peace and quietness, and ending trouble, vexation, and disquietness, for they vain and trifling goods, extreme loss and utter damage of the eternal treasure and inheritance: for this mortal life, deprivation of the most joyful life immortal; finally, the entrance into endless death most miserable, unenjoyable pain and torment both of Body and Soul.

Now considering these two Schoolmasters together, let us consider the thing well, and determine with ourselves which way we ought to take, and not to take the common broad way which semeth here most pleasant, and that the most part of the people take. Surely I judge it to be better, to go to School with our Master Christ, and to be under his Ferula and rod (although it semeth sharp and grievous for a time) that at the length we may be instructors with him of everlasting joy, rather than to keep company with the Devils Schooars, the adulterous generation, in his School that is all full of pleasure for a while, and at the end to be paid with the wages of continual burning in the most horrible lake which burneth evermore with Fire and Brimstone without any end. What shall then these vain goods and temporal pleasures avail? Who shall then help when we cry inefficiently, Wo, wo, alas, and woe away, for unenjoyable pain, grief, and sorrow? O let us therefore take heed betime, and rather be content to take pains in this World for a time, than we may please God. Our Saviour Christ the true teacher faith, Every Branch that bringeth not forth fruit in me, my Father will take away, John 15.

It is also not written in vain, Eccles. 41. The children of the Ungodly are admirable Children, and so are they that keep company with the Ungodly. What doth he else, I pray you, that resorteth to the multifarious and most intricate, there keeping full silence, and nothing reproving the same, but in the face of the World, by his very deed it self, declare himself to be of a false, fearful, dissembling, fained, and unfaithful heart, and to have laid away from him the armour of light, discarding as much as lieth in him all the residue of Christs

hoft, and giving a manifest offence to the weak, and Anno 1566. also confirming, encouraging, and rejoicing the hearts of the adversaries in all their evil doing? By which whom he doth thus himself neither to love God, whom he feeth to be dishonoured and Blaphemed of an Antichristian Minister, nor yet his neighbour before him should rebuke the evil, as it is expressly commanded in Gods Holy Law, where it is said Thou shalt in any way rebuke thy neighbour, that thou hear not for his sake, Levitic. 19. Wherefore let such a one never flatter himself, that his name is registered in the Book of Life, to have the Epithet of Christs Soldier, except he do the duty, and perform the part of a Faithful and right true Soldier, as other have done before. Faithful fearfulness cometh not from God, as sufficient said Paul, 2 Tim. 1. saying, God hath not given us the spirit of fear, but of power and love. Be not ashamed, faith be a testifier our Lord, but suffer adversity alow the Gospel, through the power of God, which saved us, and called us with an holy calling.

To be now fearful, when most needs that we should be of strong hearts, in utterly the rejecting of the fear of God, and plain unfaithfulness and disobedience to the express commandment of our Saviour Christ, which faith in his Holy Gospel, Matth. 10. Fear not that man shall kill the Body, &c. For what faithful do we expect from them, when he faith thus to us, and yet we declare in our doings the very contrary, being ever as the disciples, unbelieving flatterers, which unfaithfully feared Gods Enemies the Heathen Cannibals, whereas he had oftentimes given them commandment by his true Prophet Moses, to do the contrary? For the which causeful, his whole number of that Sect were destroyed in process of time in the Wilderness, and enjoyed not the pleasant land of promise. Which was a Bodily figure before, and now agreeing to the promise of the Heavenly Inheritance, which shall be found to none other, but only to all such as withlove unfained be wholly bent, without any fear of Man, to fulfill Gods Holy Will and pleasure. But all they that pertain to the truly Faithful winning of the Soul, will faithfully fly to the commandment, trusting most firmly and faithfully that he that gave the same, will also give strength plentifully to perform it even in the weakest vessels of all, even as we have heard and seen by many and divers examples, he will be praised therefore.

Saint Peter faith, 1 Pet. 3. Fear not though they should take your life, neither be troubled, but justify the Lord God in your hearts. Only (saith Saint Paul, Philippi. 1. let your conversation be as it becometh the Gospel of Christ. Continue in one spirit, and in one soul, labouring as we do, to maintain the faith of the Gospel, and in nothing fearing your adversaries, which is the token of Damnation, and to you of Salvation, them a token of Death, for unto you it is given that no man shall be able to hurt you, but also suffer for his sake. Wherefore let us be right well assured, that we shall yield a most straight reckoning and account, if we traugher the said most wholesome precepts given us of our Master Christ, and of his Apostles, and now in this troublesome time wherein the Gospel is persecuted, then our selves fearful Soldiers; as it is manifestly declared in the Revelation of Saint John, Chapter. 2. where it is written, That the fearful shall have their part with the unbelieving and abominable, in the lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death. Again, it is written in the same Book for our warnings, Chapter the third, Because thou art bewitched both, and neither cold nor hot, I will spew thee out of my Mouth.

Now therefore (good Christians) these true testimonies of Gods lively word deeply considered and weighed, let us chiefly stand in awe of his most terrible judgments, and be not as they that presumptuously tempt him, Let us always be our fear and dread. He now chaffeth, and now nourtereth us for our profit, delighting in us even as a loving Father in his beloved Child, to make us perfect, and to have us to be partakers of his everlasting love and mercy, not utterly taking away his everlasting love and mercy from us, doth from the malignant and wicked (that we should not be condemned with them) that we should now refuse his most loving

chaffing, and follow the World, we must needs have our portion with the World, Wide is the gate, and broad is the way which leadeth to destruction, and many there be which go in thereat. But strait is the gate, and narrow is the way that leadeth unto life, and few there be that find it. O how much better is it to go this narrow way with the people of God, than to enjoy the pleasures of Sin for a time?

In consideration whereof, let us without any more flaking and confusion, in this great warning by Gods loving visitation, submit our selves betime under his mighty hand, that he may exalt us when the time is come. And thus I wholly commit you to him, and to the Word of his grace, which is able to build further, beseeching you most heartily to pray for me, that I may be brought through the power of his might, and stand predestinate in all things, being always prepared and ready looking for the mercy of our Lord unto eternal rest, and I will pay for you as I am most bound. So I trust he will graciously hear us for his promise faith made unto all the faithful in his dearly beloved Son Christ our alone Saviour, whose Grace be with your Spirit, most dear Christians, for ever. So be it.

By your Christian Brother, John Hullier, a Prisoner of the Lord.

John Hullier being of long time prisoner, and now openly judged to die for the Testimony of the Lord Jesus, writes heartily to the whole Congregation of Gods, the strength of his Holy Spirit, to their everlasting health both of Body and Soul.

I Now (most dear Christians) having the sweet comfort of Gods saving health, and being confirmed with his free Spirit (as he fully praised therefore) am constrained in my Confidence, thinking it my very duty to admonish you, as ye tender the Salvation of your Souls, by all manner of means to separate yourselves from the company of the Papes hierarchy, concerning which is said in the Revelation of Saint John, by the Angel of God, touching all Men. The words be these; If any Man worship the Beast and his Image, and receive his mark in his forehead, or in his hand, the same shall drink the Wine of the Wrath of God, which is poured into the cup of his wrath, and he shall be punished with fire and brimstone before the holy Angels, and before the Lamb, and the smoke of their torment ascendeth up evermore. Mark well here (good Christians) who is this Beast and worshippers that shall be partakers of that unspeakable torment. The Beast is none other but the carnal and Fleishly Kingdom of Antichrist, the Pope with his rabble of false Prophets and Ministers, as it is most manifest: which to maintain their high Titles, worldly promotions and dignities, do with much cruelty, daily more and more let forth and establish their own traditions, decrees, decretals, contrary to Gods Holy Ordinances, Statutes, Laws, and Commandments, and wholly repugnant to his sincere and pure Religion and true Worshiping.

Now what do they else but Worship this Beast and his Image, who after they had once already escaped from the sickness of the World, through the knowledge of the Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, yet again ranged their steps and overcome again diffimulation unfaithfully for fear of their diffimulation, doing one thing cowardly, and thinking inwardly another, to having them in reverence under a cloak and colour, to whom they ought not so much as to say, God speed; and adjoining themselves to the malignant congregation, which they ought to abhor as a den of Thieves and Murderers, and as the hottest hole of most blasphemous fornicators: whose Vozes being contrary to Christs Voice, if they were of his Flock, they would not know, but would flee from them; as he himself being the good Shepherd of our Souls doth full well in his Holy Gospel testify. Again, what do they else I pray you, but receive the Beast's mark in their forehead and in their hands, which is to be a fair Face and Countenance outwardly in Reporting them in their orders, and being ashamed openly to confess Christ and his Holy Gospel? But this fained and diffimulation Christ and his Gospel will in no

way allow. Of whom it is said, Luke 9. Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this Adversary, I will be ashamed of him also in the Father. Man be ashamed, when he shall come with his Father with his holy angels. Therefore faith Almighty God by his Prophet Malachi, 1. Called be the diffemblers. Ye were once lighted, and tarried by the Heavenly gift, and were become partakers of the Holy Ghost, and tasted of the Word of God, and of the power of the World to come. And our Saviour Christ faith, Luke 6. No Man that putteth his hand to the plough and looketh back, is fit for the Kingdom of God. Therefore Saint John the Apostle useth this for a manifest token, that the backsliding of the true Preachers of Gods Word declare evidently, that they be not of the number of them. For, faith he, 1 John 2. If they went out from us, but they were never of us: for if they had been of us, they would have continued with us. Surely so long as we use diffimulation and to play on both hands, we are not in the light. For whatsoever is manifest, the same is light, as the elect vessel of God S. Paul witnesseth in Ephes. 5.

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way allow. Of whom it is said, Luke 9. Whosoever shall be ashamed of me and of my words in this Adversary, I will be ashamed of him also in the Father. Man be ashamed, when he shall come with his Father with his holy angels. Therefore faith Almighty God by his Prophet Malachi, 1. Called be the diffemblers. Ye were once lighted, and tarried by the Heavenly gift, and were become partakers of the Holy Ghost, and tasted of the Word of God, and of the power of the World to come. And our Saviour Christ faith, Luke 6. No Man that putteth his hand to the plough and looketh back, is fit for the Kingdom of God. Therefore Saint John the Apostle useth this for a manifest token, that the backsliding of the true Preachers of Gods Word declare evidently, that they be not of the number of them. For, faith he, 1 John 2. If they went out from us, but they were never of us: for if they had been of us, they would have continued with us. Surely so long as we use diffimulation and to play on both hands, we are not in the light. For whatsoever is manifest, the same is light, as the elect vessel of God S. Paul witnesseth in Ephes. 5.

Wherefore (good Christians) if our Gods most dear love, deceive not your selves through your own will, dom, and through the Wisdom of the World, which is foolishness before God; but certifie and say your own Confidence with the true and faithful Word of God, and With the infallible testimonies of Holy Scripture. For although Gods mercy is over all his works; yet it doth not extend but only to them that hold fast the confidence and rejoicing of hope unto the end, not being weary in well-doing, but rather waxing every day stronger and stronger in the inward Man. Therefore in the Revelation of S. Johns, where it is entreated of the Beast and his Image, it is also said, Here is the patience of the Saints, and here are they that keep the Commandments, and the Faith of Jesus Christ, Revelation. 19. Whereby Almighty God doth these plainly, that he doth use those wicked Men as Instruments for a time to try the patience and faith of his peculiar people, without the performance whereof, we can have no part among the living; but as it is said in the same Revelation, The fearful shall have their part in the Lake that burneth with fire and brimstone, which is the second death.

But peradventure ye will object and say unto me, What shall we do? Shall we call our selves heading to death? I say not so. But this I say, that we are all bound (if ever we look to receive Salvation at Gods Hand) in this time of safe wholly to be obedient to his determinate counsel and foreknowledge, expressed by the gift of the Spirit in Holy Scripture; and then to call all our care upon him, who worketh all in all for the best, unto them that love him: and thus he giveth commandment, saying: Come away from her my people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues, Revelation. 18. Now who hearing this terrible voice of God, which must needs be fulfilled, will not with all speed and diligence apply himself to do thereafter, except such will be presumptuously tempt him? And as touching such, the Wise Man faith, Revel. 3. He that loveth peril and danger, shall perish therein. But they that be of the Faith of Abraham, even as he did, so will they in all ways and trials be obedient to the Heavenly Voice, howsoever it seemeth contrary to their own natural will, and carnal reason, according to the fire word of Faith, which faith, Hope thou in the Lord, and keep his way: let them still in the Lord, and abide patiently upon his Word, not that ye jealous move thee also to evil. Come out from among them, and do not touch their feet to their unlawful assemblies, do not once your selves with the least part of your Body to favour their wicked doings, but glorify God (as is most right) as well in your whole Body outwardly, as inwardly in your Spirit, or else you can do neither of both well; for your Body the Body doth belong to God as well as your Spirit. At the dread day of Judgment we shall all receive the works of our Bodies, according to that we have done, whether it be good or bad.

Therefore whatsoever we do, we may not bring the Spirit in bondage to the Body, but contrariwise we must subdue the Body and the will of the Fleish to the Spirit, that the Spirit may freely accomplish the will of God all

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in all things; for otherwise we shall never be partakers of his promise, with the true Children of Abraham. For as S. Paul faith, *They which are the children of the flesh, are not the children of God. If we shall live according to the flesh, we shall die. For to be carnally minded, is death; but to be spiritually minded, is life and peace; because that the fleshly mind is enmity to God: for it is not obedient to the Law of God; neither can it be so, because that we are in the flesh, cannot please God.* Now choose you which way you will take; either the narrow way that leadeth unto life, which Christ himself, and his faithful followers, have gone through before; or else the broad path-way that leadeth to destruction, which the wicked worldlings take their pleasure in for a while. I for my part have now written this short Admonition unto you of good will (as God is my witness) to exhort you to that way, which at length you your selves shall prove and find to be best, yea and joyous thereof. And I do not only write this, but I will also (with the assistance of Gods grace) ratifie and confirm, and seal the same with the effusion of my blood, when the full time shall be expired that he hath appointed; which (to far forth as I may judge) must needs be within these few days. Therefore I now bid you all most heartily farewell in the Lord, whose grace be with your spirit, Amen. Watch and

pray, watch and pray, pray, pray. So be it.

John Hallier.

Besides these Letters, the said John Hallier left also a godly Prayer, which if any be disposed to peruse it; extant in the old Book of Acts to be found, pag. 15 & 15.

The death and martyrdom of six constant Professors of Christ, burned at Colchester, for the testimony of the Gospel, the 28. day of April.

Not long after the death of Robert Drakes, William Apin, a Tyne, and the other Essex Martyrs, executed in Smethfield, as is above specified, followed in the same order likewise of Martyrdom, at one like fire in the Town of Colchester, (where the most part of them did inhabit) six other blessed Martyrs, whose names be these:

Christopher Lyfter of Dagenham, Husbandman.
John Mace of Colchester, Apothecary.
John Spencer of Colchester, Weaver.
Symon Tyne, Sawyer.
Richard Nichols of Colchester, Weaver.
John Hamond of Colchester, Tanner.

The burning of the forsaide six men at Colchester.



With these six was also joyned another, whose name was Roger Graubroke, but he afterward submitted himself. Of these above named, the Bishop, because he (as it seemed by the short Procees recorded by his Register) waxed now weary, made a very quick dispatch. For soon after that, they were delivered unto one John Kingstone, Bachelor of Civil Law, and then Committed to the Bishop, by the Earl of Oxford and other Commissioners (as appeareth by a Bill indented, made between the Commissioners and the said Comissary, for the receipt of the said Prisoners, dated the 25. day of March, Anno Regni Regi & Regine Philippi & Mariæ secundo Comitis & tertia, which is the year of our Lord, 1556) and by him sent up unto his Lord and Master, the Bishop caused them to be brought unto his House of Prisoners. Where the same Articles that were propounded unto Bartlet Green and others, mentioned before. To the which they made their several Answers, agreeing altogether in one Truth, as by the sum and effect thereof here ensuing, more plainly appeareth.

1. To the first Article they all consented and agreed; as John Spencer adding further thereto, that the Church of Rome (which is the Church of Rome) is no part of the Church of Christ; and that he neither built, nor doth believe the Doctrine and Religion taught and set forth in the said Romish and malignant Church.

2. To the second they answered, That they believed, that in the true Catholic Church of Christ there be but two Sacraments; that is to say, the Sacrament of Baptism, and the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ.

3. To the third Article they all agreed, confessing that they were baptized in the Faith and Belief of the Catholic Church, and that their Godfathers and Godmothers had professed and promised for them, as is contained in the same Article.

4. To the fourth they answered, That they always were, and yet then did continue in the Faith and Profession wherein they were baptized; Richard Nichols adding also that he had more plainly learned the truth of the Profession by the Doctrine set forth in R. Edward the sixth his days, and thereupon he had builded his Faith, and

would continue in the same to his lives end, God willing.

5. To the fifth they answered, That they neither feared nor went away from the Catholic Faith of Christ. Howbeit they confessed, that within the time articulated (and before) they had mislived, and earnestly spoken against the Sacrifice of the Mass, and against the Sacrament of the Altar, affirming that they would not come to hear or be partakers thereof, because they had, and then did believe, that they were set forth and used contrary to Gods Word and Glory. And moreover they did grant, that they had spoken against the usurped Authority of the Bishop of Rome, as an oppressor of Christs Church and Gospel, and that he ought not to have any Authority in England. For all which sayings they were no whit sorry, but rather rejoiced and were glad.

6. To the sixth they answered, That they never refused, nor yet then presently did refuse to be reconciled to the Unity of Christs Catholic Church: but they said they had, and then did, and so ever would hereafter utterly refuse to come to the Church of Rome, to acknowledge the Authority of the seat thereof, but did utterly abhor the same, for putting down the Book of Gods Word, the Bible, and setting up the Babylonical Mass, with all other of Antichrists merchandise.

7. To the seventh Article, the effect thereof they all agreed. And Symon Tyne declared further, that the cause of his refusing to be partaker of their trumpery was, for that the Commandments of God were there broken, and the Christs Ordinances changed and put out, and the Bishop of Rome Ordinances in stead thereof put in. Moreover, touching the Sacrament of Christs Body, Christopher Lyfter affirmed, that in the said Sacrament there is the substance of Bread and Wine, as well after the words of Consecration as before, and that there is not in the same the very Body and Blood of Christ really, substantially, and truly, but only Sacramentally and Spiritually by Faith in the Faithful receivers, and that the Mass is not propitiatory for the quick or for the dead, but meer Idolatry and Abomination.

8. To the eighth they said, That they were sent to

Colchester Prison by the King and Queens Commissioners, because they would not come to their Parish Churches, and by them sent unto the Bishop of London, to be hereof further examined.

9. To the ninth they all generally agreed, That that which they had said in the premisses was true; and that they were of the Diocese of London.

These Answers thus made, the Bishop did dismiss them for that present until the afternoon. At which time having first their Articles and Answers read unto them again, and they standing most firmly unto their Christian Profession, they were by diverse wayward means assayed and tried if they would revoke the same their professed Faith, and return to the Unity of Antichrists Church.

Which thing when they refused, the Bishop stoutly pronounced the Sentence of Condemnation against them, committing them unto the Temporal Power. Whose upon the receipt of the King and Queens Writ, sent them unto Colchester, where the 28. day of April, most cheerfully they ended their lives to the Glory of Gods holy Name, and the great encouragement of others.

Hugh Laverock an old Man, John Apprice a Blind Man, Martyrs, burned at Stratford the Bow.

In the discourse of this parcel or part of History, I know not whether more to marvel at the great and unsearchable mercies of God (with whom there is no respect of persons, but he choiceth as well the poor, lame, and blind, as the rich, mighty, and healthful, to set forth his glory) or else to note the unreasonable, or rather unnatural doing of these unmerciful Catholics (I mean the Bishop Bower and his Complices) in whom was so little favour or mercy to all sorts and kinds of Men, that also they spared neither important Age, neither lame nor blind, as may well appear by these poor Creatures, whose names are forth here under follow.

Hugh Laverock of the Parish of Barking, Painter, of the Age of 68. a lame Cripple.
John Apprice, a Blind Man.

The Martyrdom of a blind man, and a lame man, at Stratford the Bow.



The Martyrdom of three Women.



These two poor and simple Creatures being belike accused by some promoting neighbour of theirs, unto the Bishop and other of the King and Queens Commissioners, were sent for by their Officer, and so being brought and delivered into the hands of the said Bishop, were the first day of May examined before him in his Palace at London: where he first propounded and objected against them those nine Articles, whereof mention is made before, ministered as well unto Bartlet Green, as also unto many others. To the which they answered in effect, as Christopher Lyfter, John Mace, and others before mentioned had done.

Where,

his Masters House in Summer, about or anon after the rising of the Sun, (being in his Bed) by *James Ling* of *Widford*, and *John Kerob* of the same Town, and *William De* of *Dalme* in the said County.

The occasion of his taking was, for that he would not go to their Populish Church to hear Mass, and receive their Idol at the Commandment of Sir *John Tyrrel* Knight, of *Gipping-hall* in *Suffolk*, and certain other Justices there, who sent both him and them to *Eye Dungen* in *Suffolk*, all at length they were all three together brought before *Dunning*, then Chancellor of *Norwich*, and Mr. *Minge* the Register sitting at the Town of *Breckles* to be examined.

And there the said Chancellor, perceiving what he could turn them from the Truth, could by no means prevail of his purpose. Wherefore minding in the end to give Sentence on them, he burst out in tears, entreating them to remember themselves, and to turn again to the holy Mother Church, for that they were deceived and out of the Truth, and that they should not wilfully cast away themselves, with such like words.

Now as he was thus labouring them, and seemed very loath to read the Sentence (for they were the first that he condemned in that Diocese) the Register then sitting by, being very bold of tarrying, or else perceiving the constant Murmurs to be at a point, called upon the Chancellor in haste to rid them out of the way, and to make an end. At which words the Chancellor read the Condemnation over them with tears, and delivered them to the Secular Power.

The Articles.

THE Articles objected to these, and commonly to all other condemned in that Diocese by Dr. *Hopton* Bishop of *Norwich*, and by *Dunning* his Chancellor, were these:

1. First, It was Articulate against them, that they believed not the Pope of *Rome* to be Supreme Head immediately under Christ in Earth of the Universal Catholic Church.
2. Item, That they believed not holy Bread and holy Waters, Albes, Palms, and all other like Ceremonies used in the Church, to be good and laudable for stirring up the People to Devotion.
3. Item, That they believed not, after the words of Consecration spoken by the Priest, the very Natural Body of Christ, and no other Substance of Bread and Wine to be in the Sacrament of the Altar.
4. Item, That they believed it to be Idolatry to worship Christ in the Sacrament of the Altar.
5. Item, That they took Bread and Wine in remembrance of Christ's Passion.
6. Item, That they would not follow the Croft in Procession, nor be consecrated to a Priest.
7. Item, That they affirmed no mortal man to have in himself freewill to do good or evil.

For this Doctrine and Articles above prefixed, these three (as is aforesaid) were condemned by Dr. *Dunning*, and committed to the Secular Power, Sir *John Sillard* being the same time high Sheriff of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*.

And the next day following upon the same, they were all burnt together in the said Town of *Breckles*. Whereupon it was to be thought, that the *Wit De Combrendis*, was not yet come down, nor could be. But the Chancellor *B. Heath* being the same time at *London*. Which if it be true, then it is plain, that both they went beyond their Commission, that were the Executors, and also the Clergy, which were the Infirmitors thereof, cannot make good that they now pretend; saying, that they did nothing but by Law. But this is the Lord find out when he seeth his time.

In the mean time while these good men were at the Stake, and had prayed, they said their Belief; and when they came to the reading of the Catholic Church, Sir *John Sillard* spake to them; That is well said, Sir, I am glad to hear you say, you do believe the Catholic Church. That is the best word I have heard of you yet.

To which his sayings *Edmund Pole* answered, that though they believe the Catholic Church, yet do they not believe in their Populish Church, which is no part of the Catholic Church, and therefore no part of their Belief.

When they rose from Prayer, they all went joyfully to the Stake, and being bound thereto, and the Fire burning about them, they praised God in such an audible voice, that it was wonderful to all those which stood by and heard them.

Then one *Robert Bacon*, dwelling in the said *Breckles*, a very Enemy of Gods Truth, and a Persecutor of his People, being there present with his hearing thereof, led the Tormentors to throw one Fagot to stop the Knaves breaths, as he termed them; so hot was his burning Charity. But these good men, not regarding their malice, confessed the Truth, and yielded their lives to the death for the testimony of the same, very gloriously and joyfully. The which their constancy in the like end the Lord grant we may imitate and follow unto the end: Whether it be death or life, to glorify the Name of Christ, Amen.

And forthwith as we have here entered into the Persecution of *Norfolk* and *Suffolk*, it cometh therefore to mind, by occasion hereof, briefly to touch by the way, some part (for the whole matter cannot be so exprest as it was done) touching the troubles of the Town of *Winton* and *Mendham* in *Suffolk*, raised and stirred by the said Sir *John Tyrrel* and other Justices there of the like affinity. The firm and effect of which briefly is thus signified to me by writing.

The Perfection in the Towns of Winton and Mendham in Suffolk.

By the procurement of Sir *John Tyrrel* Knt and other of his Colleagues, there were persecuted out of the Town of *Winton* in *Suffolk*, these persons hereafter following, *Alme* 1556.

- Mrs. *Alme* *Twasite* Gentlewoman, of the age of three score years and more, and two of her sex.
- Humphrey Smith* and his wife.
- William Canpole* and his wife.
- John Manning* and his wife.
- Nicholas Burlingham* and his wife.
- And one *Rough* and his wife.

Such as were persecuted and driven out of the Town of *Mendham*, in the County of *Suffolk*.

- Symon Harfstone*, and *Katherine* his wife, with his five children.
- William Whitting*, and *Katherine* his wife.
- Thomas Delfon* and his wife.
- Thomas Hubbard* and his wife.
- John Dison* and his wife and maid.
- William Dencon*.
- Thomas Woodward* the elder.
- One *Kennell* wife.
- A Poor Widow.
- One mother *Semon* Maid.

Besides those that were constrained to do against their Conscience, by the help of the Parish Priest, whose name was Sir *John Broadly*.

These be the chiefest Cause why those above named were persecuted.

First, they did hold and believe the holy Word of the said Lord to be the sufficient Doctrine unto their Salvation.

Secondly, They denied the Popes usurped Authority, and did hold all that Church of Antichrist to be Church of Devils. And further, they refused the said Sacraments, denied the Mass and all Popish Service and Ceremonies, saying, they robbed God of his honour and Christ of his death and glory, and would not come at the Church, without it were to the defacing of that they did there.

Thirdly,

Thirdly, They did hold that the Ministers of the Church by Gods Word might lawfully marry.

Fourthly, They held the Queen to be as chief Head, and wicked Rulers to be a great Plague sent of God for sin, &c.

Fifthly, They denied man Free-will, and held that the Popes Church did err, and many other in that point with them, rebuking their false confidence in works, and their false trust in mans righteousness. Also when any rebuked those persecuted for going so openly, and talking so freely, their answer was, They knewledged, confessed, and believed, and therefore they must speak: and that their Tribulation was Gods good will and providence, and that his judgments were right, to punish them with other for their sins; and that of very faithfulness and mercy God had caused them to be troubled, so that one hair of their Heads should not perish before the time, but all things should work unto the best, to them that love God, and that Christ Jesus was their life and only righteousness, and that only by faith in him, and for his sake all good things were freely given them, also forgiveness of sins and life everlasting.

Many of their persecuted were of great Substance, and had Possessions of their own.

Give God the praise.

Forasmuch as we are now in the Month of *May*, before we overpass the time, and because the Story is not long, and not unworthy peradvantage of noting it shall not grieve the studious Reader, a little to give the hearing thereof, whereby to learn to marvel and muse at the great works of the Lord. They that go down into the *Palmer*, into the Sea, labouring upon the waters, have seen the works of the Lord, and his mighty wonders upon the deep, *Psalm 106 &c.* The truth whereof may well appear in this story following; which story, as it is signified and written to me by relation of the party himself, which was done thereof, called *Thomas Mafie*, I thought to purport the same as followeth.

A Story of one Gregory Crow, marvellously preserved with his New Testament upon the Seas, May 26.

Upon Tuesday after Whitsonday, which was the 26. day of *May*, in this present year 1556. (or else, as he rather thinketh, in the year next before, which was 1555,) a certain poor man, whose name was Gregory Crow, dwelling in *Mendham*, went to the Sea, minding to have gone into *Kent* for Filling Earth, but by the way, being foul weather, was driven upon a Sand, where presently the Boat sunk, and was full of water, so that the men were forced to hold themselves by the Masts of the Boat, and all things that would swim did swim out of her. Amongst which Crow saw his Testament in the water, and caught it and put it in his bosom. Now it was ebbing water, so that within one hour the Boat was dry, but broken so as they could not leave her; but they went themselves upon the Sand (being ten miles at the least from the Land) and there made their Prayers together, that God would send some Ship that way to save them (being two men and one boy in all) for they might not tarry upon the Sand but half an hour, but it would be flood. In the which time they found their Chest wherein was money to the sum of five pound six shillings eight pence, the which money the man took with him, and was with the said Crow (whose name I know not) took and gave it unto Crow, who was owner thereof, and he call it into the Sea, saying, If the Lord will save our lives, he will give us a Living, and so they went upon the Malt there, hanging by the arms and legs for the space of ten hours, the which time the boy was so weary, and beaten with the Sea, that he fell off and was drowned.

And when the Water was gone again, and the Sand dry, Crow did to his man, I were best for us to take down our Masts, and when the flood cometh we will sit upon them, and so it may please God to bring to us some Ship that may take us up. Which thing they did, and so at ten of the Clock in the night of the same Tuesday, the flood did bear up the Malt whereupon they were.

And upon the Wednesday in the night the man died, being overcome with hunger and watching. So there was none left but this Crow, who, driving up and down the Sea, called upon God as he could, and might not sleep for fear that the Sea would have beaten him off.

So at length I my self (said *Thomas Mafie*) being upon Friday, having within my Croyer, of Mariners and Merchants, to the number of 46 persons, and so coming to the *Forland*, the wind was not very good, so that I was constrained to go somewhat out of my way, being in the Afternoon about six of the Clock; where at the last we saw a thing star off, appearing unto us like a small buoy, that fishermen do use to lay with their hooks.

When we were five fathoms, we saw some fish. And I said to him that was at the Helm: Keep your course away, for we shall not hinder the Fishermen, and have no fish neither, and so at my commandment he did. But at length he at the Helm handling higher then all we did; said, Me think Master, it is a man. But yet they being in doubt that it was but a Fishers Buoy, returned the Ship from him again to keep their course.

Crow beholding the Ship to turn from him, being then in utter despair and ready now to perish with watching, famine, and moreover miserably beaten with the Seas, at last took his Mariners Cap from his head, and holding up the same with his arm, as high as he could, though by flunking it as well as he might, to give them some token of better life.

Whereupon the Staymen more kindly perceiving a thing to move, advertised us again, declaring how he did feel plainly a mans arm; and with that we all beheld him well, and so came to him and took him up. And from as we had him in our Ship, he began to put his hand in his bosom; and one asked him if he had come there. No, said he, I have a Book here, I think it were best; and so drew out his Testament, which we then did see. But the Sea had so beaten him, that his eyes, nose, and mouth were almost closed with salt, that the heat of his face and the weather had made. So we made a fire and basted him with dry clothes, and gave him *Aqua compita* to drink, and such meat as was in the Ship, and then let him sleep.

The next day we awakened him about eight of the clock in the Morning, and his blood began somewhat to appear in his flesh (for when we took him up, his flesh was even as though it had been fished, or as a drowned mans) and then we talked with him of all the matter before rehearsed. And so flying to *Amster*, the Merchants which saw the thing published the fame in *Amster*; and because it was wonderful, the people there, both men and women, came to the ship to see him in person. Some gave him a Peticoat, and some a Shirt, some Hosen, and some Money (always noting how he call away his Money, and kept his Book).

And many of the women wept when they heard and saw him. And Master Governor of the English Nation there had him before him, and talked with him of all the matter; and by his care, commanded the Officer of the English House to go with him to the free Office-houses amongst the English Merchants, and with them, and at three Houses there was given him six pound ten shillings. And so from thence he went with me to *Roan*, where the people all came to him to see him, marveling at the great works of God.

And thus much concerning this poor man with his New Testament preserved in the Sea (which Testament the Popes Clergy condemneth on the Land) ye have heard, as I received by the relation of the Party above named, who was the doer thereof, and yet alive dwelling in *Lee*, well known to all Merchants of *London*. In which story this by the way, understand, good Reader, (which rightly may be supposed) that if this poor man, thus found and preserved in the Sea with a New Testament in his bosom, had had influence of the Sea, to a consecrated Host about him, no doubt it had been rung ere this time all Christendom over for a Miracle, so far as the Pope hath any Land. But to let the Pope with his false Miracles go, let us return again to our matter begun, and adjoin another History of much like condition, testified likewise by the information.

tion of the said *Thomas Morley* above mentioned, to the intent to make known the worthy acts of the Almighty; that he may be magnified in all his wondrous works. The Story is thus declared, which happened Anno 1556. at about Michaelmas.

Another like fiery of Gods Providence upon three men delivered upon the Sea.

There was a Ship (faith the said *Thomas Morley*) whereof I had a charge, to deliver the Bay for Sale, with two Ships of *Brickley*, which were altogether going for Sale, as before is said. At what time we were within ten miles of the *North Foreland*, otherwise called *Tenots*, the wind did come so contrary to our Ship, that we were forced to go clean out of the way, and the other two Ships kept their course till, until our Ship was almost out of sight of them. And then they saw a thing driving upon the Sea, and hoisted up their Boat and went unto it; and it was three men fitting upon a piece of the Ship, which had fallen two days and two nights in the Sea.

There had been in their Ship eight men more, which were drowned, being all Frenchmen, dwelling in a place in France called *Ollemerre*. They had been at *Danwich*, and left their Ship about *Oxford* *Nagas* might be learned by their words. They were men that feared God, the one of them was Owner of the Ship. Their exercise, while they were in our Ship, was that after their coming in, they gave thanks for their Deliverance: both Morning and Evening they exercised Prayer, and also before and after Meat; and when they came into *France*, our Ships went to the same place where these men dwelled, and one of them did tell unto our men their Ships lading of Salt, and did use them very courteously and friendly, and not at that time only, but always whenever that Ship cometh thither, (as the hath been there twice) he is always doth for them, for they can lack nothing. I should have noted, that after our Ship had taken up those three men out of the Sea, they had laid up fire presently, and came and overtook the other two Ships again, and so they proceeded in their Voyage together.

For the more credit of this Story above recited, to satisfy the curious, and to prevent the quarreller, I have not only alleged the name of the party which was the doer thereof, but also expressed the matter in his own words, as I of him received it; the Party and Reporter himself being yet alive, and dwelling at *Leam*, as man for well known among the Merchants of *London*, that whatsoever heareth the name of *Thomas Morley*, will never doubt thereof. And again, the matter is self being so notoriously known to Merchants as well here as at *Antwerp*, that though his name were not expressed, the Story can lack no Witness.

The death of William Slech in the Kings Bench.

The last day of the said Month of May, in the year 1556, the said *William Slech* being in Prison for the said false Doctrine of the Lench Gospel, and the Confession of his Truth, died in the Kings Bench, and was buried on the backside of the said Prison, for that the Romish Catholic Spirituality thought him not worthy to come within their Pope holy Church-yards, neither in any other Christian Burial, as they call it.

The Story of four men condemned at *Lewes* the 6. day of June.

In June next following, about the sixth day of the same Month, four Martyrs suffered together at *Lewes*, whose names were these:

Thomas Harland of *Woodmancote*, Carpenter.
John Oswald of *Woodmancote*, Husbandman.
Thomas Gwenton of *Arlebury*, Turnbar.
Thomas Reed.

To *Thomas Harland* I find in the Bishop of *London* Registers, to be objected for not coming to Church. Whereunto he answered, That after the Mass was recited, he never had will to hear the Mass, because (said

he) it was in Latin which he did not understand, and therefore as goods, quoth he, never a whit as never the better.

John Oswald denied to answer any thing, until his Accusers should be brought face to face before him; and nevertheless said, That Fire and Fagots could not make him afraid: but as the good Preachers which were in King *Edwards* time have suffered and gone before, so was he ready to suffer and come after, and would be glad thereof.

These four, after long Imprisonment in the Kings Bench, were burned together at *Lewes* in *Sussex*, in one Fire, the day of the Month aforesaid.

The Martyrdom of Thomas Whood, and Thomas Milles.

In the same Town of *Lewes*, and in the same Month likewise, were burned *Thomas Wood* Minister, and *Thomas Milles*, about the twentieth day of the same Month, for refuting the erroneous and heretical Doctrine of the pretended Catholic Church of *Rome*.

Two dead in the Kings Bench.

In the which Month likewise, *William Alderall* Minister, imprisoned in the Kings Bench, there died the 24. day of the same Month, and was buried in the backside: Also *John Clement* Wheelwright, who dying in the said Prison, in like sort upon the Dumble was buried in the backside two days after, viz. the 25. day of June.

A Merchants Servant burned at Leicester.

The next day following of the said Month of June, we read of a certain young man, a Merchants Servant, who for the like godliness suffered cruel Persecution of the Papists, and was burnt at *Leicester* the 26. day of the Month of June above named.

Thirteen Martyrs burned at Stratford the Bow.

Not long after the death of the Merchants Servant before mentioned, there followed in this happy and blessed order of Martyrs burned in one Fire at *Stratford* the Bow by *London*, eleven men and two women, whose dwellings were in sundry places in *Essex*, and whose names hereafter follow.

Henry Allington. *Lyon Cawch.*
Laurence Parnam. *Ralph Jackson.*
Henry Wye. *John Dorisall.*
William Halliwell. *John Routh.*
Thomas Bwyer. *Elizabeth Pepper.*
George Scarle. *Agnes George.*
Edmund Whorf.

Unto whom the 6. of June, Anno 1556. Dr. *Darbyshire*, *Bomers* Chancellor, in form of Law ministered the same Articles that were pronounced unto *Thomas Whitis* and his Company, mentioned before, to the which they made their several answers, in simplicity and in a good confidence. The sum and effect whereof ensueth.

To the first, they all answered affirmatively, but that *Lyon Cawch* added further, that he believed that the true Faith and Religion of Christ is, whereofever the Word of God is truly preached.

To the second Article they all answered in effect, do answer to the same, saying that there be seven Sacraments; some affirming that in the Church of Christ there be but two Sacraments, that is to say, Baptism and the Lords Supper: Others referring themselves to believe as the Scripture teacheth thereof. And other some refused to make answer because of their simplicity.

To the third Article they all answered affirmatively.

To the fourth Article they all answered affirmatively, saying, *John Routh*, who said he would make no answer thereto. But *Lyon Cawch* added, that he believed thereto. And to the fifth, but was because he had better know-

knowledge. And *Agnes George* added, that in K. *Ed.* the first, his time she was from her old Faith and Religion; and believed in the Faith and Religion that was then taught and set forth.

To the fifth, they all answered in effect affirmatively, saying *John Routh*, whose answer was, That the Mass is such a thing, which neither can nor will enter into his Conscience. And *Henry Allington* answered, That for nine or ten years before, he misliked the Mass, and also the Sacrament of the Altar, because they cannot be proved by the Scriptures. And as touching the Authority of the See of *Rome*, he being but fourteen years of age, took an Oath against the same, which Oath (he said) he intended to keep by the grace of God.

To the sixth they all answered affirmatively, saying *John Routh*, and *William Halliwell*, who both refused to answer, because they knew not what they meant by this Article. But the two Women added, That they refused to be reconciled to the Faith and Religion that was then used in the Realm of *England*. And *Laurence Parnam* added, That he never refused to be reconciled and brought to the Unity of the Catholic Church of Christ.

To the seventh Article they all answered affirmatively, but *William Halliwell* denied that ever he called the Mass Idolatry and Abomination. And *Henry Wye* affirming the Article to be true; yet he confessed his infirmity, that he went to his Parish Church and received; before he was put in Prison.

To the eighth Article *Edmund Whorf*, *Ralph Jackson*, and *George Scarle* answered affirmatively: *Henry Wye* said he was brought before certain Justices of Peace in *Essex*, concerning one *Highe* his late Master, and thereupon he was committed to *Colecheper* Cattle, and from thence sent to *London* to the Bishop to be further examined. *William Halliwell* affirmed the like confession as *Henry Wye* did, only *Highe* excepted. *John Dorisall* said he was called before the Lord *Rich*, and from thence sent to *London* to the Bishop to be further examined. *Thomas Bwyer* said he was brought before one *Neuigate* of *Essex*, and by him was sent to *Colecheper* Cattle, and from thence was carried to *Bomers* Bishop of *London*, to be by him further examined. *Lyon Cawch* said that he was sent to come before the King and Queens Majesties Commissioners, and there before them appearing three times, was sent to *Bomers* Bishop of *London*, to be by him further examined. *Henry Allington* said, That he coming to *Neuigate* to speak with one *Graswick* there being Prisoner for the Testimony of *Jesus* Christ, was apprehended and brought before Dr. *Story*, and by him sent to *Bomers* Bishop of *London*, to be by him further examined. *John Routh* said, That he was converted before the Earl of *Oxford*, and by him sent to the Castle of *Colecheper*, and from thence conveyed to *Bomers* Bishop of *London*, to be by him further examined. *Laurence Parnam* said, That he was committed to *Harford* Prison, because he would not go to Church, and from thence sent to *Bomers* Bishop of *London*, to be by him further examined. *Agnes George* said, That he was committed to Prison in *Colecheper*, at the commandment of one Mr. *Maynard* an Alderman of the Town, because the said Mr. *Maynard* would not go to Church, and from thence sent to *Bomers* Bishop of *London*, to be by him further examined. *Elizabeth Pepper* said she was apprehended by two Constables and an Alderman, for that she would not come to Church, and by them was sent to *Bomers* Bishop of *London*, to be by him further examined. To the ninth Article, they all believed the Pressbills to be true above by them confessed, and that they were of the Diocese and Jurisdiction of *London*. But *Elizabeth Pepper* added, That she was of the Town of *Colecheper*.

And *Agnes George* added, That she was of the Parish of *Bereford*. And *Lyon Cawch* added, That he was then of the City of *London*, by reason that he was at that present a Merchant there.

Henry Wye, Brewer, was of the Parish of *Stamford* Here, and of 32. years of age.

William Halliwell was a Smith, of the Parish of *Walton* Halls, *Croft*, and of the age of 24. years; or thereabouts.

Ralph Jackson was a Servingman, of *Shipping* *Onger*, *Ralph Jackson* and of the age of 24. years.

Laurence Parnam was a Smith of *Hoddon*, within the Parish of *Arncliffe*, in the County of *Hartford*, and of the age of 22. years.

John Dorisall was a Labourer, of the Parish of *Retington* in *Essex*, and of the age of 50. years.

Edmund Whorf was a Labourer, of the Parish of *St. Edmund* *Jamess* in *Colchester*, and of the age of 50. years and above.

Thomas Bwyer was a Weaver of *Much Dunmow*, *Thomas Bwyer* and of the age of 36. years.

George Scarle was a Taylor, between 20. or 21. *George Scarle* years of age, of the Parish of *White Nettle*, where he was taken and carried to the Lord *Rich*, who sent him to *Colecheper* Cattle, with a Commandment that no Friend he had should speak with him. There he lay six weeks; and was sent up to *London*, where he was sometime in the Bishops *Colcheouff*, sometime in *Lollard* *Tower*, and last of all in *Neuigate*. He was apprehended in *Lent*, about a fortnight before *Easter*, in the place aforesaid.

Lyon Cawch was a Broker, born in *Flanders*, and then resident, at his takings, in the City of *London*, and of the age of 28. years or thereabouts.

Henry Allington was a Sawyer, and of *Greenfield* in *Henry Allington* the County of *Suffolk*, and of the age of 30. years.

John Routh was a Labourer, and of the Parish of *John Routh* *Wickes* in *Essex*, and of the age of 36. years.

Elizabeth Pepper was the wife of *Thomas Pepper*, *Elizabeth Pepper* Weaver, of the Parish of *St. Jamess* in the Town of *Colecheper*, and of the age of 30. years, or thereabouts, who when he was burned at *Stratford*, was eleven weeks gone with child, as he then testified to one *Bomys* wife, who then unloaded her Neckchief, saying moreover, when she was asked why he did not tell them and answering, Why, quoth she, they knew it well enough. O! such be the bloody hearts of this cruel Generation, that no occasion can they find from their malicious murdering of the Saints of the Lord, which truly profit Christ crucified only, and alone for the faithful of his fans.

Agnes George was the wife of *Richard George* *Agnes George* husbandman, of *Watt* *Bereford* in the County of *Essex*, and of the age of 26. years. This *Richard George* had no other wife burned beside her in the *Peffer* at *Colecheper*, and himself lay in Prison until *Queen Elizabeth* came to the Crown, and then was delivered.

When these thirteen were condemned, and the day appeared, they should suffer, which was the 27. day of June, Anno 1556. they were carried from *Neuigate* in *London* the said day to *Stratford the Bow*, (which was the place appointed for their Martyrdom) and there divided into two parts, in two several Chambers. Afterward the Sheriff, who there attended upon them, came to the one part, and told them that the other had recanted, and their lives therefore should be saved, willing and at the Sheriff's, exhorting them to do the like, and not to cast away their lives.

Unto whom they answered, That their Faith was not builded on *Man*, but on Christ crucified. Then the Sheriff perceiving no good to be done to them, went to the other part and said (like a liar) the like to them, that they whom he had been with before, had recanted, and should therefore not suffer death, counselling them to do the like, and not willfully to kill themselves, but to play the wise men, &c.

Unto whom they answered as their Brethren had done before, that their Faith was not builded on *Man*, but on Christ and his Word, &c.

Now when he saw it looked not to persuade (for they were God be praised, fully grounded on the Rock *Jesus* Christ) he then led them to the place where they should suffer, and being all together, most earnestly they prayed unto God, and joyfully went to the Stake, and

kindled it, and embraced it very heartily.

The eleven men were tied to three Stakes, and the two women loose in the midst without any Stake, and so burning they were all burnt in one Fire, with such love to each other, and confidance in our Saviour Christ, that it made all

the lookers on to marvel. The Lord grant us the like grace in the like need, according to the good pleasure of his will, Amen.

In the company of these forefard thirteen, were three more condemned to dye; whose Names are here-under specified:

These three were dis-
sented all by the Car-
dinal.

Thomas Freeman.
William Stannard.
William Adam.

Which three answered to those Articles that were propounded unto the said thirteen, in effect as they did. And being thus in the hands of the Secular Power, Cardinal Poul sent his Dispensation for their lives, by what occasion I cannot safely say, but by means thereof they then escaped. The Copy of which Dispensation, because it is exemplified in our first Impression, shall define the Reader to refer to the place of the page 1545.

The Sunday after these aforesaid sixteen were condemned, *Thomas Freeman, William Stannard, William Adam.* The Sunday next, *Richard Dean of Pauls* preached at Pauls Church, where he declared, that they had as many sundry Opinions as they were sundry Persons. At the hearing

Anno
1556.



whereof they drew out their Faith, and set to their Hands as hereafter followeth, and directed the fame to their Friends, and the faithful Congregation, as followeth.

Unto all our dearly beloved Friends, and the holy Congregation of Jesus Christ, even so many as love God, grace be with you, and peace from God our Father, and from our Lord Jesus Christ. So be it.

A Letter of
Apology of
the Martyrs
purging
themselves
of the false
doctrine of
Mr. Becon.

BE it manifest to all unto whom this our Certificate shall be sent, that whereupon Saturday being the thirtieth day of June, at Fulham, before the Bishop of London, sixteen of us (whose names here-under are subscribed) were condemned to dye for the most pure and sincere truth of Christianity; which most godly truth hath been at the beginning with the wicked adversaries thereof continually defaced, and is by the Devil and his Imps even at this present likewise daily slandered. Upon the occasion, dearly beloved Brethren, we are moved, yet constrained, in the ears of all men to manifest our belief, and also briefly the Articles whereof we are condemned, for the avoiding of false reports and slanderous tongues, which might happen by the most ungodly and uncharitable Sermon lately preached at Pauls Church, the fourteenth of the said Month, being Sunday, by Mr. Becknam, now Dean of the same Church; where he in that most worthy Audience defamed us to be in sixteen sundry Opinions, which were a thing prejudicial to all Christian verity; and for a testimonial thereof, this here-under written shall answer our Cause, and therefore we pray you that are of Gods to judge.

Voluntar-
y agreement
in their Faith.

The first, we believe we were baptised in the Faith of Christ Church, and incorporate unto him, and made Members of his Church, in the which Faith we continue. And although we have erred for a certain time, yet the root of Faith was preserved in us by the Holy Ghost, which hath reduced us into a full certainty of the same, and we do per-

fect, and will by Gods assistance to the end. Now mark, that although the Minister were of the Church malignant, yet his wickedness did not hurt us, for that he baptised us in the Name of the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost. There was both the Word and the Element, and our good Godfathers and Godmothers renouncing for us the Devil and all his Works, and confessing the Articles of the Christian Faith for us, and also witnesses that we are baptised, not in the Faith of the Church of Rome, but in the Faith of Christs Church.

1. Item, There are but two Sacraments in Christs true Church, that is, the Sacrament of Baptism, and the Lords Supper. For in these are contained the Faith of Christ by Church; that is, the two Testaments, the Law and the Gospel. The effect of the Law is repentance, and the effect of the Gospel remission of sin.

2. Item, We believe that there is a visible Church, wherein the Word of God is preached, and the holy Sacraments truly ministered, visible to the wicked world, although it be not credited, and by the death of Saints confirmed, as it was in the time of Helias the Prophet as well as now.

3. The See of Rome is the See of Antichrist, the Congregation of the wicked, &c. whereof the Pope is Head under the Devil.

4. Item, The Mass is not only a prophection of the Lords Supper, but also a blasphemous Idol.

5. Item, God is neither spiritually nor corporally present in the Sacrament of the Altar, and there remaineth no quick Substance in the same, but only the Substance of Bread and Wine.

For these the Articles of our Belief, we being condemned to dye, do willingly offer our corruptible Bodies to be dissolved in the fire, all with one voice offering and

con-

Anno confuting themselves, and in no point differing or dissenting from any of our former Articles.

Apparent also let it be and known, that being of the former Articles before the bloody Bishop examined, the said day and time, we affirmed to believe all that he or they would approve by the Scriptures. But he said that he would not stand to prove it with Hereticks, but said they themselves were the holy Church, and that we ought to believe them, or else to be cut off like withered branches.

Their Names subscribed to the fame.

These of
died were
buried in
a place
out

Ralph Jackson.
Henry Adlington.
Lyon Cawch.
William Halliwell.
George Seales.
John South.
John Derifall.
Henry Wyse.
Edmond Harf.
Laurence Parnam.
Thomas Bouyer.
Elizabeth Pepper.
Agnes George.
Thomas Freeman.
William Stannard.
William Adam.

Trouble and business in the Dioceses of Litchfield.

IN the Dioceses of Litchfield, about the fourteenth of June, in the same year, John Cusack who was lately come from London before, and now dwelling at Wellingborough, though he suffered no Martyrdom, yet sustaining some trouble, being attached and examined by the Bishop, named Ralph Bane, for his Religion, especially for two points, in holding against the reality of Christ in the Sacrament, and against Auricular Confession to be made to the Priest. For the which cause being compelled to recant, he was enjoined in the Church of St. Cade to bear a Flagot before the Cross, bare-headed, having in the one hand a Taper, and in the other a pair of Beads, &c.

Amongst divers other which in the same Dioceses, and the same time were suspected and troubled for the like, was Thomas Flier of Uttoxeter, Shoemaker. Nicholas Ball of Uttoxeter, Capper, Thomas Pyot of Cheddul. Item, Henry Crimes for marrying his Wife on Palm-Sunday Evening, &c. Some other also there were which had the like Penances enjoined them as Thomas Johnson about the 26. day of this Month of June, because he swore by the holy Mass before the Bishop sitting in Judgment, who for the same was driven to go before the Cross with his Taper and Beads, &c.

Concerning the which Thomas Flier above named, being a piously and a zealous man, this furthermore to be noted, and not unworthy of grateful memory, that whereas in the Town of Uttoxeter, commandment was directed unto him amongst others from the Ordinary, for pulling down Monuments of Superstition, and namely the Kiosk-Idol; he being one of the Churchwardens or Sidemen, on a time had talk upon the same with certain of his Neighbours, where one wished them ill to chieve, that should go about such an Idol.

What words passed else amongst them, ministering matter of further provocation, it is not perfectly known. In fine, the said Flier being offended, and afterward meeting with him that had used such words before, began to commune with him of those sayings; but in the end the man so little repented him of those sayings, that he added yet more fierce words, and at length brokes also, in such way, that at the conflict the said Thomas Flier was slain; and yet so was the matter handled, and such words were made with Money by the Murderer and his Friends, to the said Flier was that he suffered little or nothing for the same, false only that he was banished the Town, and sworn and bound never to come in it so long as the said Fliers wife should live.

Three men dead in the Prison of the Kings Bench.

AFTER the burning of these in Stratford, the same Month died in the Prison of the Kings Bench in Southwark, one Thomas Parret, and was buried in the Church, the 27. day of the Month abovefaid.

Also Martin Hunt (as is reported) in the same Prison was slain the 29. day. At which time likewise died in the same Prison, as I find recorded, one John Noris,

and after the same sort as the other was buried on the backside of the said Prison, the day above mentioned.

The Story of three Martyrs suffering at St. Edmunds-bury.

AFTER the death of the aforesaid Thomas Parret, *John Noris*, *Adam Foster*, and *Robert Lawfon*, were three martyred at St. Edmundsbury in Suffolk, in one fire, whose Names are here-under specified:

Roger Bernard.
Adam Foster.
Robert Lawfon.

The first Examination of Roger Bernard before Dr. Hop-ton Bishop of Norwich.

WHEN Roger Bernard came before the Bishop, first *Rog. Bernard* he was asked whether he had been with the Priest at Easter to be thriven, and whether he had received the blessed Sacrament of the Altar, or no? Unto *Rog. Bernard* answered, No: I have not been thrived with the Priest, nor confided my self unto him, but I have confided my self to Almighty God, and I trust he hath forgiven me; whereof I shall not need to go to the Priest for such matters, who cannot help himself.

Bish. Surely Bernard thou must needs go, and confide thy self unto him.

Rog. That shall I not do (by Gods grace) while I live.

Bish. What a stout boyly Heretic is this? How desperately he answereth?

Rog. My Lord, grieveth me no whit (I thank God) to be called Heretic at your hands: for so your Fathers called the Prophets and Confessors of Christ, long before this time.

At these words the Bishop rose up in a great heat, and bade Bernard follow him. Then the Bishop went and knelt before that they call the Sacrament of the Altar, and as he was in his Prayers kneeling, he looked back, and asked Bernard why he came not and did as he did. Unto whom Bernard answered, I cannot tell why I should do so. Why, quoth the Bishop, know I would the Altar?

Rog. Ife no Body there. Do you, my Lord?

Bish. Why, naughty man, dost thou not see thy Maker?

Rog. My maker? No, I see nothing but a few Clouts hanging together on a heap. With that the Bishop rose up fore displeased, and commanded the Jayler to take Catholick him away, and to lay Iron enough on him. Forquoth Chantry of this Prison he was carried away.

The second Examination of Roger Bernard before the said Bishop.

THE next day Bernard was brought again before the Bishop, who asked him if he did not remember himself since the day before that he was before him.

Rog. Yes, my Lord, I have remembered my self very well, for the same man I was yesterday, I am this day, and I hope shall be all the days of my life, concerning the matter you talked with me of.

Then one of the Guard standing by, said, My Lord, I pray you trouble not your self any more with him, but let me have the examining of him, I shall handle him after another sort, I row, and make him a fair Child, &c. he go, you shall see.

So was he committed to him, and brought by him to a wholome company of Catepillars: an Inn, where were a great many of Priests assembled together, and there they fell all in flattering him, and perfwading him with gay inticing words what they could; but when therein they might not prevail, for that the Lord afflid the good poor man, then began they to threaten him with whipping, rocking, burning, and such like, that it was wonderful the do they made with him. Unto whom Bernard said, Friends, I am not better than my Master Christ and the Prophets, which your Fathers served after such sort; and I for his Names sake am con-

tenis

For. Who shall give judgment upon me?
Bish. I will judge as hundred fuch as thou art, and never be thriven upon it.

For. Is there not law for the spiritually as well as for the Temporal? And Sir Clement Higham said, Yes. What meanest thou by that?

The B. of
Down
charged with perjury.

For. When a Man is perjured by the Law, he is cast over the Bar, and sits no more in judgment. And the Bishop is a perjured Man, and ought to sit in judgment of no Man.

Bish. How provest thou that?
For. Because you took an Oath in King Henries days to reftit the Pope. So both spiritual and temporal are perjured, that here can be no true judgment.

Bish. Thinkest thou to efcape judgment by that? Notor my Chancellor shall judge thee. He took no Oath, for he was then out of the Realm.

M. Higham. It is time to weed out fuch fellows as you are, indeed.

Bish. Good fellow, why beleevest not thou in the Sacrament of the Altar?

For. Because I find it not in Gods Book, nor yet in the Doctors. If it were there I would make it with all my heart.

Bish. How knowest thou it is not there?
For. Because it is contrary to the fecond Commandment: and faying it is not written in Gods Book, why do you then rob me of my Life?

Then the Bishop having no more to fay, commanded the Bailiff to take him away.

The death of John Careles.

And thus much touching the Examinations of this Man. Now whether he dyed in fire, or was otherwise prevented with death, as I laid before, I am uncertain.

In the Register of Norwich this I do find, that his Sentence of Condemnation was drawn and registered, but whether it was pronounced, in the said Register it is not expreffed, according as the usual manner of the Notary is to declare, in the end of the fentence. Nevertheless this is moft certain, that he never abjured nor recanted, howsoever it pleased the Lord by death to call him out of the World.

The death of John Careles in the Kings Bench.

About this time, the first day of July, amongst divers other prisoners which died the fame year in the Kings Bench, was also one John Careles of Coventry a Weaver. Who though he were by the feeret judgment of Almighty God prevented by death, so that he came not to the full Martyrdom of his Body, yet it he be no less worthy to be counted in honour and place of Christs Martyrs, then other that suffered moft cruel torments, as well for that he was for the fame truths sake a long time imprisoned, as also for his willing mind and zealous affection he had thereunto, if the Lord had fo determined, it as well may appear by his Examination had before Doctor Martin. Which Examination because it containeth nothing almost but wrangling interrogations, and matters of contention, wherein Doctor Martin would enter into no communication about the Articles of his accusation, but only urged him to detect his fellows, it shall not be greatly material therefore to exprefs the whole, but only to except fo much as pertaining to the question of predestination, may bring fome fruit to the Reader.

The effects of John Careles Examination before Doctor Martin.

Y. Careles examined before Dr. Martin.

The effects of John Careles Examination before Doctor Martin.

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For. I was brought thither by a Write, I trow, what An he was I cannot tell. I think Master Marfhal can tell you.

Marfhal. In good Faith I cannot tell what the matter is; but indeed my Lord chief Justice fent him from the Bar.

Mart. Well Careles, I would thou shouldst play the Wife Mans part. Thou art a handfom Man, and it is pity but thou shouldst do well, and fave that which God hath bought.

Carel. I thank your good mafterfhip moft heartily: and I put you out of doubt, that I am moft fure and certain of my Salvation by Jefus Chrift; fo that my Soul is fave already, whatever pains my Body fuffer here for all the time.

Mart. Yes marry, you fay truth. For thou art fo predestinate to life, that thou canst not perith in whatsoever opinion thou doft dye.

Carel. That God hath predestinate me to eternal life in Jefus Chrift, I am moft certain, and even fo I am fure that his Holy Spirit (wherewith I am fealed) will fo preserve me from all Heresies and evil opinions, that I shall dye in none at all.

Mart. Go to, let me hear your Faith in predestination. For that fhal be written alfo.

Carel. Your mafterfhip fhall pardon me herein. For you fayd your felf ere while, that you had no Commifion to examine my Confidence. I will trouble my felf with anfwering no more matters then I needs mult, until I come before them that fhall have more Authority further to examine me.

Mart. I tell thee then I have Commifion, and commandment from the Council to examine thee: for they delivered me thy Articles.

Carel. Yes, I think indeed that your mafterfhip appointed to examine me by my Articles, which you have there in writing, and I have told you the truth. I do confeft them to be mine own fact and deed: but you do now examine me of predestination, whereof my Articles fpeak nothing at all.

Mart. I tell thee yet again, that I mult alfo examine thee of fuch things as be in controverfe between the Doctors of the Church.

Carel. I do not deny it. But he that firft told you that matter, might have found himfelf much better occupied.

Mart. Why? what if he had not told me? thinkst that I would not have known it? Yes, or elfe thou shouldst have withftood my Commifion. For I tell thee truth, I may now examine thee of the Bleffed Sacrament, or of any other thing that I like, but that I would thee favour, and not be too badly with thee at the firft.

Marf. Yes in deed Careles, Mr. Doctor hath Commifion to examine you or any other of our fellow-prisoners.

Mart. Yes marry have I, I tell thee the truth of it. Then let your Scribe fet his pen to the paper, and you fhall have it roundly, even as the truth is. I beleeve that Almighty God our moft dear loving Father, of his great mercy and infinite goodnefs, did elect in Chrift.

Carel. Tuffe, what need all that long circumference? Write, I beleeve God elected, and make no more ado.

Carel. No, not fo M. Doctor. It is an high, myftery, and ought reverently to be foken of. And if my words may not be written as I do utter them, I will not fpeak at all.

Mart. Go to, go to, write what he will. Here is more bufinefs then needeth.

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Anno 1556. Carel. If your Mafterfhip do allow it, and other learned Men when they fhall fee it, I have my heares defired.

Mart. And do you hold none otherwife, then it there written?

Carel. No verily, nor never did.

Mart. Write what he faith, otherwife he holdeth not: So that was written. It was told me alfo that thou doft affirm, that Chrift did not dye effectually for all Men.

Carel. Whatsoever hath been told you, it is not much material unto me. Let the tellers of fuch tales come before my face, and I will trust to make them anfwer. For indeed I do beleeve that Chrift did effectually dye for all thofe that do effectually beleeve, and for no other: fo that was written alfo.

Mart. Now Sir, what is Trews Faith of Predestination? He beleevech that all Men be predestinate, and that none fhall be damned. Dost he not?

Carel. No forfooth, that he doth not.

Mart. How then?

Carel. Truly I think he doth beleeve as your Mafterfhip and the reft of the Clergy do beleeve of predestination, fo that we be elected in refpect of our good works, and fo long elected, as we do them, and no longer.

Mart. Write what he faith, that his fellow Trewe beleevers of predestination as the Papifs do beleeve.

Carel. Ah Mafter Doctor, did I fo term you? Seeing that this Confefion fhall come before the Council, I pray you place my terms as reverently as I fpeak them.

Mart. Well, well, write that Trewe is of the fame Faith as the Catholicks be.

Carel. I did not fo call you neither, I wonder what you mean.

Mart. You did the Clergy, did you not Careles?

Carel. Yes forfooth did I. So then it was written of the Clergy.

Mart. Now fit, what fay you more?

Carel. Forfooth I have no further to fay in this matter.

Mart. Well Careles, I pray thee proveth thy felf a wife Man, and do not caft away thy life wilfully.

Carel. Now the Lord he knoweth, good M. Doctor, I would full gladly live, fo that I might do the fame with a faine Confidence. And your Mafterfhip fhall right well perceive that I will be no wilful Man, but in all things that I ftand upon I will have fure ground.

Mart. Now the Lord knoweth, good Careles, that I would gladly make fome means to preserve thy Life. But thou fpeakst fo much of the Lords, the Lord; wilt thou be content to go with my Lord Fitzcarrere into Ireland? me thinks thou art a goodly tall fellow to do the Queen fervice there. How fayest thou?

Carel. Verily Mafter Doctor, whether I be in Ireland, France, or Spain, or any place elfe, I am ready to do her Grace the belt fervice that I can, with Body, Goods and Life, fo long as I doth live.

Mart. That is honeftly faid, promife thee, every Man will not fay fo. How fay you M. Marfhal? this Man is meet for all worldly fervice. Indeed thou art worthy, Careles, to have the more favour.

Carel. Indeed Sir, I hope to be meet and ready unto all things that pertain unto a true Chriftian fubject to do. And if her Grace or her Officers under her do require me to do any thing contrary to Christs Religion, I am ready alfo to do my fervice in Smithfield for not obferving it, as my Bed-fellow and other Brethren have done, a praifed be God for them.

Mart. By my troth thou art a pleafant fellow as ever I talked with of all the Proteftants, except it were Tom. I am forry that I mult depart with thee fo foon; but I have fuch bufinefs now, that I can tarry with thee no longer. Well yet thou canst not deny, but you are at her moft fervent felves in the Kings Bench, and it is fo throughout all your Congregation: for you will not be a Chriftian.

Carel. No Mafter Doctor that is not fo. There is a thousand times more variety in opinions among your Doctors, which you call of the Catholick Church, yea and that in the Sacrament, for the which there is fo much Blood fhed now a days, I mean of your late Doctors and

new Writers; as for the old they agree wholly with us.

Mart. No Careles, this is not fo; there thou art deceived.

Carel. Verily it is fo; Mafter Doctor, I am not deceived therein any thing at all, as it hath been, and is evidently proved by fuch as God hath induced with great learning. Then he turned to the Marfhal, and whifpered with him a while.

Mart. Turning unto me again, he faid, Farewell Careles: for I cannot tarry no longer with thee now, my bufinefs is fuch.

Carel. God be with you, good Mafter Doctor, The Lord give your Mafterfhip health of Body and Soul.

Mart. God have mercy good Careles, and God keep thee from all errors, and give thee Grace to do as well as I would with my felf.

Carel. I thank your good Mafterfhip, I pray God I may do always that is acceptable in his fight: Whereunto they all faid, Amen. And fo I departed with a glad heart; God only have the whole praife, & Amen.

It appeareth by the Examination of the famous John Careles, that he endured prifon the fpace of two whole years, having Wife and Children. In the which his captivity, firft being in Coventry, he was there in fuch credit with his Keeper that upon his word he was let out to play in the Fagant about the City with his companions. And that done, keeping touch with his Keeper, he turned again into prifon at his hour appointed.

And after that being brought up to London, he was fo loved, and fo much valued, that he was in fuch credit with his Keeper that upon his word he was let out to play in the Fagant about the City with his companions. And that done, keeping touch with his Keeper, he turned again into prifon at his hour appointed.

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family whistles the wailing of the angels, and the
 dead condemn you in hugger mugger, to darken
 G glory if it might be: But Sathans thoughts are not
 known to you, and the depth of his subtilty is by you
 foreseen. Therefore let them do whatsoever God shall
 think them to do: for I know all things shall turn to your
 good. Though you lye in the dark, floriſh with the
 black coal-dust: yet shall you be shortly reſtored
 unto the heavenly Light, and made as white
 Snow in *Salmon*, and as the wings of a Dove that
 is covered with Silver Wings, and her Feathers like Gold.
 I know the veſſel, before it be made bright, is full
 with Oil, and other things, that it may ſcoure the
 terr.

Pray for me, dear heart, I beseech you, and will all
your company to do the same, and I will pray God for
you all, along as I live—And now foreword in Catechism,
my blessed of Gods own Mouth. I have foretold be the time that you
leave, but not my last farewell. Blessed be the time that you
come into the King's Bench, be joyed in love and
fellowship with such dear Children of the Lord. My
dear brother Bradford shall not be dead whilst you be
alive: for verily the Spirit of him doth rest on you in
each ample life. Your Letters of comfort unto me in
this point do agree, as though the one were a copy of
the other. He hath planted in me, and you do water, the
Lord give good increase. My dear Brethren and com-
pany, have them humbly and heartily commended
unto you and your company. I have much consolation
and joy in your loving and merciful prayers for my
company, but I have much need of your prayers for
me. We are all cheerful and merry under the
conduct of our dear Lord, and we need necessities, prayed by God for his
people and great mercy towards us for evermore,
Amen.

AS by the great mercy of God, at the time of his An-
 good will and providence appointed (my dear-
 beloved Wife) you and I were joined together in the holy
 and Christian state of Godly Matrimony, as well to our
 great joy and comfort in Christ, as also to the increase of
 his Blessed Church and Faithful Congregation, by having
 lawful Children by and in the same, with the which God
 of his mercy hath blessed us, praised be his Name therefore
 even to now by his merciful will and divine ordinance,
 the time is come (so far as I can perceive) wherein be-
 will

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Therefore dear Wife, put you trust and confidence wholly and only in him, and ever pray that his will be fulfilled, and not yours, except it be agreeing to his will; and the which I pray God may ever be, *Amen*. And for worldly things, say you naught, for you well know that the Lord desireth not them, and Father will not fee for yours lack, if you continue in his love and Chastity, and keep a clear Confidence from all kind of Lying, Superstition and wickedness, as my trust is that will, although it be with the loss and danger of temporal life. And good *Margaret*, be not so that God can kill the Body (that is, the life) as you think that God give them leave, but fear to defile him that will both Body and Soul, and cast them into Hell Fire, not the remembrance of your Children keep you from it. God. The Lord himself will be a Father and a Mother then ever you or I could have been into them, neither will do all things that you desire, but will make us as he is, as he can, if it need be. He hath given Angels charge over them, therefore commit them unto him. But if you may live with a clear Confidence (for would not have you to live) and fee the bringing up of your Children your self, look that you nurture them in the fear of God and keep them from Idolatry, Superstition, and other such things, as wickedness; and for false hate let them to fame learning if it be possible, that may increase in verue and good knowledge, which shall be a better dowry to marry them withal, then worldly substance when they be come to age, and then their such husbands as fear God, and love truly you, shall charge you withal, and you shall see them with you, and if you live and marry again your self, I think I would with you to do, it need require, as

This and much more should I do: If I had good towards God, or you his dear Child. But (alas) an Hypocrite, and do seek nothing but mine own glory. I would have Gods everlasting providence place to my peevish will and purpose, although it to the hindrance of his glory and your sweet comfort. God forgive me my horrible ingratitude, sins against thee, O my dear Brother, do you for me defend me against him: and good Brother, do you for me your great negligence and unthankfulness to me; and henceforth I promise you, I will put it in

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to Gods will, and pray that the same may be fulfilled in you, as long as you will be on this earth; and when you are taken hence, I will most heartily praise the Lord for you, so long as I have my being in this world. Ah my dear Heart, now I must take my leave of you, and as I think, my *Ultimatoe* case in this life, but in the life to come I am right well assured we shall merittly meet together, and that shortly I trust. And in taking of my leave of you (my dear Heart in the Lord) I shall desire you faithfully to remember all the sweet meellages that the Lord our good God and most dear loving Father hath sent you by me his most unworthy Servant, which as they are most true, so shall they be most truly accomplished unto you eternally; and for the more assurance and certificate thereof to your godly Conscience, he hath commanded me to repeat the same unto you again, in his own name and word.

Therefore now give ear and faithful credence. Hearken O ye Heavens, and thou Earth give ear, and bear me witness at the great day, that I do here faithfully and truly the Lords meelage unto his dear Servant, his singularly beloved and elect Child *John Bradford*. *John Bradford*, thou man so specially beloved of God, I pronounce and testify unto thee in the word and name of the Lord *Jeſus*, that all this thus whosoever they be, be they never so many, so grievous or so great, be fully and freely pardoned, released and forgiven thee, by the mercy of God in *Jeſus* Christ thine only Lord and sweet Saviour, in whom thou dost undoubtedly believe. Christ hath cleansed thee with his blood, and clothed thee with his righteousness, and hath made thee in the sight of God his Father, without spot or wrinkle; so that when the fire doth his appointed office, thou shalt be received (as a sweet burnt Sacrifice) into Heaven, where thou shalt joyfully remain in Gods presence for ever, as the true interior of his everlasting Kingdom, unto the which thou wilt undoubtedly predestinate and ordained by the Lords infallible purpoſe and decrees, before the foundation of the world was laid.

And that this is most true that I have said, I call the whole Trinity, the Almighty and Eternal Majesty of God the Father, the Son, and the Holy Ghost, to my record at this present; whom I humbly beseech to confirm and establish in thee the true and lively feeling of the same. Amen. Selah.

Now with a merry heart and joyful spirit, somewhat mixed with lawfull tears, I take my farewell of you, mine own dear Brother in the Lord, who find us shortly by a merry meeting in his Kingdom, that we may both joyfully praise together unto him with his holy Angels and blessed Spirits for ever and ever. Farewell thou blessed in the Lord, Farewell in Christ, depart unto my rest in the Lord; and pray for me for Gods sake.

As I had made an official simple Letter, I heard some comfort both of good Mr. *Philip* Servant and yours: but (alas!) do fearfully believe them. Well, I will hope in God, and pray all night that God will send me some comfort to morrow, and if the Lord give you sparing to morrow, let me hear four words of comfort from you, for Gods sake. The blessing of God be with you now and for ever, Amen.

Yours for ever in the Lord *Jeſus*,
J. Careles, living in hope against hope.

Mr. Bradford to Careles.

Almighty God our dear Father, through and for the merits of his dearly beloved Son *Jeſus* Christ, be

merciful unto us, pardon us our offences, and under the Annals of his mercy protect us from all evil, from henceforth and for ever, Amen.

Dear Brother Careles, I heartily pray you to pray to God for me, for the pardon of my most vile sins, and most grievous offences, which need none other demerit, but your prayer unto him, namely, that I have believed myself so negligently in answering your godly tripe Letters, which are three witness against me. God lay not them, nor any other thing to my charge to condemnation, though to correction, nor my will, but his will be done. Concerning your request of absolution (my dear Brother) what shall I say, but even as truth is: that the Lord of all mercy, and Father of all comfort, through the merits and mediation of his dear Son thy only Lord and Saviour, hath clearly remitted and pardoned all thy offences whatsoever they be, that ever thither thou hast come, and whither thou shalt go, and therefore be both grown and brought to thee as to his Child (dear Brother John Careles) in that that thy sins are pardoned; be (I say) hath given thee a penitent and believing heart, that is, a heart which desireth to repent and believe: For such a one is taken of him (he accepting the will for the deed) for a penitent and believing heart indeed.

Wherefore (my good Brother) be merry, glad, and of good cheer, for the Lord hath taken away thy sins; thou shalt not die. Go thy ways; the Lord hath put away thy sins. The East is not so far from the West, as the Lord hath now put thy sins from thee. Look how the Heaven be in comparison of the Earth, for hath his mercy prevailed towards the his dear Child, John Careles, through Christ the Beloved. Say therefore with David, Praise the Lord, O my Soul, and all that is within me praise his holy Name: for he hath forgiven thee all thy sins; as truly he hath. And hereof I desire to be a witness. God make me worthy to hear from you the like true meellages for my self. Mine own dear Brother, you have great cause to thank God most heartily that he hath given you such repentance and faith; the Lord increase the same in you and me a most miserable creature, whose heart is harder than the stone, or else I could not thus long have stayed from writing unto you. If I love and may, I purpose and promise you to make amends. Pray for me, my most dear Brother, I heartily beseech you, and forgive me my long silence. God our Father is with us for ever, Amen.

Yours in the Lord, J. Bradford.

To my most dear and faithful Brethren in Newcastle, condemned to die for the testimony of Gods everlasting Truth.

The everlasting peace of God, in *Jeſus* Christ, the Author of our eternal joy, strength and comfort of his most pure, holy, and mighty Spirit, with the increase of faith in devotion and lively feeling of his eternal mercy, be with you, my most dear and faithful loving Brother *Tym*, and with all the brethren of my dear Hearts in the Lord, your faithful fellow-Souldiers, and most constant Companions in bonds, you of men condemned most cruelly for the sincere testimony of Gods everlasting Truth, to the full feeling of that good work, which he hath graciously begun in you all, that the same may be to his glory, the commodity of his poor afflicted Church, and to your everlasting comfort in him, Amen.

Ah my most sweet and loving Brethren, and dearest Hearts in the Lord, what shall I say or how shall I write unto you, in the least part or part to utter the great joy that my poor heart hath conceived in God, through the most godly example of your Christian constancy and sincere confession of Christs Verity? Truly my tongue cannot declare, nor my pen express the abundance of spiritual mirth and gladness, that my mind and inward man hath felt, ever since I heard of your hearty boldness, and modest behaviour before that bloody Butcher, in the time of all your crafty examinations, especially at your cruel condemnation, in their cursed Consistory place. Blessed be God the Father of all mercy, and praised be his name, for that he hath so graciously preferred upon you his dear Darlings, his most sweet and comfortable promises, in not only giving you the continual aid, strength and comfort of his holy and mighty Spirit

to the faithful confession of his Christ, for whose cause (O most happy men) ye are condemned to die: but also in giving you such a mouth and wisdom, as all your wicked enemies were not able to resist, but were fain to cry, Peace, peace; and not suffer you to speak As truly as God liveth (my dear Brethren) this is not only unto you a most evident Probation that God is on our side, and a sure certainty of your everlasting salvation in him, but also to your cruel Adversaries (or rather Gods cursed enemies) a plain demonstration of their just hatred, and condemnation, which they shall be full sure shortly to feel, when ye shall full sweetly possess the place of felicity and pleasure prepared for you from the beginning.

Therefore (my dearly beloved) cease not so long as ye be in this life, to praise the Lord with a lusty courage, for that of his great mercy and infinite goodness, he hath vouchsafed you worthy of this great dignity, to suffer for his sake not only the loss of goods, Wife, and Children, long imprisonment, cruel oppression, &c. but also the very deprivation of this mortal life with the dissolution of your bodies in the first. The which is the greatest promotion that God can bring you or any other unto in this vale of misery, yet so great an honour, as the highest Angel in heaven is not permitted to have, and yet hath the Lord made you the dear Son Christs sake reputed you worthy of the same, ye and that before me and many others, which have both longed and longed for the same.

Ah my most dear Brother *Tym*, whose time refresheth together in the hands of the Lord, in a full rest, I cannot think of this troublesome world, but in a much more blessed hour shalt thou depart out of the same: so that the sweet flying of *Solomon*, or rather of the Holy Ghost, shall be full well verified upon thee, ye and all thy faithful fellows, *Better is the day of death* (hath he) *than the day of birth*. This saying cannot be verified upon every man, but upon thee my dear Brother, and such as thou art, whose death is most precious before God, and that shall your Blood be in his sight. Blessed be God for that my dear Brother *Tym* had again been in God when I ever knew thee, for in a most happy time I came first into thy company. Pray for me, dear Brother, I pray for thee, that God will once more be worthy of that great dignity wherunto he hath brought you.

Ah my loving Brother *Drake*, whose Soul now draweth high unto God, of whom ye have received the same, full glad may you be that ever God gave you a life to leave for his sake: Full well will he restore it to you again in a thousand fold more glorious life. Praise God, good Brother, as you have a great cause and pray for me, I beseech you, which am so much unworthy (to great are my sins) of that great dignity wherunto the Lord hath called you and the rest of your godly Brethren; whom I beseech you to comfort in the Lord, as you can full well; praised be God for his gifts, which you have heartily applied to the setting forth of his glory, and the commodity of his poor afflicted Church. Which thing I shall surely reward to your everlasting joy and comfort, as you shall most effectually feel ere ever it be long through the wicked of the world judge for otherwise.

Ah mine own hearts, and most dearly beloved Brethren, *Cecil*, *Ambleſe*, and both the *Spurges*; blessed be the Lord on your behalf, and praised be his name, which hath given you such a Glorious Victory; Full valiant have you shewed your selves in the Lords fight, and full faithful in your painful service. Faint not, but go on forward as ye have most godly begun, for great hath your reward be at the end of this your travel. Ah my good faithful Brethren all, what shall I say, or what shall I write unto you? But even the same that good *Elizabeth* did say to her godly Kinswoman *Mary* the blessed Mother of Christ, *Happy art thou* (quoth that good Woman) *which hast believed: For all things which the Lord hath spoken to thee, shall be fulfilled*. So I say to you (my dear Hearts in the Lord) happy are ye all, ye twice happy shall you be for evermore, because ye have readily believed the most sweet promises which God the Father hath made unto you with his own mouth, in that he hath promised you (which are the faithful seed of the believing *Abraham*) that ye shall be blessed ever, world without end. The promises of God your

most sweet Father as ye do believe, so do ye bear record that God is true. The testimony whereof ye have full worthily borne to the world, and shortly will full fully feel the same with your Blood, even to morrow, I do understand. Oh constant Christians! O valiant Souldiers of the high Captain, *Jeſus* Christ! who for your fakes hath conquered the Devil, Death, Sin and Hell, and hath given you full victory over them for evermore. Oh worthy witnesses, and most glorious Martyrs, whose invincible faith hath overcome that proud, sturdy, bragging Prince of the world, and all his wicked army, over whom ye shall shortly Triumph for evermore. Ah my sweet Hearts, the everlasting treasures are fully laid up for you in Heaven. The immoveable and most Glorious Crown of Victory is already made and prepared for you to be shortly clapt upon all your happy heads. The Holy Angels of your Heavenly Father are already appointed to conduct your sweet Souls into *Abraham*. Bofom. All the Heavenly Host rejoiceth already, for that they shall shortly receive you with joy and felicity, into their blessed fellowship, *Selab*.

Rejoice which double joy, and be glad my dear Brethren, for doubtless ye have more cause than can be expressed. But (alas!) I that for my sins am left behind, may lament and with the holy Prophet, flying, *Woe is me that the days of my joyful rest are prolonged*. Ah cursed Satan, which hath caused me so fore to offend my most dear loving Father, whereby mine exile and Banishment is so much prolonged. Oh Christ my dear Advocate, pacify thy Fathers wrath, which I have justly deserved, that he may take me home to him in his sweet mercy. O that I might now come home unto thee with thy blessed Brethren. Well, thy will O Lord be effectually fulfilled, for it is only good, and turneth all things to the best, for such as thou in thy mercy hast chosen.

And now farewell my dear hearts, most happy in the Lord: I trust in my good God, yet shortly to see you in the Celestial City, whereof undoubtedly the Lord hath already made you free Citizens. Though you see yet with me for a little time, your very home is in Heaven, where your treasure doth remain with your sweet Lord and Redeemer *Jeſus* Christ, whosoever call you have heard with the ears of your hearts, and therefore ye shall never come into judgment, but pass from death to life. Your sins shall never more be remembered, be they never so many so grievous, or so great: for your Saviour hath cast them all into the bottom of the Sea; he hath removed them from you, as far as the East is from the West; his mercy hath much more prevailed over you, than is distance between Heaven and Earth; and he hath given you for your everlasting possession of the same, all his holiness, righteousness, and justification, ye and the Holy Ghost into your hearts, wherewith ye are surely sealed unto the day of redemption, to certify you of your eternal election, and that ye are his true adopted Sons, whereby ye may boldly cry unto God, *Abba dear Father*, for evermore: so that now no creature in Heaven, Earth nor Hell, shall be able to accuse you before the Throne of the Heavenly King. Satan is now cast out from you; y himself is judged, and hath no part in you. He will once more bite you by the heel, and then he hath done, for at that time you shall feel his head through your own good Christ, and so have your final victory for evermore. In joyful Triumph whereof, ye shall swiftly ascend into the place of eternal rest, whither your dearest Brother Christ is gone before you to take possession for you, and to prepare your place under the Holy Altar, with *Crommer*, *Latimer*, *Ridley*, *Rogers*, *Hopps*, *Sanders*, *Farrar*, *Wileſey*, *Bradford*, *Philip*, with many others, who will be full glad of your coming, to see fix more of their appointed number that their Blood may so much the sooner be revenged upon them that dwell on the Earth.

Thus I make an end, committing you all to Gods most merciful defence, whose quarters ye have defended; whose cause ye have promoted, whose glory ye have fought, and whose name ye have constantly confessed. Farewell for a while my dear hearts in the Lord, I will make as much haste after you as I may. All our dear Brethren salute us. They pray for you, and praise God for you continually. *Blessed be the dead that die in the Lord*.

And, for they rest from their labours, faith the Holy Ghost, and their works follow them.

Your own John Careles, a most ungrateful servant of the Lord. Pray, pray, pray.

Ye heard before the Letter of Thomas Whittle, written to John Careles, wherein he yielded great thanks to him for the singular joy and consolation received by his Letters. The copy of which letters sent him if any be disposed to peruse, here under followeth to satisfy his desire.

To Mr. Green, Mr. Whittle, and certain other prisoners in Newgate, condemned, and ready to be burnt for the testimony of our Lord Jesus.

THe everlasting peace in Jesus Christ, the continual comfort of his most pure and Holy Spirit, bewith his dear and faithful Brethren and Sisters of Newgate, the Lords appointed them unto the laughter, to see the good performance of the great and noble work of the Lord, which he hath so graciously begun in you all; that the same may redound to the fitting forth of his glory, and to the commodity of his Church, and to your own everlasting comfort in him. So be it.

Ally dear Hearts, and most faithful Brethren and Sisters in the Lord, what high lauds and praise, ye what humble and continual thanks am I bound to give to God our Father for you and on your most happy behalf, who so mightily hath magnified himself in you thus far forth, giving you his holy and mighty Spirit, to the comfort and comforting of Christs words, even to the cruel condemnation, and I doubt not but he will do the same to the death. Oh happy and blessed are you that ever you were born, that the Lord will vouch you worthy of this great dignity, to die for his sake. Doubtless it is the greatest honour that God can give in this life. Ye see if he be so blessed of God to die in the Lord, and see the Holy Ghost faith they be, how much more blessed and happy then are you that die not only in the Lord, but also for the Lord. O that it were the good will of God, that the good hour were now come, that I might go with you. Ah that my sins made me not unworthy of such an excellent dignity.

Be thankful dear Hearts, be thankful and rejoice in the Lord: for mighty is his mercy towards you, and great is your reward in Heaven the which you like faithful persons have plucked to you with a godly violence of an invincible Faith. Oh worthy Warriors of the most high Captain! Oh constant confessors of the everlasting verity! how glorious Crown of Victory shall you shortly receive, which is prepared for all such as do continue to the end? Oh you sweet Saints of the Lord, how precious shall your death be in his sight? Oh how dear are your Souls to your Redeemer, in whose hand they shall most joyfully rest, and the pains of death shall never touch you? Oh how blessed shall you be, when Christ shall appear, at the which time you shall receive your Bodies again full of immortality? Oh how joyful shall you be, when Christ according to his promise shall knowledge you before his Father and his Holy Angelus, as you have most constantly confessed him to be your Lord and only Saviour before?

Oh blessed Green, thou meek and loving Lamb of the Lord, how happy art thou to be appointed to die for his sake? A full duty dith art thou for the Lords own tooth. Fresh and Green shall thou be in the House of the Lord, and thy fruits shall never wither nor decay. Although thou go there forth sowing thy good fruit with tears, at the time shall come that thou shalt reap with joy and gladness the fruits of everlasting life, and that without ceasing. Be merry therefore and fear not, for it is thy Fathers will to give thee a Kingdom, whereunto he hath chosen thee before the foundations of the world were laid.

Oh happy Minister, thou man of God, how glad mayest thou be of Gods most gracious favour, which hath prevented thee in the day of thy trial? Oh happy Peter, whose part thou hast well played; therefore thy reward and portion shall be like unto his. Now halt thou good experience of mans infirmity, but much more proof

By your Brother and unfained lover, John Careles, prisoner, abiding his most merciful will and pleasure. Pray, pray, pray.

Another letter of Mr. Careles, wherein he doth intimate Green, Whittle, and the rest of the company unto their martyrdom.

Apoc. 11. To die in the Lord, and for the Lord.

Oh his part in Green, read before.

Like to, Oribia 12. Whittle, read before.

To my dear and faithful Brother William Tyms, prisoner in Newgate.

THe everlasting peace of God in Jesus Christ, with the continual joy, comfort, and strength of his sweet Spirit, be multiplied, and daily more and more increased in your good heart (my most faithful and dear Brother Tyms) to the full quieting of your Conscience, and beating back of all the fiery darts of the wicked, that you may shortly receive the glorious Crown of Victory, and in the same Triumph over all your enemies, for ever more, Amen.

I cannot express the exceeding great joy and consolation of my poor heart, considering the marvellous Works of God most graciously wrought upon you, not only in proving you and trying your faith by his great and huge crosses both inwardly and outwardly, but also in giving you so great consolation and constancy in the midst of the same. Faithful is God, and true of his promises, who hath said: That he will never suffer his chosen Children to be tempted above their strength, but in the midst of their temptation will make an escape for them, by such means as may make to his glory and their everlasting consolation.

My dear heart, great cause have you to be of good comfort, life in you as lively a token of Gods everlasting love and favour in Jesus Christ as ever I perceived in any man. In respect whereof, I do even with my heart love, honour, and reverence you, beseeching God for his glorious Names sake, in the Bowels and Blood of our Lord and only Saviour Jesus Christ, to finish his good work in you, as I doubt not but he will do, according to his inflexible promises, I am well assured thereof, forasmuch as you have so effectually received his Holy Spirit into your hearts, as a pledge, and a fruit of your eternal redemption, and a testimony of your adoption in Christ Jesus. For which cause Satan so sore envieth you, that he hath now bent all his fierce Ordinance against you, thinking thereby utterly to destroy the invincible Fort of your hearts, founded most firmly upon the unmovable Rock, against the which neither the Devil, Sin, nor yet Hell Gates shall ever prevail.

Therefore mine own bowels in the Lord, be not discontented for this your conflict, which doubtless shall greatly increase your Crown of Glory, Triumph and Victory; but take a good heart unto you, and buckle boldly with Satan, both in himself and his subtle members. It is the very divine Ordinance of God, that all his regenerate People shall be tempted, proved, and tried, as we see by the example of our Saviour Christ; who as soon as he was Baptized, was straightways led of the Holy Ghost into the Wilderness, there to be tempted of the Devil. But there got he such a Glorious Victory of Satan, that he could never since finally prevail against any of his poor members, but in every assault that he maketh either inwardly or outwardly, he getteth a foil, and taketh; so that now he rageth with all the spite possible, specially because he knoweth his time is but short, and will soon refuse if he be faithfully resisted. And as for his tempting tools, the Lord hath made them manifest unto us, so that he cannot deceive us though he assault us. For as S. Paul faith: His very thoughts are not unknown to us, as it doth in you largely appear, praised be the Lords Name therefore.

You see (dear Brother) that now to molest you and such as you are, that be even passing from this vale of misery, he hath but two ways, or two pieces of Ordinance to shoot at you, with the which he cannot hurt you, because you have two Bulwarks to defend you. The first of thy terrible Guns that Satan hath shot at you, is the very same that he continually threateth at me, that is to say, fear and infidelity; for the ugliness of death and horror of my sins, which be so many, grievous and great. But this pellet is easily put away with the sure God of faith, in the most precious death and Blood-shedding of our Lord and only Saviour Jesus Christ, whom the Father hath given unto us wholly to be ours for evermore, and with him hath given us all things, as Paul faith; so that though we be never so great

sinners, yet Christ is made unto us holiness, righteousness, and justification. He hath clothed us with all his merits, graces, and most sweet sufferings, and hath taken upon him all our misery, wretchedness, sin and iniquity. So that if any should now be condemned for the same, it must needs be Jesus Christ, which hath taken them upon him. But indeed he hath made satisfaction for them to the uttermost joy; so that for his sake they shall never be imported to us. If they were a thousand times so many, more to us be. This do you most effectually feel and know (dear Brother) a great deal better than I can tell you, blessed be God therefore.

And now Satan, seeing that he cannot prevail with his boyish battery against this Bulwark of faith, which doth so quench all his fiery darts, that they can do you no harm, but rather do you good service to call you down, under the mighty hand of God, that he may take you up by his only grace and power, and so you may render him all the glory by Jesus Christ (which thing the enemy can in no wise abide) therefore he flooteth off the other Piece most pellitent, to provoke you to put some part of your trust and confidence in your self, and in your own holiness and righteousness, that you might that confidence way Rob God of his glory, and Christ of the honour and dignity of his death. But blessed be the Lord God, you have also a full strong Bulwark to beat back this perilous pellet all along the pure Law of God, which groweth the best of all damnable sinners in the sight of God, if he would enter into judgment with us according to the severity of the same, and then even our best works are polluted and defiled in such sort, as the Prophet describeth them. With which manner of speaking our free-will Pharisees are much offended; for it felleth all man righteousness to the ground (I had like to have laid to the bottom of hell) and exalteth only the righteousness of Jesus Christ, which is allowed before God, and is freely given to all those that firmly believe, as blessed be God you do.

Ally my good Brother Tyms, Satan hath but his hand in a wrong box when he beginneth to tempt you, either to gring-ory or mischief: for you are an old beaten soldier, and have had good experience of their manner of temptations, both by your self and other, whom you know well were beloved of God. Be of good cheer therefore dear heart, be of good cheer, for now Satan hath wrought all his malice, he hath done all that he can, and hath shot off all his last Pellets, wherewith he had thought to have done most mischief; but now he seeth he cannot prevail (the strong Tower of our faith being invincible) he will pluck up all his tents, and get him to some other place to practise the like assaults, and then will the Angels of God come and minister unto you the most sweet and heavenly consolations of the Holy Ghost. To him therefore who is able to do exceeding abundantly above all that ever we can desire or think, I do most heartily commit you, with all the rest of your godly prison-fellows, who comfort, strengthen, defend you with his grace and mighty operation of Holy Spirit, as he hath hitherto done, that you having a most glorious Victory over the subtle Serpent, and all his wicked feed, may also receive the Crown of glory and immortality prepared for you before the foundations of the World were laid, and is so surely kept for you in the hands of him whose promise is unchangeable, that the Devil, sin, death, hell, shall never be able to deprive you of the same. The blessing of God be with you now and for evermore, Amen. Pray, pray, pray for me.

Your own ever, John Careles.

To my good Sister M. C.

THe peace of God in Jesus Christ, and the eternal comforts of his sweet Spirit, be with you my dear and faithful Sister, to the full accomplishment of that good work which he hath graciously begun in you, whereby that the same may be effectually to the great praise of his glory and to your everlasting Consolation in him, Amen.

The second letter of Mr. Careles, wherein he doth intimate Green, Whittle, and the rest of the company unto their martyrdom.

Satan overcometh in Green, Satan.

Another letter of Mr. Careles, wherein he doth intimate Green, Whittle, and the rest of the company unto their martyrdom.

My loving and faithful Sister in the Lord, I thank you for all your loving kindnesses shewed unto me in your fervent and faithful Prayers, and for your most godly and comfortable Letter, whereby you do not only much increase my joy and comfort, but also put me in remembrance of my duty towards you.

Bliss'd be the Lord God, which of his great mercy hath so beautified his Church in these our days, that even unto many godly women he hath given most excellent gifts of knowledge and understanding of his Truth, so that they are not only well able to inform their own Consciences in all things necessary to salvation, but also most sweetly comfort their sorrowful Brethren and Sisters that sustain any trouble for the testimony of Gods Truth, yea, and that which is more, even in the midst of great conflict of Conscience. Of which most happy number of godly and virtuous women (my dear Heart) you are one, and that of the chiefest, being plentifully induced with the gifts of Gods most gracious Spirit, as it doth full well appear in your doings. God only loveth the praise therefore.

Forasmuch then as God hath given you the gift to write, I shall most heartily desire you to let me hear of you from time to time, be it never so little, for truly I take great comfort and courage thereby, specially in my poor Conscience, which is sore afflicted with fables Satan, and in a manner oppressed of my sin. Pray (dear Sister) that God may give me true, hearty and earnest repentance, and increase my faith, for they are both the good gifts of God only, and far pass the reach of my power, to take at my pleasure.

Therefore (dear Sister) if you help me to beg the fame of our dear loving Father, I am sure that he both can and will give them in his good time. As for the fear of death, or terror of the fire, I most heartily thank my good God, I feel it not; only it is mine own flesh and unthankfulness which holdeth hard betwixt, and wagseth as of strong war against me, which only goeth about to raise me from my good Captain Christ, that I should not rate from his glorious victory; but God being on my side (as I am sure he is) that cannot continually prevail against me. Though God for a time permit Satan to take his pleasure on me, as he did upon Job, yet I doubt not but in the end all shall turn to my profit, through the merits of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, to whose most merciful desire I commit you (dear Sister) with all the rest of the Lords elect. Farewell in Christ.

Yours unforgotten, John Careles.
Pray, pray, pray, pray.

To my dear Brother T. V.

The everlasting peace of God in Jesus Christ, the continual comforts of his most pure and holy Spirit, be with you by my most dear Friend and faithful Brother, T. V. to the increase of your Faith, and comfort of the afflicted your sorrowful Spirit, which is to the Father a sweet sacrifice through Christ, for whose sake he will never despise your humble and contrite heart, but doth favourably accept the same, and will in most ample way perform the desire thereof to his glory, and your eternal comfort in him.

In the midst of my manifold crosses and troubles, wherein I am constrained to flee unto God for refuge and succour by earnest and faithful Prayer, I cannot forget you my dear heart in the Lord, and your state for mine own. I do your forth my complaint for you, as I do for my self, and rather more, as I think present need doth require, desiring most heartily heere the good success of the same in you. The Lord God, for his great mercies sake, accomplish my desire, as I doubt not but he will, when hee feels it good and profitable to his glory, and to your comfort and commodity. Oh that I might once see you to merry in Christ, as you have just cause to be, that you might say with David, *Psalm 57.* Awake my glory, awake Luke and Harp, bring forth the Psalter with the merry Song, that I might sing a new Song of praise and thanksgiving unto the Lord, for the sight of his precious countenance, his help and deliverance. Oh, that would refresh me as a most precious

Oil, and gladden my poor heart, which is afflicted with sorrow more ways than one. I do not but the Lord shall by your means receive much comfort, though for a little time it doth mourn with you, that we may be made both glad together, yea, and that with such gladness as shall continue for ever. But in the mean space (I say) most happy are you, that so heartily mourn for the absence of the Bridegroom. If you were not a wedding Child, you could never do it. Only Christ true Disciples do mourn for his absence: therefore shall they doubtless enjoy at his presence, which will be so much more joyful, by how much thankfulness is more fervent.

Therefore (my good Brother) take a good heart unto you, and be of good cheer. Say then those few words, *Psalm 42.* O my Soul, why art thou so heavy, and why art thou so disquieted within me? O put thy trust in God, for I will yet give him thanks for the help of his loving countenance, and because he is my God. Read *Psalm 41.* and 42. for your comfort, and consider that the holy King and Prophet, at the making and first flying of them, was even in the same case that you are now in; but he still comforted himself with the sweet Promises of God: and do you my dear heart, for to you they do as well pertain as they did to him, and as surely shall they be performed upon you, as they were upon him: for he is one God and dear Father unto you both, and for his mercy, truth and promise sake, he must needs make good unto you all that he hath said. If his love towards you stood in the respect of your own merit and worthiness, you might well mourn, lament and complain; yea, you had good cause to doubt, fear, and be in mistrust. But being he loveth you only for and in Jesus Christ, who is your whole holiness, righteousness, and redemption; lay away all mourning, lamenting, and complaining, banish from you all fear, mistrust, and infidelity, and know that as long as Christ doth continue towards you, so long must the love of the Father continue towards you, and his good will undiminished, and cannot be altered through any of your infirmities. For this is most true, that as long as the cause of any thing doth last, so long must the effect remain: but Christ is the whole cause why the Father loveth you, and he also continueth for ever, then must I needs continue that the love of the Father continueth towards you for ever, and (as the *Psalmist* most joyfully so often sings) *His mercy endureth for ever and ever.*

This is most true (mine own dear Heart) although you had the Lord for a time hide it from your senses, that you might be the more earnest in prayer to him for the relief of his love, and also the more thankful for it when he doth give the lively taste of it, as doubtless he will do ere long; and then shall you be now able to comfort others in the same flame that you are well sit, with the same comfort wherewith you are, and further shall be comforted of God.

Therefore lift up your hands that are now a little fallen down, and stretch forth the weak knees of your troubled mind, which now mourneth with a godly mourning, and therefore shall it be full well comforted with that sweet peace of God which you now desire, and you are sure already to enjoy the blessing that Christ gave unto the godly mourners of *Sion* upon the Mount, at the first Sermon that he made. Oh happy *P.* in whose mourning company I had rather be, than in the house of mirth and banqueting of such as see not what cause they have to mourn and be sorry. But yet (my good Brother) use a measure in this your godly mourning, and make not your faithful Friends too much sorry for you. Let us then the perfections of such godly Lovers as you do daily enjoy in company withal, or rather the perfections of the Holy Ghost by whom I move you to come godly mourning and rejoicing. Consider that you are commanded of God by the mouth of Saint Paul, *Thou shalt rejoice in the Lord (saith he) and I say again rejoice, Philip 4.* Mark how he doubtless the sentence, that you may perceive it is a most earnest and necessary thing he requireth. Obey the Commandment of God in this behalf; wherein, as you cannot but highly please your own heart, so I assure you, you shall very much rejoice in your poor heart, and the hearts of other which pray with you with mourning Tears, and make that great trouble

enemy

enemy Satan and all your Adversaries sorry, which will rejoice and laugh to see you mourn. Oh how good Brothers, let it manifestly appear, that the Lord of his great mercy hath heard our faithful and hearty requests for you. Oh how would that rejoice me in the midst of my troubles.

Therefore now to conclude, because the darkness constraineth me to make an end for this time, I say, my dear and faithful Brother, you in respect of the great cause you have of your own part through Christ, and for the glory and honour of Almighty God, the comfort, joy, and rejoicing of your dear Brethren and Sisters in Christ, also your duty to the commandment of God; and last of all to vex, molest, and grieve Satan withal, rejoice in the Lord, and be most heartily glad in him, who is wholly yours, and you are his, and shall be for ever more, *Selah.*

Farewell mine own bowels in the Lord, and praise God with joyful lips and a merry heart, and pray for me his most unprofitable Servant, which have more cause concerning my self to lament, than any one man else living: but my good Bridegroom is present, and biddeth me call away my mourning garments, and therefore I must needs be merry with him: and so he biddeth you to be, by my mouth, for he is present with you, although for sorrow you cannot know him, as *Magdalen* could not in the garden, until he spake unto her. The Lord God speak these words of comfort in your heart, and open the eyes of your mind, that you may perfectly perceive and feel his Blisful presence, and so rejoice in the same for evermore, Amen. Comfort your heart in Christ, and call your care upon him, for he careth for you.

Your Brother in the Lord, abiding his good pleasure, John Careles.

To my dear and faithful Brother, Augustine Bernher.

The peace of God in Jesus Christ, the help, comfort, and assistance of his eternal Spirit be with you my dear and faithful Brother *Augustine*, and with all the rest of my good Brethren and Sisters of the house of *Bastley* and *Manester* (which mourn for the calamity of Gods People) to your everlasting consolation in him, Amen.

Right glad I am to hear my dear and faithful Brother *Augustine* that God of his great mercy and infinite goodness hath yet so graciously delivered and preferred you out of your enemies hands, beseeching Almighty God also from the bottom of my heart, to be your continual defence unto the end, as hitherto he hath most graciously been, that you may live and die both to Gods glory, the commodity of his Church, and to the increase of your own everlasting joy and comfort in his love.

Know you (dear Brother) that I have received your Letter, for the which I heartily thank you. Indeed I think it very short, although it seemeth something long to rebuke me in the beginning, for the breach of my promise in not writing to you of this long time. Well Brother, I am content to hear it with patience, considering that you are troubled otherwise (the Lord comfort you and all heavy hearts) neither will I spend ink and Paper for my purgation in this point. God he knoweth whether I be so fondless of my promise as it appears in your fight I am. Your request I will truly perform to the uttermost of my Power, as gladly as my poor wretch shall do in the world, and I thank God I have done no less of long time. And as my poor Prayer shall be a handmaid to wait upon you which way so ever you ride or go; so I beseech you that my simple counsel may take some place in you, in this time of your Pilgrimage, which you pass in no small peril. God keep and preserve you for his Names sake.

I do not disallow, but much praise and commend your hearty boldness in putting your self in press, when any one of Gods People needeth your help in any point.

But yet I would not have you thrust your self in dangers, when you can do them no good, or at least but when they may well enough spare that good you would do them: For if you should then chance to be taken, you shall not only be no comfort unto them, but also

a great discomfort, forcing sorrow unto their sorrow.

I do not persuade you to abstain from affliction any place where your presence of necessity is required; for in all such places, I know; God will preserve you as he hath hitherto wonderfully done, praised be his Name therefore: or if it shall please him to permit you in any such place to be taken, I know he will most sweetly comfort your Conscience with this consideration, that it is the very providence and appointment of God, that you should there and then be taken up for a witness of his Truth unto the world: but I cannot allow, nor be contented that you should rashly or negligently thrust your self into that place where your wicked enemies do continually haunt, yea and lay wait for you, where the efficacy of your self, nor of any other of Gods People doth require your company. If they need any of your godly counsel, you may write unto them that thing that you think good; which (I dare say) will be sufficient unto them. For continual thanks and praises be given unto the everlasting God, which is now of those that be cruelly condemned for Gods Truth, that now be weaklings; for they have manfully abided the brunt of the Battle, and therefore I reckon the world is paid with them already. So that now and then a godly Letter from you to them shall do as much good, as your company shall do and perchance more so; for writing thicketh longer in the memory then words do, yea though your Letters were as short to them, as your last was to me, so that the same be something sweeter, and not all thing so sharp.

(This dear Brother) is the first counsel which I would gladly have you observe, partly for that I heartily pray for your preservation to the commodity of Christs Church, and partly for that I unfeignedly wish the peace, comfort, and tranquillity of your own Conscience, which I know will be quickly ready to accuse you, if you do anything whereby you have not the Word of God for your warrant. For as in a glass that is clear, a small mote will soon appear: even so the good Conscience of Gods chosen Children, being more clear then crystal, will quickly accuse them at the least fault they do commit; whereas the wicked workings have their Conscience so clouded and corrupted through the custom of sin, that they cannot once see or perceive their shameful deeds and wicked works, until God feel the same before them for their utter destruction, and then despair they immediately. But being that God hath given you a clear Conscience, and a pure, sharp, quick and lively fight in your Soul, I would with you to beware that you do nothing unadvisedly, but upon a good ground. For an accusing Conscience is a fore thing when death doth approach, and then Satan will not stick to tell you that you have too much tempted God, when peradventure you have done nothing so at all. For this cause (I say) I beseech you, that you may be as careful as I have been, and I have thought it good to admonish you as I have done often) to be circumspect, according to the counsel of Christ, which biddeth you beware of men. Other things I have not to write, for I know this bearer can certify you of all things at large, better then I can declare it by writing.

I beseech you, good *Augustine*, help me forwards with your hearty prayers, for I trust I have but small time to tarry in this troublesome world. Dr. Story told our Master that we should all be dispatched so soon as he came from *Oxford*, whether he and other bloody Butchers be gone to make laughter of Christs Church, that he there appointed to be slain. God for Christs sake put them and such like beside their cruel purpurs, if it be his good will and pleasure, Amen good Lord. I pray you my most heartily commendation to my dear Sister and Faithful Friend, good Mistress *Mary Glover*. I beseech God be her comfort as doubtless he will be to I am very glad to hear that the death is joyful and so patiently bear the great Cross that God hath laid upon her. I pray God strengthen her, and all other his dear Saints unto the end, Amen. Commend me unto my dear and faithful Sister *Elizabeth B.* I thank her most heartily for my Napkin, and to Jo. my dear Brother for my Shirt. Truly that day that we were appointed to come to our answer before the Commissioners (which had sent word the same morning that they would come

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Testimony of Gods Spirits.

and then utter them in the Spirit of meekness, and the
groaning Spirit of perfect love; which you must also let
fometimes to covetousness, and wink at them if they be
not intolerable. Whatever loss and mischance shall
happen unto you, take it patiently, and bear it merrily;
and though the same should come partly through your
wives negligence, yet let it rather be a loving warning to
take heed in time to come, than a cause of sorrow for that
which is past and cannot be helped. I know by mine own
experience that we are in this life subject to many incon-
venience, and that of nature we are prone to displeasure,
and ready to think unkindness for every little trifling,
and specially with our best friends, yea, sometimes with our loving
wives, which be most loath to displeasure us.

But let us beware of this wicked corruption, and con-
sider that we ought most of all in love to bear with them
according to Christs example towards his congregation,
for whom he gave himself to cleanse it, &c. I had thought
to have treated this matter at large, but even now I am
interrupted and otherwise letted I doubt not but you know
your duty therein a great deal better than I can declare
it unto you; and as you know it, so will do it: but I
love to be bold with you. I intend to write to your Wife
very shortly, and to take my last farewell of you for ever
in this world. And thus I greet hail I am now con-
strained to make an end. The blessing of God be always
with you.

Your own for ever, John Careles.
Pray, pray, pray wish faith.

Another Letter of John Careles, to Elizabeth, Wife of the
said A. B. containing certain godly precepts of Marti-
rdom pertaining to her duty.

THE everlasting peace of God in Jesus Christ, the
continual aid, strength, and comfort of his holy
and mighty Spirit, with increase of knowledge, faith,
and perfect loving of Gods eternal mercies, be with you
my dear and faithful loving Sister. E. A. I wish you
godly loving Husband and my dear and faithful Brother,
to the full performance of that good which he hath fo-
graciously begun in you, that in all things you may
be made rich and blessed in him, and your feed after you,
now and ever, Amen.

As I have been long desirous to write unto you (my
dear Heart in the Lord) not only being thereto bound
duty, but also often provoked of him, to whom I owe
my self and all that I am able to do (I mean even that
blessed of the Lords own Mouth, whom God hath
joined with you in that holy and christian state of Matrimony)
even for the last I have obtained time and occa-
sion in some part to perform that which I have long pur-
posed. And so much as the Lord of his great mercy and
fatherly care and providence over you his dear Child,
hath now graciously accomplished that good work a-
mongst many others, which I (as a friend of the Bride-
groom) have full heartily wished and often prayed for; I
think it good, yea, and my bounden duty, to treat of such
things as may be profitable to preserve, maintain, and
faithful unity between you, which I know Satan will
chiefly labour to diminish, if he cannot altogether destroy
the same; left by many joyful occasions you should be
provoked continually to praise God for his good gift,
which that enemy hath by all means sought to hinder
from you.

As for all other things I know you are sufficiently in-
structed, and also have a most learned companion, who is
well able further to teach you if need do require. But
in this thing I know my experience is more than his.
Therefore (my good Sister) first and before all things let
that you do diligently consider, that as every good and
perfect gift pertaining to Soul and Body, is given from a-
bove, and cometh from the Father of light: even so to
whomsoever the Lord dealeth any of his benefits, of
them he doth chiefly require always a thankful heart for
the same: for if he will either take away his good gifts
again, or turn the same to their great discommodities and in
the end to the increase of their damnation: fo detestable
in his sight is the sin of ingratitude. But to such as be
thankful for his benefits, he doth not only to the old ever
add new, but also maketh the commodity of his former gifts

ever more and more to increase, until by them they are Anno
fully persuaded and thoroughly convinced, that the everlast- 1586
ing love in Christ Jesus, which is eternal life itself, is
much doth be of his great mercy delight in a thankful
heart.

Therefore I do yet once again earnestly require you,
that above all things you be thankful to God for his be-
nights, not only for your election, creation, redemption,
and preservation; but also for his other temporal gifts,
wherein he hath induced you: amongst the which the
chief and most excellent is (as testifieth the Holy Ghost)
your good, godly, and faithful loving Husband. For (as
the wife man faith) Goods and Possessions may come to a
man by the death of his friends, but a good Wife is the
gift of God, which the Lord will give for a good portion
to such as fear him.

And the like is of a good Husband, as the Lord hath
now given you, praised be his name therefore. He hath
not given you, an Ignorant, Froward, Churlish, Brawling,
Wastful, Rioting, Drunken Husband, whereby he hath
plagued many of us (who might also have done you), but
he hath given you a most godly, learned, diligent, loving
quiet, patient, thrifty, diligent, and sober husband, by
whom he will nourish, cherish, keep, and defend you,
instruct and teach you, yea, care and provide for you and
your Children (the which he will also by him give you)
such things as be necessary for you. He hath not de-
with every Body; and yet he hath done this much more
for you my dear Sister, and will thereto increase joy and
love between you. For as he delighted in the love and
godly agreement of Man and Wife together; so is it he
only that maketh them and all the whole household to be
of one mind. Unto the which his gracious will he re-
queth your diligence, and will use you as his instrument
and mean, the more effectually to accomplish the same.
And therefore I now require you to observe this my
simple counsel, the which I have here written as a testi-
mony of my good will towards you, because I think in this
life I shall never more see you.

Now as I have shewed you how you should be thank-
ful unto God for his good gifts, I exhort you, (as
much as in me lieth) charge you to be evermore thank-
ful unto your dear loving husband, who hath given him-
self unto you; which is a more precious jewel in the Church
of God, than perchance you are yet aware of. Think of
your self unworthy to be matched with such an instrument
of God; and also reverence evermore the gifts of God in
him, and seek with true obedience and love to serve him,
in recompence of his true and painful heart towards you.
Be loath in any wise to offend him, yea, rather be careful
and diligent to please him: that his will may be obeyed
at any time you shall chance to anger him, or to do or speak
any thing that shall grieve him, see that you never rest
until you have pacified him and made him merry a-
gain.

If at any time he shall chance to blame you without
cause, or for that you cannot do therewith (which thing
happeth sometimes to the bed man living) see that you
bear it patiently, and give him no uncomely or unkind
word for it; but evermore look upon him with a loving
and cheerful countenance, and rather take the fault upon
you, than seem to be displeased.

Be always merry and cheerful in his company, but not
with too much lightness, more in any wise of fooling,
povings, or loving, for that is a token of a cruel and
unloving heart; except it be in respect of sin, or in the
time of sickness.

Be not sorrowful for any adversity that God sendeth; a desired
but beware that nothing be spilt or go to waste through your
negligence. In any wise fee that you be quick and
clearly about his meat and drink, and that you leave him the
same according to his diet in due season. Go cleanly and
well favourably in your apparel, but beware of pride in
any wise.

Finally, in word and deed shew your self wife, hum-
ble, merry, and loving towards him, and also towards
such as he doth love, and his other dear friends. I would
I could speak of many things, the which I have learn-
ed and proved true by experience; but I know that you
will do in all things much better than I can teach you;
because you have that anointing that teacheth you all
things,

things, who hath also given you an heart to obey, and
serve him. Yet I trust you will not be offended for this,
which I have written, but rather accept my good will to-
wards you, whom I love in the Lord, as well as I do
my Daughter Julia.

Thus as mine own Soul I commend you both to God,
defining him to bless you with all manner of spiritual
blessings in heavenly things, and also with the dew of
Heaven, and Fates of the Earth, that in all things you
may be made rich in Jesus Christ our Lord and only Savi-
our. The Lord increase and bless the fruit of your Bodies,
that your Children may stand round about your table,
thick, fresh, and long life, like the Olive Branches. God give
you both a long life, that you may fee and bless your Chil-
drens Children, unto the third and fourth Generation; and
teach them the true fear and love of God, and that
faith for the which they shall be accepted in his sight.

God let fee the property of Son, for whose living
in the dust let your Hearts mourn. The Lord make perfect
your love together in him, and always increase the
same, and bring you both in peace to your graves, at a
good age. And now I bid you both most heartily
Farewell: and I think I shall now take my leave of you
ever in this life. I beseech you both to aid me with your
conjugal prayers, (as I will not forget you in mine); that
I may have a joyful Victory through Jesus Christ: To
whose most merciful desire I do most heartily for ever
commend you to be kept unblameable until his coming.
The which I beseech him to hasten for his mercies sake.

Your own unfained, John Careles,
printer of the Lord.

Here endeth the Letters of John Careles.

The History and Martyrdom of a learned and virtuous
young Man, called Julius Palmer, sometime Fellow of
Magdalen College in Oxford, with two other Martyrs
to wit, John Gwin, and Thomas Askin, burned to-
gether in Newbury, at a place there called the Sand pits.

THE first Month of July, in which Careles; as
before is declared, was released out of prison
by death, in that date, after, about the fix-
teenth day of the same Month of July, suffered
these three godly and constant Martyrs above
mentioned, at Newbury, in which number was
Julius Palmer, sometime Student and Fellow of Mag-
dalen College in Oxford, and afterwards School-master
in the Town of Reading. Concerning whose story and
Martyrdom here followeth although not so much as he
deserveth to have said, yet so much as sufficiently may
set forth the great working of God in this young
man.

Julius Palmer.

AS all Gods works are wondrous, in calling of all
sorts of men to confirm his truth, and to bear wit-
ness unto his assured and infallible word, which the Ad-
versaries have depraved and corrupted with their false
glosses, to establish the blessed Kingdom of Antichrist, and
to purchase security in this World, which they seek to keep
in these positions by all means possible, rather curling
with the Thunderbolt of excommunication, burning, hang-
ing, drowning, cracking, scourging, and persecuting by secret
practice, and open violence the simple sheep of our Savi-
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of set purpose, continually to seek occasion, whereby he might be counted a sufferer for the fantastically Religious of the Romish Church.

In the end, not long before the death of King Edward that godly Prince, certain froward Libels, and railing Verbes, were privately fixed to the walls and doors in sundry places of the College against the President, which was then Dr. Hadland, whereby was scandalized their matter of credit to Palmer. For whereas it was well known that he, and some of his Companions, had a very little while before spoken contumacious words against the President; it could not be now avoided, but that thereby arose a vehement surmise and suspicion, that he conspiring with others, had contrived, made and fastened abroad the said Libels. Great inquiry and confusion was made in the College, to search out the Author of so malicious and detestable a deed, but nothing could be found and proved against Palmer, or any of his Companions. Now Palmer, being hereupon examined by the Officers, did not only with stout courage deny the fact to have been him, but also refused further any reproach to be made touching the said Officers, and sent the same to be in writing, whereby he was by them adjudged to be an unworthy Member of that Society. And so for this, and other Popish pranks (continuing obnoxious still) he was expelled the House.

After he was thus dispatched of his Room, he was fain for his own maintenance to apply himself to be a teacher of Children in the house of Sir Francis Kneller, in the which Trade he continued until the coming in of Queen Mary. And when her Visitors were sent to Magdalen College, under a title of Reformation (whereas all things were better afore) I mean to displace divers of the Fellows that were learned, and to put right Catholics (as they called them) in their rooms; there came this Julius Palmer, waiting to be restored to his Living again, of which he had been deprived before, thinking by good right to be restored of them, whose Faith and Religion (as he said) he did to the uttermost of his power defend and maintain. And indeed at length he obtained the place. Then after he was restored again to his House in Queen Mary's reign, God dealt so mercifully with him, that in the end he became of an obnoxious Papist, an earnest and zealous Gospelier.

Concerning whose conversion to the Truth, for the more credit to be given to the same, we have here put down a Letter written by one Mr. Bullingham, Fellow in some part of King Edward's time with the said Palmer, then also of the same faction of Religion with him, and toward the latter end of the said Kings Reign, a voluntary Exile in France for Papistry. In Q. Mary's days, likewise a Chaplain unto Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester. And after the coming in of Queen Elizabeth such an one, as for his obnoxious was quite and clean dispatched from all his Livings by her Majesty's Commissioners. And yet now (God be praised therefore) a most constant Professor, and earnest teacher of the Word of God. This Man at the request of a certain Friend of his in London, being desirous to know the certain truth thereof, wrote unto him concerning this Julius. The Copy of which Letter we thought good here to insert, for that the parties being alive can testify the same to be true and certain, if any man shall doubt thereof.

The Letter of Mr. Bullingham is this.

After Bullingham, I wish you and all yours continual health in the Lord. Heretofore have I not written any thing unto you concerning Julius Palmer, that confessing witness of Gods Truth, for that his doings and sayings known unto me, were worn out of my remembrance, and to write any thing, it seemed rather to deface and blench, than to adorn and beautify him. After his conversion to the most holy Gospel, I never saw his face. Wherefore the less have I to certify you of. But so much as (seemeth to me) to serve well unto the purpose, here I commend unto you, and in witness that my sayings are true, I subscribe my name, willing, praying, and beseeching you to publish the same to the whole world. At what time I Bullingham intended to forsake Eng-

land, and to flee into France, for the wicked Pope sake, Anno (which came to pass indeed; for in Roan I was for some time) this Julius Palmer and Richard Duck, brought me outwards in my journey till we came to London: where on a day Julius Palmer and I walked to St. James the Queens Palace; and as we leaned at the great Gate of that place, Palmer spake thus unto me. Bullingham, you know in what misery and calamities we are fallen for the Pope and his Religion. We are young men, abhorred of all men now presently, and like to be abhorred more and more. Let us consider what hangs over our heads. You are departing into a strange Country, both friends and enemies, where I fear me you shall taste of fewer favours than hitherto you have done. And as for me, I am at what I wish and desire. The face of Hell is as amiable unto me, as the sight of Magdalen College; For there I am hated as a venomous Taad. Would God I were taken under the Earth. And as touching our Religion, even our Conscience bear witness that we taste not such an inward sweetness in the profession thereof, as we understand the Catholics to taste in their Religion; Yea, to say the truth, we maintain we do not wish, rather of will then of knowledge. But what then, rather than I will yield unto them, I will by my Bread, bid so Palmer bequeathed himself to the wide world, and I passed over into Normandy. At my return into England again, my chance was to meet Palmer in Paris, where with a Rod was set up. (This our meeting was in the beginning of Queen Mary's reign, and our miserable departing not long before the end of King Edwards days.) Then after our greeting, thus said Palmer. Bullingham, in this our god, for whom we have smarted? No Palmer, quoth I, it is an image of him. An image, quoth he. I tell thee plainly Bullingham, John Calvin's books I still own. I have perused since our departure, I tell me plainly by Gods Word that it is an idol, and that the Pope is Antichrist, and his Clergy the filthy sink-hole of Hell, and none I believe it. For I feel it sensibly. Oh that God had revealed this matter unto me in times past. I would have bequeathed this Romish Religion or rather Religion to the devil of Hell from whence it came. Behold them not Bullingham. I will rather have the keys, than be ruled by them. I will kneel to yonder Jackpots (meaning one he is the Road). God help me, I am born to trouble and adversity in this World. Well Palmer, said I, the wind that comes with you? I warrant you it will blow you to little ease at the end. I will never have to do with you again. So I left Palmer walking in Paris, who threw the element of fire is exalted above the elements, where eternal rest is prepared for persecuted Martyrs. Thus much is true, and let it be known that I Bullingham affirm it to be true. More I have not to say. In these words and deeds it appears that God had blessed him. From Bridgewater, April 26. Anno 1570.

By me John Bullingham.

When he was by the Visitors restored to his College, although he began to be in favour and tall of Gods Truth, by conference and company of certain godly and zealous men abroad, in time of his expulsion, especially at the house of Sir Francis Kneller; yet was he not thoroughly persuaded, but in most points continued for a while either blind, or else doubtful. Neither could he chuse, but utter himself in private reasoning from time to time, both in what points he was fully resolved, and also of what points he doubted. For such pain Palmer was his nature always, both in Papistry and in the Gospel, utterly to detect all dissimulation, inasmuch that by the means of his plainness, and for that he could not flatter, he suffered much woe, both in King Edwards time, also in Queen Mary's time. Whereas he might at the first have lived in great quietness, if he could have deflected, and both done and spoken against his Conscience, as many flitting Papists have done. And likewise he might have escaped burning in Queen Mary's time, if he would either have spoken, or kept silence against his Conscience, as many such weak Gospeliers did. But Palmer could in no wise defensible.

Now

Now within short space, God so wrought in his heart, that he became very inquisitive, and curious to know underhand, how the Martyrs were apprehended; what Articles they died for; how they were used, and after what they took their death. Inasmuch that he spared not at his own charges to find over one of his scholars, in the Company of a Bachelor of that house, to Glocester, to see and understand the whole order of Bishop Hooper's death, and to bring him true report thereof. Which thing time he thought he rather did, because he was wont in King Edwards time to say; that none of them all would stand to death for their Religion. Thus he learned with what great, extreme and horrible cruelty the Martyrs of God were tried, and how valiantly they overcame all kind of torments to the end. Wherein he himself also did for more experience afterward, at the examination and death of those holy confessors and Martyrs which were burned at Oxford before his eyes; inasmuch that the first house, which the godly conceived of him, was at his return from the burning of Bp. Ridley, and Bishop Latimer. At what time, in the hearing of divers of his friends, he broke out these words and such like; Oh raging cruelty! Oh tyranny trifical, and more then barbarous!

From that day forward he studiously sought to understand the truth, and therefore with all speed he borrowed Peter Martyrs Commentaries upon the first to the Corinthians, of one Magdalen's very alive, and other good books of other men. And to through heavy prayer and diligent search and conference of the Scriptures, at length he perceived and embraced the truth with great joy; and so profited in the same, that daily more and more, he declared it both in word and deed: In such sort, as he never hated the truth more flatteringly before than after, and he willingly embraced the same, when it pleased God to open his eyes, and to reveal unto him the light of his word. And now again when he should come to Church, in those days of Popery, there to be occupied among the rest, in singing of Responses, reading of legends, and such like stuff flattered unto him, he had as much pleasure, he said, to be at the same, as a Bear to be in a cage. When he came, it was as (as it appeared) more to avoid displeasure and danger, than for any good will, and ready affection.

At length through Gods grace, he grew up to such maturity and ripeness in the truth, that he spared not to declare certain sparks thereof in his outward behaviour and doings. For when he should keep his bowing measures at Confeion, (as the custom there was) in turning himself to and fro, sometime Eastward, sometime Westward and afterward knock his breast at the elevation time, against these Idolatrous Adorations his heart did so vehemently rise, that sometime he would absent himself from them, and sometime being there, he would even at the facing time (as they termed it) get him out of the Church to avoid those ungodly gestures and Idolatrous Adoration.

To be short, perceiving after a while that he was greatly suspected and abhorred of the President then being, which was Mr. Cole, and of divers others which before he was his friends, and therewithal feeling great conflict and Torment of Conscience daily to grow, with his Confeion with Idolaters, he sought also that his new life and old living might not well nor quietly stand together, he addressed himself to depart the house. For he thought it not best to abide the danger of expulsion, as he did at the first; being the weather was now waxed warmer. And being demanded at that time of a special friend (who would gladly have persuaded him to stay there longer)

whether he would go, how he would live, he made this answer, Dominus est terra, et plenitudo ejus, i. The earth, the Lords, and the fulness thereof. Let the Lord Works, I will commit my life to God, and the wide World. Here I think it expedient, before I write of the painful labours that he suffered after he came abroad into the perilous gulphs, and deep sea of this wretched world, which he would, first, to rehearse one or two examples of his outward behaviour, at such times as he had recourse to the Colleges after his last departure, whereby the Reader may better understand the kind of simplicity and plainness, and how far wide he was from all cloaked dissimulation in Gods cause, which certain godless persons have sought maliciously to charge him withall. Being at Oxford a certain

time in Magdalen College, and having knowledge that the said John Smith, who succeeded Dr. Peter Martyr, in the office of the Divinity Lecturer, was preaching there, that present Sunday, he would not at the first grant to be present at it. At length a friend of his, a Fellow of that house, persuaded to much with him, that he was content to accompany his said friend to the Church. But suddenly his said Friend vehemently inveigled against Gods truth, in defending certain Popish Heresies, having many eyes bent and directed towards him departed from amongst the midst of the auditory; and was found in his friends chamber weeping bitterly. Afterward being demanded why he flew away upon such a occasion, Oh laid he, if I had not openly departed, I should have openly stopped mine ears. For the Friars blasphemy talk, in disproving, or rather depraving the verity, made mine ears not to grow, but my heart would to smart, then if mine ears had been cut from my head.

It chanced another time, that the same friend of his, called Mr. Skipper, being then Burar of the house, bade him to dinner in his chamber. Palmer not knowing what guests were also thither invited and bidden, happened there (contrary to his expectation) to meet with the fore-faid Friend, with whom were present Dr. Smith, Dr. Trellham, and divers other Papists, whose company Palmer could not well bear: and therefore whispering his friend in the ear, he said he would be gone, for that was no place for him. I will, faith he, to the Barjars table in the great Hall. The Barjars understanding his mind, desired him of all friendship not to go to depart, alleging that it were the next way to bewray himself, and as it were of purpose to cast himself into the Briers, with many other persuasions, as the shortness of time would permit. In the end he condescended to his request and tarried. Now as he came to the fire side, the Friar fluted him cheerfully in Latine, for he could not speak English. Palmer with an amiable countenance related him gently. But when the Friar offered him his hand, he casting his eye aside, as though he had not seen it, found matter of talk to some joy, by the standing by, and to avoid it; which thing was well marked of some, not without great grudge of himself.

After they were fed and had well eaten, the Friar with a pleasant look offering him the cup, said, Propino tibi, juvenis eruditus, i. I drink to you, learned young man. Palmer at that word blushing as red as scarlet, answered, Non ago, si nomen, domine, I know not so such name. O Sir. And therewith taking the cup at his hand, he set it down by him, as though he would have pledged him anon after, but in the end it was well marked, that he did it not. When dinner was done, being sharply rebuked of the said Barjars friend, for his so unwill, unbecomely and unseemly behaviour (as he termed it) he made answer for himself, Olaus erum non dormiam, sed frangit caput meum, i. The oyl of their men doth not suffice, but breaketh my head.

Another time, which was also the last time of his being at Oxford, not long before his death, one Barwick an old acquaintance of his, being sometime Clerk of Magdalen, and then Fellow of Trinity College, a rank Papist, began to reason with him in his friends chamber afore said, and perceiving him to be zealous and earnest in the defence of the verity, he said unto him in the hearing of Mr. Thomas Parry, and others there present: Well Julius Palmer, now thou art stout, and hardy in thine opinion, but as thou wert once brought to the stake, I believe thou wouldst let me another tale. I advise thee beware of the fire, it is a fire that would burn to thee. Truly Palmer, I have been in danger of burning once or twice, and hitherto (I thank God) I have escaped it. But I judge verily, it will be my end at the last welcome be it by the Grace of God. Indeed it is a hard matter for them to burn, that have the mind and Soul linked to the Body, as a thick foot is in a pair of fetters: but if a man be once able, through the help of Gods Spirit, to separate and divide the Soul from the Body, for him it is no more Malloy to burn, then for me to eat this piece of bread.

Thus much by the way concerning his plainness, without dissimulation, & how he feared not openly to show himself more grieved in heart to hear the Word of God blasphemed, than to suffer any worldly pains. Now let us proceed in our story, and faithfully declare both the occasion and manner of his death. F I I 3 Within

about his ears. When the Fire was kindled, and began to take hold upon their bodies, they lifted up their hands towards heaven, and quietly and cheerily, as though they had felt no smart, they cried, Lord Jesus strengthen us, Lord Jesus assist us, Lord Jesus receive our

Souls. And so they continued without any struggling, holding up their hands, and knocking their hearts, and calling upon Jesus until they had ended their mortal lives.

The Martyrdom of three Godly Saints.



The Martyrdom of the three godly Saints.

Among other things this is also to be noted, that after their three Heads by force of the raging and devouring flames of Fire, were fallen together in a lump or cluster, which was marvellous to behold, and that they all were judged already to have given up the Ghost, suddenly Palmer, as a man waked out of sleep, moved his tongue and jaws, and was heard to pronounce this word *Jesus*. So being revived into life, he yielded to God his joyful a Soul (confirmed with the sweet promises of Christ) as any one that ever was called beside to suffer for his blessed Name. God grant us all to be moved with the like spirit, working in our hearts constantly to stand in defence and confession of Christ's holy Gospel, to the end, Amen.

De martyrio Palmeri hexaticon.

Palmerus flammis Christi pro dogmate passus,
Impositum pondus, cui bona palmarum,
Non retrocessit, sed contra audientem venit,
Ihesum reuerens, foris in igne receptus
Proprie in calum suae Palmeri ipse receptus
Iustitia Palmeri non percutitur habet.

Iustus ut Palma florebit.

A memorable Story of one Agnes Wardall in the Town of Ipswich, pursued for the true Faith of Christs Gospel.

About the fald month of July, in this present year, 1556, there was one Richard Argentine, Doctor of Physick, otherwise called Richard Scotton, with certain other dwelling in the Town of Ipswich, not many in number, but in heart and purpose mightily bent to impugn and impeach the growing of Christs Gospel and favours of the same. In the number of whom were Philip Ulmes, Edmund Leach, John Stewards, and Matthew Butler Apothecary, a curious finging Man, a fine player of the Organs, a perfect Papist, and a dilige

nt Confable in the Town of Ipswich, as he was in due watch by night upon Cornhill, cometh to him Doctor Argentine in great hate, giving him intelligence of her Agnes Wardall, being then lately come home to her house in Ipswich. Whereupon immediately, such a way was contrived between them, that the said Agnes Wardall forthwith should be apprehended: but God, in whose providence the direction of all things consisteth, by whose disposition they have their operation, so graciously provided for his Servants, and so prevented their malignant devices, that they came to no great effect in working, although on the contrary part there wanted no good will, as here consequently you shall further understand.

This Agnes Wardall was a Woman that lived in Gods fear, and was at defiance with their Romish truth, desiring rather with hard fare and evil lodging to be abroad, than to be at home in her house, and among the tents of the ungodly: her Husband also being a man of the fear of God, and for the testimony of his conscience being also hunted, by force of the Law was constrained to avoid his house, and got into a Cate with an honest man, serving as a Saylor, a faculty not of him before frequented, nor he a man nimble for that trade, because God had given him an impediment by reason of a stumped foot, unfit to climb to top and yard; yet so it pleased God to enable him with his strength that he was strong and lusty to do good service, as they can well witness that were of his company.

The said Agnes Wardall chanced on a day to come home to see her poor House and Children, which was under the guiding of a young Maid, and being edified thereas, as is aforesaid, went speedily unto the Apothecary where was born to Dr. Argentine: who having knowledge thereof, as is aforesaid, went speedily unto him, what a notable Cure was to be wrought on Wardall's Wife in the apprehending of her. Which was more like to the speed than mine, had not the mighty providence of God wrought contrary to their expectation.

This being known to the Confable, the Watch was charged speedily, and each Company sent to his place. And Argentine and Butler took unto them a good number,

number, and forth they go unto the house of this poor woman to lay hands upon her, and beset the house on the fore side and backside, lying open in the fields, and otherwise were sent to the house of his Mother, which was not far from his house. This done one knock at the street door where Argentine and Butler was, with one of their weapons, and no answer was made: the second time somewhat harder, but had no answer. In the mean time they fearing that some conveyance was made knocked the third time more hard than before.

There was not far from the door where they knocked, a certain Days-woman, where one might look out and speak: And for the third knocking, a woman who at that time was tenant to R. Wardall's Mother, and had but two nights before lye in the house, speaking out hard by their ears, asked who was there?

At first, quoth Argentine, are you so high and will not speak? How furnished it, quoth the woman, Mary I shall tell you; I am but a stranger here, and I have heard say, that there be spirits walking here about, whilst if a man do answer at the first call or second, he stands in great danger, and I was never so afraid of my life. At this her answer they laughed, and commanded her to open the door in the Queens name, for they were the Queens watch.

Agnes Wardall being at that time in bed in an inner Chamber, having her Maid with her, and her two Children the being at that time very heavy asleep, heard not the knocking. Her Maid hearing at the second knock, called and thought her Dame, and with much ado awakened her, and said, The watch it at the door. What thou sayst, said she. Yes truly said the Maid, and hath knocked twice. With that she arose with all speed, and put on her cloaths very slightly, and took with her a Buckram Apron, which afterward the cast on her head, when she was fain to creep in a ditch with nettles, and was falled down into a Parlour, wherein stood a Cupboard with a fair Prefe, into the which the Maid did lock her.

And immediately went up to a Chamber which was hard by the street, where they might see and speak to the Watch, and said, Who is there? Then they made her open the door. And the said, We have no God. And they said, Open the door, or we will lay it on the floor. With that the came down and opened the door. Then asked they the Maid, who is within? And the said, none but a woman that dwelleth with in us, and two Children. Then said they, where is thy Dame? Truly said she I cannot tell, she is not within. She was here in the evening, said they. Ye said the Maid, but she went forth I know not whither. Notwithstanding they charged her that she knew where she was, which she denied. Then got they a Candle light at one of the neighbours houses, and came in, and in the entry met the woman which had answered them at the window, and said she was afraid of Spies. Argentine looking upon her, clapt her on the back, and said, Thou art the woman whom we seek for.

So entered they the house, and searched a Parlour next the street where the woman lay which was his Mothers Chamber, and a young Child that sucked on her breast, and not only in the bed, turning it down, past all honest humanity, but also under the bed, behind the painted Clothes, and in the Chimney, and up into the Chimney, and finding the bed hot, said, Who lay here in the Bed? The woman said I and the Child. And none else, quoth they? No said the woman. When they could find nothing there for their purpose, from thence they went into an inner Parlour, in the which stood the Cupboard wherein she was, and searched the Parlour which was but a little one. And one of the Company, laying his hand on the Cupboard, said, This is a fair Cupboard, he may be here for any thing that is done. That is true faith a mother of them. Notwithstanding they looked no further, but went from that into the chamber above, wherein the said Agnes had lye with her Maid and Children, with all other rooms and chambers.

At length they came down into the Yard, where they found a horsetail at a pale eating of thorn grass. Then asked they the Maid, whose Horke is this? She

answered, it is her Horke indeed, and the came in before night and went abroad again, but I know not whither. Then were they in good hope to find their prey, and befitted them with speed, and wrote into one of the chamber that was in the Yard, in which was a Boy in bed of 12 or 14 years old. And being in his dead sleep, they who unwitted him and examined him for his Dame. Who answered, he knew not where she was, and that that stood finally, although their threats were vehement not only to the poor filly Boy, but also to the good simple plain Maid. Then caused they him to write and dress him, and sent both Maid and Boy unto the Cage, where they put the Maid; but kept the Boy among their trusty Soldiers, so that one of them should not speak with another.

Now while some were on the Carnell, and other some searching the neighbours houses and backfides, the wife of Wardall being in the Prefe fast locked up, and almost smothered for want of breath, desired the woman her Mothers Tenene, when the heard her the Keys were, who answered they were in a Hamper, which she found, and assayed to unlock the Prefe, and of a long time could not. Then desired she her to break it open; for (said she) I had rather fall into their hands, than to kill my self. The bands Hammer and Chisel, to break it open, but could not find it, nor any thing else to break it open with, and came again and told her she could find nothing to break it open with.

Then said she, assay again to open it for I trust God will give you power to open it. And being within in much extremity, she heartily prayed unto God, who heard her prayer and helped her; for at the first assay and turn of the Key, it opened easily. When the came out, she looked as pale as a blank, as if one that were laid out dead by the wall, and as the her self looked after, which then let her out, and was able at her death long after in the Queens Majesties Reign that she was, and all on a vehement sweat was like drops of rain.

Then went she out into the backside, where was pale toward the fields for the defence of the garden, wherein was one or two loose palls, by the which both she and her Husband had divers times used to come and go in and out, so went she out into the fields. And passing one little field, and over a stile, shrouded her self in a low ditch with nettles, and covered her head with the Buckram Apron afore mentioned, and crept low, and lay in the ditch. After long search when they could not find her in the Town, certain of the Watch returned again to the fields side; among whom was one George Manning, with John Bate the Crier of the same Town coming together. This Manning was a simple honest plain man, but Bate a very enemy, and one that in Queen Maries time would have been a Priest as it was reported, but that he was married.

Manning spying where the lays, gave a hem, and another made noise with his Bill, he being before Bate; at the sight of the lay fill, and at the last they departed to the street side to the Confable. All this time the Maid hid herself in the Cage, and the Boy with the other of the watch until perfect daylight. Then went they up, and let out the Maid, and sent her home, and the Boy also; but they made the Maid believe they had found her Dame. Who answered, it yehave her, keep her fast.

On the morrow, Manning felt more to beware that she should hide her self no more to near.

Thus by the might and Power of God was his faithful Servant delivered from their cruelty, and they knew not what he was his Adversaries, not only at that time, but divers times after and before. Notwithstanding, the said Argentine, at his first coming to Ipswich, came in a Servants ingmans Coat. And then being in the days of K. Henr the Eighth, he would accomptably use the reading of Lectures himself in the which he was well commended at that time. After obtained the office of Usher of the free Grammar School, and the Master being dead, got to be Master himself. And being married to a very honest woman remained there the days of K. Edward; And when God took him from us for our just delivered plague,

A Letter sent from the Bayliffs, Lieutenant, and Jurates of St. Peter's Port, to the Dean and Curates of the Isle of Garnsey.

Mafter Dean and Justices in your Court and Jurisdiction, after all amicable recommendations, please if you to know that we are informed by the deposition of certain honest men, past before us in manner of an inquiry; in the which inquiry Katherine Cawches, and her two daughters, have submitted themselves in a certain matter criminal. Wherein you be informed that they have been delinquent to the commandments and ordinances of the Church, in contemning and forsaking the Mass, and the ordinances of the same, against the will and commandment of our Sovereign Lord the King and the Queen. Whereof we send you the said matter, forasmuch as the matter is spiritual to the end you may proceed therein after your good discretion, and as briefly as you can publish, and also that it pertained to your office, recommending you to God, the which give you grace to do that which pertained to right and justice. Written the first day of the month of July, in the year of our Lord 1556.

After these Letters and Information thus addressed to Jasper Amy Dean, and to other of the Clergy, the said women were again converted before the Justice aforesaid with his Affiliants. In the presence of whom they being examined of their Faith, concerning the Ordinances of the Romish Church, made their Answer that they would obey and keep the Ordinances of the King and Queen, and the Commandments of the Church, notwithstanding that they had fild and done the contrary in the time of King Edward the Sixth, in shewing obedience to his Ordinances and Commandments, before. After which Answer taken, they were returned again to Prison, until the other had an answer of their Letter from the Dean and his Complices. During which time, the Dean and Curate gave their Information touching the said women, and delivered the same to the Bayliff and Jurates, condemning and reputing them for Heretics, the women neither hearing of any Information, neither yet were ever examined at any time before of their Faith and Religion.

Whereupon when the said Bayliff and Jurates understood that the said Dean and Curate had not examined the women of their Faith, they would not sit in Judgment on that day, but ordained the women to come first before the Dean and Curates to be examined of their Faith. And to the Officers at the commandment of the Justices, did fetch and present them before the said Dean and Curates. The which being accomplished and done, they were examined upon severally one from another: After which Examination, they incontinently were returned again into Prison.

Then the fourteenth day of the said Month of July, in the year aforesaid, after the Examination above specified before *Elzer Gosselin Bayliff*, in the Presence of *Thomas Devicke, Pierre Martine, Nicholas Cary, John Blundel, Nicolas de Lisle, John Levercham, John le Fever, Pierre Bonamy, Nicolas Martine, John de la March, Jurates*; Sir *Jasper Amy* Dean, and the Curates, did deliver before the Justices under the Seal of the Dean, and under the sign of the Curates, a certain Act and Sentence, the sum whereof was, that *Katherine Cawches* and her two daughters were found Heretics, and such they reputed them, and have delivered them to Justice, to do execution according to the Sentence; of the which the tenor followeth.

The Sentence.

Nno Domini millesimo, quingentesimo, quinquagesimo sexto, die vero 13. Mensis Julij apud Ecclesiam Divi Petri in porta maris insula promont. per nos Dominum Decanum inquisito facta fuit de fide Catholicas, & super Sacramentis Ecclesiasticis, videlicet super Sacramentum Baptismi, Confirmationis, Penitentias, Ordinis, Matrimonij, Eucharistias, & extremae Unctionis, nec non super Ceremoniis Ecclesiasticis de veneratione & honoratione beatorum Marie & Sanctorum, Milia & eius effusio, &c. de contra Ceremoniis Ecclesiasticis, videlicet Katherine Cawches, ejusdemque, daturum filium Guillelmine & Perotine nati-

tarum, & harum tam conjunctim quam separatim, & via juris. Et quomodo pluries ad veniam petendam, & ad delicta sua cognoscenda, & horum omnium & invicem, & quatuor predicta omnino negaverunt, & negant, quod locute fuerunt aliquod verbum mans, inobedientiam, & contra contra fidem Catholicam, Sacramentum, & alia Ceremonia Ecclesie. Quapropter eandem negantibus predictarum, & satisfactionibus & deservientibus, per nos visis, consideratis, & bene ponderatis, & per opinionem Curatorum & Vicariorum videm diffinitum super eadem Kath. & Perotinam, nec non & Guillelminam criminari hereticas, & reprobas, & reprobos. Quapropter coram vobis Dominis Balivis omnino remittimus in iudicio remissimas. Thomas le Coll de mandato, John Allen, Guillelminus Panquet, Petrus Tardif, & Johannes Menat.

When this was done, commandment was given to the Kings Officers to go to the Cattle to fetch the said women, to hear the Sentence against them in the presence aforesaid. And they appearing before them, fild in the ears of all the Auditory, that they would see their Accusers, and know them that have depoled against them, because they might make Answer to their sayings and performances, and to have their Libel accordingly; for they knew not that they had offended the Mayjests of the King and Queen, nor of the Church, but intirely would obey, serve, and keep the Ordinances of the King and Queen, and of the Church, as all good and true Subjects are bound to do. And for any breach of the King and Queens Laws that they had done, they required Justice. All which their Reason and Allegations notwithstanding, the said poor women were Condemned, and adjudged to be burnt, until they were consumed unto ashes, according to a Sentence given by *Elzer Gosselin Bayliff* of the which Sentence the tenor hereafter followeth.

The effect of the Sentence in English.

The 17. (or some other think the 27. day of the month of July, 1556. *Elzer Gosselin Bayliff*, in the presence of *Thomas Devicke, Pierre Martine, Nicholas Cary, John Blundel, Nicolas de Lisle, John Levercham, John le Fever, Pierre Bonamy, Nicolas Martine, & John de la March, Jurates*, Katherine Cawches, Perotine Milia, Guillelmine Gilbert, the said Perotine and Guillelmine daughters to the said Katherine, are all condemned and judged this day to be burnt, until they be consumed to ashes in the place accustomed, with the confiscation of all their goods, movables, and herriages, to be in the hands of the King and Queens Mayjests, according and after the effect of a Sentence delivered in Justice by Mr. Dean and the Curates, the 13 day of the month of July, in the year aforesaid, in the which they have been approved Heretics.

After which Sentence pronounced, the said woman did appeal unto the King and Queen, and their honorable Council, saying, That against reason and right Law, were condemned, and for that cause they made their Appeal; notwithstanding they could not be heard, but were delivered by the said Bayliff to the King and Queens Officers, to fee the Execution done on them according to the said Sentence.

The time then being come, when these three good Mothers and holy Saints of God, the innocent Mother with her two Daughters should suffer, in the place where they should consummate their Martyrdom were three Apparitions of the King and Queens Mayjests, the King and Queens, the eldest daughter on the right hand, the youngest on the other. They were first fringed, but the King brake before they were dead, and the poor women fell in the fire. Perotine, who was then great with Child, did not lie on her side, where happened a cruel fight, not only to the eyes of all that there stood, but also to the ears of all true-hearted Christians that shall read this History. For as the belly of the woman burst under the violence of the flame, the infant being a fair Man-child, fell into the fire, and citizens being taken out of the fire by one *W. Halsey*, was laid upon the Grate.

Then was the Child had to the Provost, and from him to the Bayliff, who gave cure that it should be carried back again and cast into the fire. And so the infant

Q. Mary. The Martyrdom of Katherine, Guillelmine, Perotine, with an Infant burned.

Baptized in his own Blood, to fill up the number of Gods innocent Saints, was both born and died a Martyr, having behind to the World, which it never saw, a spectacle wherein the whole World may see the Herodian crying of this graceless Generation of Catholic tormentors, Ad perpetuam rei memoriam.

Now forasmuch as this story peruse, for the horrible strangeness of the fact, will be hardly believed of some, but rather thought to be forged, or else more amplified of men then truth will bear me out, therefore to discharge my credit hereof, I have not only foretold thee a little before, how I received this story by the faithful re-



lacion both of the French and English, of them which were there present witnesses, and lookers upon; but also have hereto annexed the true supplication of the said Inhabitants of Garnsey, and of the Brother of the said two Sisters, complaining to the Queen and her Commissioners, concerning the horriblety of the Act, which Supplication, for the more evidence, here under followeth to be seen.

To the Right Honourable, and the Queens Highness most gracious Commissioners, for the bearing and determining of matters of Religion and causes Ecclesiastical.

Most lamentably and wofully complaining, sheweth unto your gracious and Honourable Lordships, your poor and humble Orator *Matthew Cawches*, of the life of *Garnsey*, that where *Jasper Amy Clerk*, of the life aforesaid, assisted by the Curates there appearing in Order, Law, and Reason, by colour of a Sentence of Heresie, pronounced against *Katherine Cawches*, the Sister of your Honours said Suppliant, and *Perotine* and *Guillelmine* her two Daughters, did cause the said *Katherine*, being a poor Widow, and her said two Daughters most cruelly to be burnt, although the said persons, nor any of them, did break, maintain, or defend any thing directly against the Ecclesiastical Laws then in place, under the Reign of the late Queen *Mary*, but in all things submitted themselves obediently to the Laws then in force: and yet the cruelty of the said Dean and his Accomplies, in perpetrating such Murder as aforesaid, rageth so farthest thereas, whilst the said persons did continue with violent Fire the womb of the said *Perotine* being burned, there did issue from her a goodly Man-Child, which by the Officers was taken up and handled, and after in a most detestful manner thrown into the Fire, and there also with the filly Mother most cruelly burnt: In tender consideration whereof, and forasmuch as this Bloody Murder was not in due order of any Law, or in any manner according to Justice, but of meer malicious hatreds, the true Copy of the whole proceedings in this matter, by the said Dean and his Accomplies, here ready to be shewed to

your Honours, will make very plain and manifest: It may therefore please your good and gracious Lordships, of the zeal that you bear to Justice, and for our Lord Jesus Christs sake, to have due consideration in Justice of such horrible Murder, so cruelly committed as aforesaid, according to the right demerit thereof. And that it may please your Honourable Lordships to order and decree also, that all the goods of all the said parties, by pretence aforesaid wrongfully taken as confiscate, may be delivered your said poor beseecher, to whom of right they do belong. And your Honors said Suppliant will daily pray to God for your long preservation, to his glory, and your everlasting health.

This Supplication being presented in manner aforesaid to the Queens Honourable Commissioners, in the year 1562, such order therein was taken, that the matter being returned again down to the said Country, further to be examined, the Dean thereupon was committed to Prison, and dispossessed of all his Livings. So that in conclusion, both he and all other partakers of that Bloody Murder, whether of Conscience, or for fear of the Law, were driven not long after to acknowledge their trespass, and to submit themselves to the Queens pardon. The tenor of whose several submission, as they are left in the Rolls, I thought here to publish to the World, for a memorial of the more truth of this story.

The several Submission of certain Garnsey Men, confessing their trespass in the wrongful condemnation of the three Women above specified.

I Elzer Gosselin, of the Parish of St. Peter le port in Garnsey, Merchant, *Nicholas Cary* the elder, son of the said *John Merchant*, *Pierre Bonamy*, of the Parish of Saint Martin, and *Nicholas Martine*, son of *John*, having humbly submitted themselves to the Queens most excellent Majesty, acknowledging their erroneous judgments, as well against *Katherine Cawches*, and *Guillelmine*, and *Perotine*, executed by Fire for supposed Heresie, as also for

**Con-
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From the Burial of *Bucer* and *Phagus*, unto the
ing of these *Visitors*; were passed about three or four
more or less. And from the time that that blessed
Edward the Sixth, deceased, unto that day, the
never ceased to celebrate their *Masses*, and other ke
Ceremonies in those places, and that without scr
Conscience, as far as men could perceive. But aft
time that these *Commissioners* came thither, thof
that before were accounted for sacred and holy, beg
be denounced for profane and unholty. For they
manded that all those *Assemblies* that should hereaf

[illegible]

Quapropter Academia supplex & prostrata primum
à Deo immortalis pacem & veniam petit, precaturque
eo, ut hodiernum diem ad suorum salutem conferenda
& Rempubl. hanc constituendam illuxisse patiatur. Et
inde pro se, pro suis, pro univerſis, pro singulis, bene-
petitionem ad celsitudines vestras affert, ut superiorum

The cause why they were then thither, was to raise up them that were fallen, and to receive into favour such as were sorry and would amend, wherein, if (contrary to their expectation) they should not be able to prevail, they might be able to do some good, notwithstanding, according to their duty, they would then themselves be diligent for their parts, as that no lack might be found in them. For it was more openly known, than that it could be, that the Lord would be merciful to the wilful and obstinate, and took shortly upon them: wherewith as they were greatly moved and grieved (as reason was) they were converted to remedy the mischief. Against whom, if anything, it was desired hereafter to be largely determined, it is not in our wills of them. Neither ought such as are whole and found to be moved at the Chastisement of others, for so much as is pertained not only to the wiping out of the foul blot which now flicked on the Upright, but also to the clearing of the same, who have had taken much hurt by the infection of them. For their own parts they were incited unto mercy than rigor. However, considering that so great diseases could not be by medicines be healed, they were driven of necessity to be stronger. And yet they would have been glad to be again

Mercy the
commende
of all me

Paulum vero Phagium, qui præter alia, quæ hæresim
sapient, ab eo in suis scriptis prolata, incipit memorie
Johannem Oecolampadium, ac Martinum Bucerum prædiximus,
nec non Philippum Melancthonem, & Johannem Brentium,
notorios & insignes hæresiarum, & eorum doctrinam, & in
eius scriptis impressis & vulgo editis, non solum proban-
do, sed summis laudibus attollendo; se non solum a
hæresici

Brown, Gogmah, King, J. & C. Carre, who had before written out the Burial of with a singular commendation of him, and sent Sir John Cheek Knight. These Men taking first Oath upon a Book, were commanded to bear witness against the Heresies and Doctrine of *Bucer* and *Latimer*. The 22. day of the same Month was limited to them to bring in their Verdict.

and also the going of our men to the said *Bobemians* when persecution was kindled against them, for the notable was it, that we have seen come to pass in these our days; that the *Spaniards*, first for into the Realm of purpose to suppress the Gospel, as soon as they were returned home replenished many parts of their Country with the same Truth of Religion, to the which before they were under enemies. By the which examples it might evidently be perceived, that the Princes of this World labour in vain to overthrow it, considering how the mercy of God hath torn it abroad, not only in these Countries that we speak of, but also in *France, Pale, Scotland*, and almost all the rest of *Europe*. For it is said, that some parts of *Italy* (although it be under the Popes nose) yet do they of late incline to the knowledge of the heavenly Truth: Wherefore sufficient argument and proof might be taken by the success and increase thereof, to make us believe that this Doctrine is sent us from Heaven, unless we will willingly be blinded. And if there were any that desired to be persuaded more at large in the matter, he might advantageously consider the voyage that the Emperor and the Pope with both their powers together, made jointly against the *Bobemians*. In the which the Emperor took such an unworthy repulse of so small a handful of his enemies, that he never almost in all his life took the like dishonour in any place. Hence it might be an especial example of the death of *Henry*, King of *France*, who the same day that he had purposed to persecute the Church of Christ, and to have burned certain of his Guard whom he had imprisoned for Religion, at whose execution he had promised to have been himself in proper person, in the midst of his triumph at a Tourney, was wounded fore in the head with a Spear by one of his own Subjects, that ere it was long after he died. In the which behalf, the dreadful judgments of God were no less approved in our own Country-men. For one that was a notable slaughter-man of Christs Saints retired alive, and ere he died, such a rank favour steamed from all his Body, that some of his Friends were come to comfort him, but they were ready to vomit. Another, being in utter despair well nigh of all his life, howled out miserably. The third ran out of his wits. And divers other that were enemies to the Church perished miserably in the end. All the which things were most certain tokens of the favour and defence of the divine Majesty towards his Church, and of his wrath and vengeance towards the Tyrants. And forasmuch as he had made mention of the *Bobemians*, he said it was a most apt example that was reported of their Captain *Zisla*, a who, when he should die, willed his Body to be flayed, and of his skin to make a parchment to cover the head of a Idum. For it should come to pass, that when his enemies heard the found of it, they should not be able to flay against them. The like counsel (he said) he himself now gave them as concerning *Bucer*. That like as the *Bobemians* did with the Skin of *Zisla*, the same should they do with the Arguments and Doctrine of *Bucer*. For as soon as the Papists should hear the name of him, their rage should forthwith decay. For saying that they used violence to such as withstood them, their Doctrine contained nothing that might seem to any man (having but mean understanding in holy Scripture) to be grounded upon any reason. As for those things that were done to them against flesh as could not play the mad-men as well as they, some of them favoured of open force, and some of ridiculous foolishness. For what was this first of all? Was it not frivolous, that by the space of three years together, Masi should be sung in those places where *Bucer* and *Phagius* resided in the Lord, without any offence at all and as soon as they took it to be an offence, that way to be an offence, if any were heard to say who thought they had good then as it was before: as if that then upon the sudden it had been a heinous matter to celebrate it in that place, and that the fault that was past should be counted the grievous, because it was done of longer time before. Moreover, this was a matter of none effect, that *Bucer* and *Phagius* only should be dignified upon as who thought they had only had embraced the Religion which they call Heretic. It was well known how one of the Burgesses of the Town had been minded toward the Popish Religion.

Who when he should disavowed neither ringing of Bells, Dringes, nor any other such manner of trifles to be done for him in his Anniversary, as they term it, but rather that they should go with instruments of musick before the Mayor and Council of the City, to celebrate his memorial, and also that yearly a Sermon should be made to the People bequeathing a piece of money to the Preacher for his labour. Neither might he omit in that place to speak of *Ward* the Painter, who albeit he were a man of no reputation, yet was he not to be defpited for the Religion sake which he diligently followed. Neither were divers other more to be passed over with silence, who were known of a certainty to have continued in the same Sect and to rest in none doubt in *Conscience*, and rather through the whole Realm, and yet defied not their Malice at all. All the which persons (forasmuch as they were all of one Opinion) ought all to have been taken upon else all to have been let lie with the same Religion; unless a man would grant, that it lieth in their power to make what they list lawful and unlawful at their own pleasure. In the condemnation of *Bucer* and *Phagius*, to say the truth, they used too much cruelty, and too much violence. For howsoever it went with the Doctrine of *Bucer*, certainly they could find nothing whereof to accuse *Phagius*, inasmuch as he wrote nothing that came abroad, saving a few things, that he had translated out of the *Hebrew* and *Calde* into Latin. After his coming into the Realm he never read, he never disputed, he never preached, he never taught; he never defied any after, so that he could in that time give no occasion for his Adversaries to take hold on, whereby to accuse him whom they never heard speak. In that they hated *Bucer* to deadly, for the allowable marriage of the Clergy, it was their own malice conceived against him, and a very slander raised by themselves. For he had for his defence in that matter (over and besides other helps) the testimony of Pope *Pius* the second, who in a certain place saith, that upon weighty considerations Priests Wives were taken from them, but for more weighty causes were to be restored again. And also the Statute of the Emperor, that call it the *Interim*, by the which it is enacted, that such of the Clergy as were married, should not be divorced from their Wives.

Thus turning his style from this matter to the University, he reproved in few words their unfaithfulness towards these men. For if the Lord suffered not the Bones of the King of *Edom*, being a wicked man, to be taken up and burnt without revenge (as hath *Amos*) let us assure our selves he will not suffer to be a wrong done to his godly Preachers unrevenged. Afterward, when he came to the condemnation (which we told you in the former action was pronounced by *Persette* the Vice-Chancellor in the name of them all) being somewhat more moved at the matter, he admonished them how much it stood them in hand, to use great circumspectness, what they decreed upon any man by their voices, in admitting or rejecting any man to the promotions and degrees of the University. For that he which should take the Authority from them, should be a great prejudice to all the other multitude, which (for the Opinion that he had of their Doctrine, judgment, allowance, and knowledge) did think nothing but well of them. For it would come to pass, that if they would bestow their promotions upon none but meet persons, and let the unmeet go as they come, both the Commonwealth should receive much commodity and profit by them, and besides that, they should highly please God. But if they persisted to be negligent in doing thereof, they should grievously endanger the common-wealth, and worthily work their own shame and reproach. Over and besides that, they should greatly offend the Majesty of God (in whom they were to be feared and obey) if they should in so doing break and violate. In the mean while that he was speaking thereof and many other things before his audience, many of the University, to set out and defend *Bucer* withal, beset the walls of the Church and Church-portal on both sides with Verres; some standing in Greek, and some in English, in the which they made a manifest declaration how they were minded both toward *Bucer* and *Phagius*. Finally, when his Sermon was ended, they made common supplica-

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supplication and prayers. After thanks rendered to God for many other things, but in especial for restoring of the true and sincere Religion, every man departed his way.

Forasmuch as mention hath been made of the death of the worthy and famous Clerk, *Martin Bucer*, and of the burning of his Bones after his death, it shall not be unprofitable, as the place here fiveth, to induce the Testimony or Epitaph of *Dr. Redman*, which came not yet in print upon the decalce of that man.

The Epitaph or Funeral Verse of *Dr. Redman*, upon the death of *Mr. Bucer*.

*E*t tu licet edax procul hinc abscede, maligna
fascio invidentia,
Et procul hinc Nemesis, procul hinc & Mors abscede,
labes laque meminum,
Dæmonius similes homines que redditis, altam
fœditas atque imaginem
Quem nostris impressi generi patre ille supremum,
similes sui domus erat.
Contempnis odi & mondacis noxia fœci
Adoles famula Veritas.
Dicit quis qualisquis, clatum sinere nuper
quæ videmus nam stibiti?
Epigramma misra hæc defunctus luce Bucerus;
Ius Literati & dux Chori,
Dolrina radius qui totum solis ad infans
misit per orbem splendens.

*Hinc dira super labium vulnere mortis
lignum fuit Gymnasium.
Et pulsat gemis mœreni schola Cantabrigienis
orata clero fydere,
Ergo, quasi obstruio doctrina fonte querelas
presque nunc fundit.
Agnusit nunquam se talem habuisse magistrum
ex quo sit olim condita.
Non unquam Cathedralis gavisit episcopi tante,
nam nobili & clero duc.*

*Cujus & ingenii & doctrina munera, summum
virtutis ornatum decus,
Integritas morum, gravitas, prudentia, sermo
semper Dei laudem sonans,
Et sane conditus, qualem vult esse pius
Apostolus, sententia.*

*Accipit calcei ferocem & præfule dignus,
precatus super arguens.
Nunquam defuit, sed longius defuit, illam
indulgentiam sibi.
Credibile est nimis fatum accelerasse labore,
prodest cunctis dum fluit.
Sed fustula laudes angustæ carmine nitor
quædā fustula claudere.
Ergo Bucer, scholæ & suggestus gloria sacri,
valescit etiam vel mortuus.
Aeternum in superis felix jam vivit regni,
extans est corpus.*

*Terræ fides, hujus miseri atque caduci:
Quod est sepulchro conditum
Christus desponsum reddit cum senore magno,
Judez brevis quæ veneris.*

The delightful handling and making of the Epitaph to ward Peter Martyrs Wife at Oxford, taken up from her grave at the commandment of Cardinal Pool, and after buried in a dung-hill.

And because the one University should not mock the other, like cruelty was also declared upon the dead Body of Peter Martyrs Wife at Oxford, an honest grave and sober Matron, while the livid, and of poor People always a great helper, as many that be dwelling there can right well testify. In the year of our Lord

1552. the departed this life, with great sorrow of all those needy persons, whose necessities many times and often he had liberally aided and relieved. Now when *Brooks Bishop of Gloucester, Nicholas Ormston Dary, Robert Marston President of Corpus Christi College, Cole and Wright Doctors of the Civil Law*, came thither as the Cardinals Visitors, they among other things had in Commission to take up this good Woman again out of her grave; and to consume her Carcase with fire, not doubting but that the was of the same Religion that her Husband had professed before; when he read the Kings Lecture there. And to make it the more that they would do nothing disorderly, they called all that should be there, that had any acquaintance with her or her Husband. They ministered an Oath unto them, that they should not consent to whatsoever was demanded. In fine their answer was, that they knew not what Religion she was of, by reason they understood not her language.

To be short, after these Vittors had sped their business they came for, they gave them to the Cardinal again, certifying him that upon due inquisition made, they could learn nothing upon which by the Law they might burn her. Notwithstanding the Cardinal did not leave the matter so, but wrote down his Letters a good while after to *Marshall*, then Dean of *Frideswide*, that he should dig her up, and lay her over of Christian burial, because she was interred night unto St. *Frideswide* Relicks, some time had in great reverence in that College. Doctor *Marshall* like a pretty man, calling his Spades and Mattocks together in the Evening, when he was well whittled, caused her to be taken up and buried in a Dung-hill.

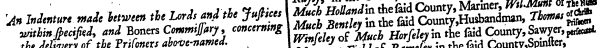
Howbeit, when it pleased God under good Queen *Elizabeth* to give quietness to his Church, long time persecuted with prison and death, then *Dr. Parker*, Archbishop of *Canterbury*, *Edmund Grindall Bishop of London*, *Richard Goodrich*, with divers other her Majesties high Commissioners in matters of Religion (nothing ignorant how far the Adversaries of the Truth had transgressed the bounds of all humanity, in violating the Sepulchre or Grave of that good and virtuous Woman) desired certain of that College, in which this uncounteous touch was attempted or done, to take her out of that unclean and dishonest place where she lay, and solemnly in the face of the whole Town to bury her again in a more decent and honest Monument. For though the Body being once dead, no great estimation were to be had, how or where the Bones were laid; yet was some reverence to be used toward her for Sex and Womanhood sake. Besides, to say the truth, it was great shame, that he which had travelled so far at King *Edward*'s request, from the place wherein he dwelt quieting his taking for earnest pains, being an Old man, in reading and fitting forth the Truth all he could, with learning to teach and instruct, and so well deferved of that University; should with so ungentle a recompence of ingratitude be rewarded again, as to have his Wife that was a godly woman, a stranger, good to many, especially to the poor, and hurtful to none, either in word or deed, without just deserving and beside their own Law, not proceeding against her according to the order thereof, spitefully to be laid in a stinking Dung-hill.

To all good natures the fact seemed odious and of such as be indured with humanity, utterly to be abhorred. Wherefore *Mr. Calfeld*, then Sub-dean of the College, diligently provided, that from *Marshall* Dung-hill she was restored and translated to her proper place again in the year, and withal coupled her with *Frideswide* Bones, that of some years before had been buried in the same place. In case any Cardinal will be so mad hereafter to remove with this Womens Bones again, it shall be hard for them to plead with dissent the Bones of her from the other. And to the intent the same might be notified to the minds of men the better, the next day after, which was Sunday, *Mr. Rogers* preached unto the People, in which Sermon by the way he declared the rough dealing of the Adversaries, which were contented to practice their cruelty against the living, but that they must also rage against one that was dead, and had lain two years in her grave. God grant them once to see their own wickedness, Amen.

Mr. Tallon
paid for.

From Eastthorp this present 30 day of August.

John Kingston, *Priest*



Rayly, in the County of Stafford, *Clovers*, *Rich. Clark* of
Much Haulley in the said County, *Mariner*, *Will. Mame* of the same
Wingley in the said County, *Husbandman*, *Thomas* of the same
Wingley of *Much Haulley* in the said County, *Sawyer*, *per centum*
Margaret Field of *Rameley* in the said County, *Spinster*,
Agnes Whinlock of *Dovercote* in the said County, *Spinster*,
Alice Mann of *Alice Rode* in the said County, *Spinster*,
Spencer, *Richard* of *St. Martin* of the same *Town* and County, *Spin-*
ster, *Richard Benger* of *Colchester* in the said County,
Carter, *Richard Atkinson* of *Halfpenny* in the said County,
Weaver, *Robert Barrow* of *Wigton* in the said County, of *St. Paul*
Folk, *Carpenter*, *Richard* of *St. Paul* in the said County, of *St. Paul*,
in the said County, *Mariner*, *Richard* *July* of *Colchester*
in the said County, *Mariner*, *Thos. Fere* of the same
Town and County, *Mercer*, *Robert Debnam* *Wm* of the
Dudham in the said County, *Weaver*, *George Harnay* of
Cockfally in the said County, *Wm* of the same, *Christian Pepper*
John of the same, *Wm* of the same, *Albin Simpson*,
Ellen Ewing, *Alie* the wife of *Wm* *Julius* of *Colchester*,
Spinster, and *William Benger* of *Colchester* in the
County, *Glaister*, being indicted of *Heresy*, and referred to the Bishop
of London, according to the Statute in that case pro-
vided.

A Letter of Bp. Boner to Cardinal Pool

And alack! I took order that the *ARM* *Grackles* should be with *me* very early on *Saturday* morning, to the intent they might quietly come and be examined by *me*, yet it was between ten and eleven of the clock before they would come, and no way would they take, but I was obliged to wait till twelve, and then I was troubled with about a thousand persons. Which thing I took very much wrong, and spake to *St John* *Griffin* then being with *me*, to tell the *Mayor* and the *Sheriff* that this thing was not well suffered in the *City*. These naughty *Heretics* all the while I was thus troubled, had shorted the *Grackles* to the *ple* to their part, and had much money *2 promiscuous* *ple*, and being entered into my house, and talked with them, they shewed themselves desperate, and very obdurate; yet I used all the honest means I could, both of my *ple* and of my *ple*, to get them to leave the *ple* to talk with them; and finding nothing in them but pride and wilfulness, I thought to have had them all *her* to *Fulham*, and here to give Sentence against them. Nevertheless, perceiving by my *la* going that your *Grace* was not yet come, I thought to have had them all *her* further, perceiving herein, to advertise first your *Grace* hereof, and know your good pleasure, which I beseech your *Grace* I may do by *th*rusty bearer. And thus most humbly I take my leave of your good *Grace*, beseeching your *Grace* to preserve the *ple* to *Fulham*.
Wth *ple*, *Nat*.

Your Graces most bounden Bedes,
and Servant, Edmund Boner:

By this Letter of Bishop *Boner* to the Cardinal, is to be understood, what good will was in this Bishop to have the Blood of these men, and to have pait with sentence of condemnation against them, had not the Cardinal forme what (as it seemed) stayed his fervent headfines. Concerning the which Cardinal, although it cannot be denied by his Acts and writings, but that he was a professed enemy, and no otherwise to be reputed but for a Papist : yet again it is to be supposed, that he was none of the Bloody and cruel sort of Papists, as may appear, not onely by

his Aids and writings, but that he was a professed enemy, and no otherwise to be reputed but for a Papist: yet again it is to be supposed, that he was none of the Bloody and cruel sort of Papists, as may appear, not onely by

To return now to this godly company again, first how they were brought up in bands to *London*, ye have heard: Also how *Bener* was about to have read the sentence of death upon them, and how he was stayed by the Cardinal, y^e understand. As touching their confession, which they articulated up in writings, it were too tedious to recite the whole at length. Briefly touching the Article of the Lords Supper (for the which they were chiefly troubled) thus they wrote, as here followeth.

WHEREAS Christ at his last Supper, took Bread
and when he had blessed it, he brake it, and
gave it to his Disciples, and said, *Take, eat, this is my
Body.* And likewise took of the cup and thanked, &c. We do
understand it to be a figurative speech, as the most
manner of his language was in parables and dark sentences
which are as carnally minded, should fee by
their eyes, and not understand, signifying that they were
not understanding, signifying that they were
the Bread among them, being but one Body, and they all
were partakers thereof, so we through his Unity, in that it
was broken and offered upon the Cross for ussmall all para-
hers broken, and his Blood cleareth us from all our sins,
and his pacified Gods wrath towards us, and made the
attonement between Gods wrath and us, if we walk henceforth
in the light, even as he is the true light.

And in that he said *trunk* *the true light* *The candle*
me, it is a memorial and token of the suffering and death *why the*
of Jesus Christ: and he commanded it for this cause, that Bread and
the Congregation of Christ should come together to *cup*
hew his death, and to thank and laud him for all his *even in*
benefits, and magnify his Holy Name, and do to break the *order*
bread, and to drink, in Remembrance that his Blood *is*
Christ had given his Body, and that his Blood is the *the*
true and lively Bread of Life.

Thus you may well perceive, though Christ called *the*
his Bread his Body, and the Wine his Blood, yet it *is*
followeth not, that the substance of his Body should be *the*
the Bread and Wine; as divers places in Scripture are *is*
spoken of Christ and his Apotles in like phrase of speech *is*
as in *John 15: 1 am the true vine* *10: 1*
am the Door. And as it is written in *99. to the*
and in *Exod. 42 how Moses took the Blood of the*
calves, and sprinkled both the book and all the People, *giving*
saying, *this is the Blood of the covenant or Testament.*
And thus the *5. Chapter of Ezek* how the Lord said
unto him when he conceived the third part of his hair, *laying*
that *this is true*.

Thus we see the Scriptures how they are spoken in figures, and ought to be spiritually examined, and not as they would have us to say, that the Bodily preface of Christ is in the Bread, which is a Blaphemous understanding of the gody word, and is contrary to all Holy Scriptures. Also we do see that great Idolatry is sprung out of the Carnal understanding of the Words of Christ *This is my Body*, and yet daily springeth, to the great Dishonour of God; so that men worship a piece of Bread for God, yea, and hold that to be their maker.

After this confession of their faith and doctrine being written and exhibited, they also devised a Letter withal, in manner of a short supplication, or rather an admonition to the Judges and Commissioners, requiring that justice

Margaret
Hides words
to Sister.

Agnes Stanley
words to Sister.

Lefly words
to Sister.

Sentence
pronounced
on you.

The words
of Margaret
Hides to the
Bishop.

Unto this question next answered *Margaret Hides*, saying, My Lord, you have no cause to give Sentence against me: for I am in the True Faith and Opinion, and will never forsake it; and I do with that I were more wrong in it than I am.

Talk of all answered *Agnes Stanley*, and said, I had rather every hair of my head were burned, if it were never so much worth, than that I will forsake my Faith and Opinion, which is the True Faith.

The time being now spent, they were commanded to appear again at obeyed, the Bishop first called for *Lefly*, and after his accustomed manner willed his Articles and Answers to be read: in reading thereof, when mention was made of the Sacrament of the Altar, the Bishop with his Colleagues put off their Caps. Whereat *Lefly* said, My Lord, seeing you put off your Cap, I will put on my Cap, and thereat will put on his Cap. And after, the Bishop continuing in his accustomed Perforations, *Lefly* again said unto him, My Lord, I trust I have the Spirit of Truth, which you detest and abhor, for the Wisdom of God is Foolishness unto them.

Whereupon the Bishop pronounced the Sentence of Condemnation against him. And delivering him unto the Sheriff, called for *Margaret Hides*, with whom he used the like order of Exhortations.

To whom notwithstanding the said, I will not depart from my sayings till I be burned: and my Lord (quoth she) I would fee you instruct me with some part of Gods Word.

My Lord, where you say I am an Heretic, I am none; neither yet will I believe you, nor any Man that say he will believe as you do. And so forth: that ye say he is the Bishop for Heretic, I believe are True Martyrs before God: therefore I will not goe from my Opinion and Faith as long as I live.

Her talk thus ended, she received the like reward that the other had. And the Bishop then turning his tale toward the other two, he likewise this first answer, My Lord, I will not hold with your Idolatrous ways, as you do: for I say, the Mass is Idolatry, and will stick to my Faith and Belief, so long as the Breath is in my Body. Upon which words he was also Condemned as an Heretic.

Laft of all, was *Henry Romley* demanded if he would (as the rest) stand unto his answers, or else recanting the same, come home again, and be a member of their Church. Whereunto he answered, I will not go from my Religion and Belief as long as I live; and my Lord (quoth he) your Doctrine is naught, for it is not agreeable to Gods Word.



After these words, the Bishop (to conclude) pronounced the Sentence of Condemnation against him and the rest (as ye have heard) charged the Sheriffs of London with them: who being thereunto commanded, the twelfth day of the same month of April, brought them unto Smithfield, where all together in one fire, most joyfully and constantly they ended their temporal Lives, receiving therefore the Life eternal.

Three burned in Saint Georges-fields in Southwark.

May,
W. Morant,
G. Cromwell,
one King,
Martyr.

The Bishop King.

Among other Histories of the persecuted and Condemned Saints of God, I find the Condemnation of none more strange nor unlawful than this *Stephen Gratwick*.

Gratwick, Martyr.

who first was condemned by the Bishop of Winchester and the Bishop of Rochester, which were not his Ordinaries.

Secondly, when he did appeal from these incompetent Judges to his right Ordinary, his appeal could not be admitted.

Thirdly, when they had no other shift to colour their inordinate Proceedings withal, they suborned one of the Priests to come in for a counterfait and a false Ordinary, and sit upon him.

Fourthly, being openly convicted and overturned in his own Arguments, yet the said Bishop of Winchester Dr. *Whits*, neither would yield to the force of truth, nor suffer any of the Audience assistance once to say, God strengthen him.

Fifthly, as they brought in a false Ordinary to sit upon him; so they pretended false Articles against him which were no part of his Examinations, but of their deviling to have his Blood.

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Sixthly and lastly, having no other ground nor just matter against him, but only for saying these words: *That which I said, I have said*, they read the sentence of death upon him.

And this was the dealing of these men, which needs will be replied for Catholic Fathers of the Spirituality, Successors of the Apostles, Disciples of Christ, pillars of the holy Church, and leaders of the People. Of whose doings and proceedings, how agreeable they are to the example of Christ and his Apostles, I leave to difficulties, referring the judgment here to them, which know the Institution of Christs Religion and Doctrines.

Now least peradventure the disordered misrule of these *Christians* Lords, will not be credited upon the simple narration of the story, ye shall hear the whole discourse of this process regulated by the hand of the Martyr himself, who as he could tell best what was done; so I am sure would not testify otherwise than the Truth was, according as you shall hear by his own declaration here following.

The declaration of Stephen Gratwick concerning his own Story and Condemnation.

Upon the 25 day of May, in the year of our Lord, 1557, I *Stephen Gratwick* came before the Bishop of Winchester, Dr. *Whits*, unto St. Georges Church in Southwark at 8 of the Clock in the morning, and there he called me before him, and said unto me,

B. Winch. Stephen Gratwick, how standeth the matter with thee now? Art thou contented to revoke thy Heresies, the which thou hast maintained and defended here within my Diocese, oftentimes before me; and also upon Sunday last ye stood up in the face of the whole Church maintaining your Heresies, so that you have offended within the liberty of my Diocese: and now I being your Ordinary you must answer to me directly, whether you will revoke them or not: the which I have seen in writing, and if so be that you will not revoke them, then I will excommunicate you, and therefore now tell what you do, for now I read here the Articles against you.

And so when he had ended, he bad me answer unto them.

Grat. My Lord, these Articles which you have here objected against me, are not mine, but of your own making. For I never had any of mine Examinations written at any time, and therefore these be the Objections that you lay against me as if to get my Blood.

Wherefore I decline your lawful favour, to allow my lawful appeal unto mine Ordinary: for I have nothing to do with you. And whereas you do burden me, that I have offended within your Diocese, it is nothing to me: for I have not entered either to preach or teach within your Diocese, but was apprehended by mine own Bishop and first Prisoner unto your Diocese, by the consent of the Council and mine own Ordinary, and therefore I being in your Diocese, you have no cause to let my lawful appeal.

And with that there came the Bishop of Rochester, and was received at the Bishop of Winchester's hands, with much gladness, according to their determinate purpose before invented. And so followed the Archdeacon of Canterbury. And then the Bishop again flart up as a man half ravished of his wits for joy, embracing him with many gentle words, and said, that he was very glad of his coming, making ignorant thereof, as he thought it should appear to me. Then said *Winch.*

B. Winch. Sir, I am very glad of your coming. For ye see now I have one before me, who hath appealed unto you being his Ordinary. Then said the Archdeacon of Canterbury.

Arch. Can. I know this man very well. He hath been divers times before me. And then I answered and said:

Gratw. My Lord, I am not of his Diocese, not by five miles for his Diocese reacheth on that part but to the City of *Leam*, and I dwell at *Boxley* in *Hampshire*, five miles beyond, in the Diocese of the Bishop of *Chichester*; and therefore I am not of his Diocese.

Then the Bishop of Winchester, the Bishop of Rochester, and the Archdeacon of Canterbury, call the leaves together, and laughed: and then they said, my Ordinary would be here by and by, and so they forth for a counterfeit instead of mine Ordinary, and then I saw myself counterfeited.

And then they said, ye are so confident together *Gratw.* Why do ye laugh? are ye confident together *Gratw.* for my Blood, and therein triumph? you have more cause to look wrightly upon the matter: for I stand here before you upon life and death. But you declare your selves what you are: for you are lapped in *Leam* appar, but I would to God ye had Coats according to your assembly here, which is *Scarlet Gowns*, for I do here perceive you are bent to have my Blood.

And then came rushing in that counterfeited Bishop, who was the hired Servant to deliver me into the hands of the High Priest, and the Bishop hearing him come, with haughtiness of his man, who was there: and said, *My Lord of Chichester*. Then the Bishop with haughtiness of his man, who was there: and said, *My Lord of Chichester*. Then the Bishop with haughtiness of his man, who was there: and said, *My Lord of Chichester*.

Winch. Ye are most heartily welcome, and required him to sit down; and then said the Bishop of Winchester to me, *Lo here is your Ordinary*, What have you now to say unto him?

Grat. I have nothing to say unto him. If he have nothing to say unto me, I pray you let me depart. Then answered my Counterfeit Ordinary and said.

Counterf. Here you stand before my Lords and me in trial of your Faith, and if you bring the Truth, we shall by compulsion give place unto you, as it is to be proved by the Word, And your Doctrine to be heard and embraced by a Truth.

Grat. Then I demanded of him whether he meant by Authority, or by the judgment of the Spirit of God in his members.

And he answered me, by Authority as well as by the Spirit.

Grat. Then I said. Now will I turn your own argument upon you: for Christ came before the High Priests, and Seribes, and Pharisees, bringing the Truth with him, and being the very Truth himself, which Truth caused him to be both he and his Truth was condemned, and took no place with them: And also the Apostles, and all the Martyrs that died since Christ: therefore I turn your own Argument upon you, answer it if you can.

Counterf. Then he, with a great heat of choler, said unto the Bishop of Winchester, Object some Articles against him, for he is obstinate, and would gain out of our hands, therefore hold him to some particular: so that other answer could I not have of his Argument.

Winch. Then the Bishop of Winchester began to read his Objections of his own making against me, and bade me answer unto them. And I said:

Grat. No, except you would set the Law apart, because I see you are mindful of my Blood.

Winch. Now you may see he will not answer to thee, but as he hath shewed. Then spake the Counterfeit Ordinary again, and said.

Counterf. My Lord, ask him what he faith to the Sacrament of the Altar. Then the Bishop asked me, as my Sacrament Ordinary required him.

Grat. My Lord, I do believe that in the Sacrament of the Supper of the Lord truly ministered in both kinds, according to the institution of Christ, unto the worthy Receiver, he eateth mystically by faith the Body and Blood of Christ. Then I asked him if it were not the Truth. And he said, Yes. Then said I, Bear witness of the Truth.

Winch. Then the Bishop of Winchester, who had been subtilty to gather upon my words, said, my Lord, For ye see now he creepeth away with his Heresies, and covereth them privily? Note how he here separateth the Sacrament of the Altar from the Supper of the Lord, meaning it not to be the true Sacrament, and also how he condemneth our ministrations in one kind, and alloweth the unworthy receiver doth not Eat and Drink the whole Body and Blood of Christ; which be fore matters truly weighed, being covered very craftily with his subtle words, his flattery and poplarity, but he shall answer directly or ever he depart.

suspected of Heresie and if I would be content to confess how I did believe as concerning those Articles, they would gladly teach me.

Ans. But I said, I do not think so, for I talked with one of your Doctors, and after long talk, he would needs know how I did believe in the Sacrament, and I rected unto him the Text, and because I would not make unto him an exposition, he would teach me nothing: yet I prayed him for my learning to write his mind; and if it were the truth, I would believe him; and this I did desire him for the love of God, but it would not be.

Arch. Then said he, it was not so, he durst swear upon a Book.

Ans. I said, it would be so proved.

Arch. Then he stood up with a long process, and said, he would tell me the truth, and was sure that the same Doctor did believe as he did.

Ans. I asked him how he knew that, seeing St. Paul said, that no man knoweth what is in man, but the spirit which dwelleth in him: but if you wilt what spirit meant by these words, I require mercy and not Christ meant by these words, you would not kill Innocents.

Bishp. The Bishp began with me again, and charged me in the King and Queens Name, and the Lord Cardinals, to answer ye a may to the Articles that followed.

Ans. Then I commanded in his Name that should come in flaming fire with his mighty Angels to render come to the disobedients, and to all those that be vengeance to the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ, which should be punished with everlasting damnation, that he should speak nothing but the truth grounded upon Christ and his Apostles, and then I would answer him, or else not.

Bishp. Then he was very angry, and said, if I would not answer, he would condemn me indeed, unless I would answer every Article.

Ans. Well, said I, if you do, you shall be guilty of my Blood, and prove your self a Murderer.

Arch. Then the Archdeacon took the Articles in that hand, and read the second Article, which was, that I was a Christian man, and did believe in their Mother the Catholick Church, and the determination thereof.

Ans. I said, I was a Christian man indeed, and therefore they had nothing against me.

Arch. Then said he, what saidst thou to the Catholick Church, which hath so long continued, except it were nine or ten years, that this Heresie hath sprung up here in this Realm?

Ans. I said, no man can accuse me of any thing spoken against the Catholick Church of Christ.

Bishp. Then said the Bishp, dost thou not believe the Creed?

Ans. Yes verily, I believe my Creed, and all that is written in the Testament of Christ, with thereof of the Scriptures.

Bishp. Then, said he, thou dost confess that there is a Catholick Church, I am glad of that; but tell me, is the King and Queen of that Church, or not?

Ans. Well, said I, now I perceive, you go about to be both mine Accuser and also my Judge, contrary to all that I confess Christ hath a Church upon Earth, which is right. I confess Christ hath a Church upon Earth, which is right. I confess Christ hath a Church upon Earth, which is right. I confess Christ hath a Church upon Earth, which is right.

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Ans. I said, I do believe, that I did eat Christs flesh, and drink his blood. For he said, *My flesh is meat indeed, and my blood is drink indeed.*

Arch. Then he said, I had well answered, thinking to have had some advantage at my hand, and prayed me to tell him, how I did eat his flesh and drink his blood.

Ans. Then he said, I must answer you by the word which Christ said, *He that eateth my flesh and drinketh my blood, dwelleth in me, and I in him.*

Arch. Then he faced out the matter with Sophistry, and said I did eat Christ, as that Church was in his eyes, with many such mocks, but would not let me answer one word.

Commiff. Then the Commiffary did ask me, if I did not remember St. Paul, which did rebuke the Corinths for their evil behaviour, and because they made no difference of the Lords Body, and brought in to prove his matter, how he called himself Bread in the sixth of John. *So Paul faith, So oft as ye eat of this Bread*

(meaning Christs Body) unworshipfully, ye eat and drink your own damnation, because ye make no difference of the Lords Body. For thus faith Christ, *The bread that I will give you is my flesh.* Now it is no Bread, but it is his flesh.

Ans. Then he said, I did believe the words of St. Paul very well, even as he had spoken the same. For thus he said, *He that eateth and drinketh unworshipfully, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lords Body.*

Commiff. What is the cause that he eateth his own damnation?

Ans. I said, St. Paul declareth it plainly with these words, *If ye had judged your selves, ye should not have been judged of the Lord.*

Arch. Then the Archdeacon said, he marvelled why I would not say, that he called the Bread his Body, seeing *Cramer, Ridley and Latimer*, with many other, did so call it his Body.

Ans. I said, I have condemned them as Hereticks, and I would have me say with them, because you would kill me.

Arch. Then he said, In that they said it was his Body, they did say the truth.

Ans. I asked wherefore they were killed, seeing they said the Truth.

Bishp. Then said the Bishp, that he had all their Answers, and that they did not believe as they said. For they said, Christ called it his Body, but it was not his natural Body: but thou shalt answer me by and by, whether it be his Body or not, or else I will anger thee.

Ans. Then I said, I had answered him by the Word already, and did believe it also; therefore if he did condemn me for that, my Life was not dear unto me, and I was sure he should not scape unpunished: for God will be revenged upon such Murderers.

Arch. Then the Archdeacon intreated me to be ruled by him, and take mercy while it was offered; for if I were condemned, I must needs be burned. Yet he would not say but my Soul might be saved; with many more words, and desired me that I would believe him, for he would speak the truth: beginning how Christ fed five thousand People with four Loaves, and how he turned the Water into Wine, even to Christ took Bread and wine, and when he had done, he brake it and said, *This is my Body*, and then he commanded them to eat it: and therefore it must needs be his Body.

Ans. Then I desired him to speak the Text right, or else I would not believe him.

Arch. Then he stood up, and put off his Cap, and thanked me for teaching of him, and said, I was a flibbom Fellow, and took scorn to be taught.

Ans. I said, I ought to hold him accursed, if he taught Doctrine contrary to Christ and his Apostles.

Arch. Then he asked me, whether I did believe that Christ did give that he took, or not?

Ans. I said, I do believe as much as can be proved by the Scriptures, and more I will not believe.

Arch. Then he began with *Moses Rod*, how God commanded him to lay it down, and it was turned into a Serpent. Seeing that this was by *Moses* being but a

man, how much more Christ being both God and Man took one thing and gave to his Disciples another?

Ans. I said, his comparison was nothing like, for *Moses Rod* when it was laid down, few that it was turned into a very Serpent indeed; but in this Sacrament no man can fee either quality or yet quantity to be changed.

Bishp. Then said the Bishp, that mine Opinion and Faith was like unto the *Capernaite*.

Ans. I said, theirs was more like their Opinion than mine.

Arch. The Archdeacon asked me, whether Christ took not one thing, and gave another?

Ans. I said, look what he brake he gave unto them, and bade them eat; and other answer I will make none, contrary to the Word.

Arch. Then he said, he marvelled why I would not believe them, seeing this learning had continued this fifteen hundred years; neither yet did say, as other had before, how Christ did call it his Body.

Ans. Then I said, when *Cramer*, which was here Bishp, was in authority, he said, that he did hold the truth, and commanded us to believe him, and he hath given his life for his Opinion, and would you have me to believe you, because you say, that you hold the Truth? and that which makes me believe chiefly, is the Scripture, which I am sure is the Truth indeed.

Bishp. The Bishp said, he had spoken the truth, and that I would not believe.

Ans. I said, if he did not now speak the truth, I was sure he had spoken the truth; for he had preached before Doctrine clean contrary unto this.

Then were the rest of my Articles read; which I answered, and in every Article he had up this Bredden God. And they sent for a Candle-light, and I thought they would have condemned me, but God would not suffer their cruel hearts to have their pleasure that time: blessed be his Name for evermore, Amen.

Arch. Then the Archdeacon was angry, and began to chide with me, because I would not deliver a day of the Bishp, and said, I was a naughty flibbom Fellow, and said, it had been my duty to have desired him to have been good to me, that I might have a day.

Ans. Then I said, I have spoken the truth; and therefore I would ask him no day, except he would give me a day of his own mind.

Commiff. Then said the Commiffary, Dost thou not think that thou shalt be deceived, seeing he may be deceived that hath gone to study all the days of his life?

Ans. I said, Yes, I might be deceived in that I was a man; but I was sure Gods Word could not be deceived.

Commiff. Then he prayed me to be content, and confessed that I might learn, and said, they would be glad to teach me.

Ans. And I said, I would be as glad to learn as any man. And thus they role up and went away, saying nothing.

What became of this *Matthew Plaisie* after, whether he died in Prison, or was executed, or delivered, I have as yet no certain knowledge.

The History of Ten true godly Disciples and Martyrs of Christ, burnt together in one Fire at Lewes, Anno 1557. June 22.

In the Town of Lewes were Ten faithful Servants of Jesus Christ, who were burnt together in one Fire at Lewes, Anno 1557. June 22.

God put in one fire, the 22. day of June, whose Names follow:

1. Richard Woolman. 6. Margery Morris. 7. James Moris, her son. Ten godly Martyrs.

2. George Steven. 8. Denis Burgess. 9. Adam White. 10. Gervase Wile.

Of the which number Richard Woolman was the first. Concerning whose apprehension, first by his Enemies, and of his deliverance out of Bishop Boners hands, then of his second taking again by the procurement of his

Judgment without truck.

The Article of the King and Queen is no Article of the Catholick Church.

The Catholick Church.

the bread which I will give you is my flesh.

the bread which I will give you is my flesh.

the bread which I will give you is my flesh.

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the bread which I will give you is my flesh.

the bread which I will give you is my flesh.

Two only Sacraments.

Chib. Then what shall I talk with you? How many do you know?

Wood. I know but two; one the Sacrament of Baptism, and the other the Supper of the Lord. But if you can justify prove by Gods Word, that there be more then two, I stand to be reformed.

Chib. If I prove not seven by Gods Word, then believe me not; so he bade me farewell.

Then the Sheriff's two men, and one of Dr. Storie's men, carried me to Dr. Cooks Houfe, which Dr. Cooks men commanded me to carry me to the Sheriff's Prison in Southwark, saying, he shall be called before us again shortly and all his fellows, and we shall dispatch them for troubling the Country any more.

Rich. Woodman carried to the Marsh.

And so I was brought to the Marsh, where I now am merry. God be praised therefore I looking for judgment of my death: for they intended to dispatch me shortly, if God will give them leave: but God hath their hearts in his hands, and they can do nothing to me, but as God will give them leave. Wherefore I commit my cause to God.

Like 12. The Devils numbers. Persecutors of the Chr. Rasse.

God only, and I am sure there shall not one hair of my head perish without my heavenly Fathers will, although I be never so much troubled. For he perished not for all his trouble, although God gave the Devil leave to trouble and try him divers and many ways, as God hath suffered his Members to trouble and try me divers and many ways, I praise God. They shall as the Devil prevail against my Faith (I have no midwill) as the Devil prevailed against Job, whatsoever they do with my Goods, Life, or Body. For he that kept Job in all his trouble, neither fumbleth nor sleepest, but keepeth me, and all his elect, that whether we live or dye, it shall be to the praise and glory of God. For if we live, we live at his will; and if we dye, we dye to his will; and if we live or dye, we are the Lords, blessed be his Name therefore.

Job. xlii. 11. Rom. 14.

Wherefore, dear Brethren and Sisters, to whom this writing shall come, be of good cheer, and fear not what man can do unto you. For they can kill the body: but fear him that hath power to kill both body and soul. And yet once again I bid you be of good cheer, and soul. And yet once again I bid you be of good cheer, and soul. And yet once again I bid you be of good cheer, and soul.

Th. Woodman carried to the Marsh.

For the Sheriff, with divers other Gentlemen and Priests, whilst I was at the Sheriff's Houfe, said to me, that all the Heretics in the Country hung on me, as the People did in times past upon St. Augustine or St. Ambrose, or such like. Wherefore said they, look well on it, you have a great thing to answer for.

Fol. 103

To the which I answered, a great thing to answer for. To the which I answered, a great thing to answer for. To the which I answered, a great thing to answer for.

Thos. that fear God hang yet on man.

For I am full of my sins as far from me, as it is from the East to the West: so that I am full sure they shall never come near to me any more. Yea, and that they call Heretics, we serve God withal. And I am sure there is no man nor woman that hangeth on you, but on God. But yet that is their imaginations and thoughts, that if they might win me to them, they should win a great many likewise: and thinking to kill me, if they cannot win me, as I trust in God, and am sure they shall never by Gods grace, if I were possible for them to kill me ten times.

The Insuperable heat of love between Christ and his Members.

For I am full of my sins as far from me, as it is from the East to the West: so that I am full sure they shall never come near to me any more. Yea, and that they call Heretics, we serve God withal. And I am sure there is no man nor woman that hangeth on you, but on God. But yet that is their imaginations and thoughts, that if they might win me to them, they should win a great many likewise: and thinking to kill me, if they cannot win me, as I trust in God, and am sure they shall never by Gods grace, if I were possible for them to kill me ten times.

Chilkins ought to give their lives for the defence of the whereas the Bishop of faith, he will prove seven Sacraments, whereas the out of doubt he shall never be able to do it, no more than he hath proved other Arguments with me already.

Which death of my Body were bet of all for me, if God were to please. But if I may live for the comfort of others, his name be praised therefore. I know what he can do, but what he will do I know not. But if death be offered me, so that I cannot refuse it without displeasing of God, I trust in God I shall not offend my Brethren in receiving of death, but shall be rather an occasion of the strengthening of their Faith, by choosing death for joy. For as Christ hath given his life for us, so ought we to give our lives for the defence of the Gospel, and comfort of our Brethren. And whereas the Bishop of faith, he will prove seven Sacraments, whereas the out of doubt he shall never be able to do it, no more than he hath proved other Arguments with me already.

Thus fare ye well, with the Marsh, where I now am, as a Sheep appointed to be slain, God be praised therefore.

The second Examination of Richard Woodman before the Bishop of Chichester, two of his Chaplains; and Dr. Story at the last came to us, the twenty seventh day of April.

I, first, I was sent for to the Marsh by Dr. Story, the Lord Bishop of Chichester, and his Chaplains, and Dr. Story at the last came to us, the twenty seventh day of April.

Chib. Then said the Bishop, You be welcome; how do you now?

Wood. Well, I praise God, thanking your Lordship for the gentle talk that you had with me at my last departing from you.

Chib. Well, Goodman Woodman, I have left you of love and good will, that I bear to you, to talk with you, and I would have you to tell me your mind in few words. For indeed the last time that I talked with you, our talk was so long, that I fell into a great drouth thereby, and have been the worse in my body ever since. Wherefore I pray you tell me your mind briefly in those particular matters that I shall demand of you, according to your promise that you made when you were with me the last time. How say you, will you?

Wood. Yea forsooth, I will answer to any thing that you shall demand of me (by Gods help) as well as I can.

Chib. How say you by the seven Sacraments? for there we left off, and there we will begin again. You said then there were but two. How say you now to it? will you deny all saying two?

Wood. I say now, as I said then. You said, there were seven Sacraments; and I said, I knew, but two: when I came before you again, I must needs grant them. And you said, if you could not prove them by Gods Word, I should not believe them: and now I am come to feel how well you can prove them. Herewith he was moved and all his Chaplains.

Chib. By God and my troth, I ween he thinketh I cannot prove them. How say you to the Sacrament of Matrimony?

Wood. Why, my Lord, St. Paul saith to Timothy, A Bishop should be faultless, and you use much swearing, which is a great fault in a Bishop, of all other, that should be an example to the Flock. Then he and his Prelates were in a great rage with me, because I reproved him for his swearing.

Chib. What, I perceive this man is worse than he was the last day: what he, he taketh upon him to reach me to speak, as though I could not tell what I had to do?

Priest. So me thinketh, my Lord, he is a stout fellow indeed, as we have seen.

Wood. Yea, I am stout, because I do that I am commanded: dare not for my life hold my peace: for I should be false to the Kingdom of Heaven; and you go about to teach men to be so far as I see.

Priest. Why my Lord, this man is past cure. I feno hope in him.

Chib. No, so me thinketh. I will never talk with him more. Go call Mr. Story: let him do with him what he will. He hath been with his Fellows in the Marsh, and now he is here: and now he is worse than he was before. I had some hope in him the other day, but now I see none.

Wood. No, I praise God, my Faith hangeth upon no men, but upon God.

Priest.

ANNO 1537.

Priest. Nay, my Lord, I think he is not the worse for them: but I fear me he be the worse for him. I know this Man of old, before mine old Lord.

Wood. Well my Lord, look what is to it: will you deliver me to other Men to shed my Blood, and so think to wash your hands of me, as Pilate did by Christ? Nay, you cannot be so discharged.

Chib. I have nothing to do with you: but of my gentlemen I have sent for you, because you said, you would declare your mind in any particular matter I would demand of you.

Wood. Why, I do not deny but I will do so, if you do demand it of me. But you go about to deliver me to other to kill me: and I know that there is none that hath to do with me but you.

Chib. I am not confuted yet: wherefore my Lord Cardinal may examine you, and condemn you, or my Lord of London: for you are now in his Diocese.

Wood. Yea my Lord, is the matter even so? Then I perceive whereabout you go. Nay, I will talk no more with you then; if you be at that point. Ask me what you will: but I will show you nothing of my mind. I promise you I will not answer in particular matters, and so you to accuse me to none indeed.

Chib. I go not about to kill you, but would be glad to hear your mind in the Sacraments, and if you understand them not aright, I would be glad with all my heart to show you my mind how I understand them. For I would you should do as well as mine own self.

Wood. If you would let me with me to do me good, I would be content to hear you, and shew you my mind; otherwise I would be loath.

Chib. Nay, I will promise you, if I can do you no good, I will do you no harm: for if I meant to do you harm, I would lay your own hand-writing against you, but I will not: wherefore be in no doubt of me. How say you to the Sacrament of Matrimony? is it a Sacrament or no? How think you by it?

Wood. I think it is an Holy Institution ordained of God in Paradise, and so to continue to the Worlds end.

Chib. Lo, now you shall see how you be deceived in that you be in all the rest. Come hither. You can read Latin I am sure.

Wood. Yea I can read Latin, but I understand very little.

Chib. Come to me, you shall see that Paul calleth it a Holy Sacrament. For these be the words, For this cause shall a Man leave Father and Mother, and shall be joined to his Wife: and two shall be made one Flesh: This is a great Sacrament.

Wood. I remember such a saying, but Saint Paul calleth it not a Sacrament. But he saith, It is a great Mystery.

Chib. Where saith he so?

Wood. I am not sure in what Text it is, but I am sure that he saith, Paul's words, and that he calleth it not a Sacrament in all his writings.

Chib. What, the last day you were full of Scriptures; here it is written, and there it is written? What we can rehearse the Scriptures as well as you. Wherefore, if we be sure it is written, it is no great matter for the place. Come hither, I will shew you the place, I think, that you mean.

Wood. I looked, and it was written Sacramentum. I know it is a great Mystery, in the English Translation.

Chib. I permit it to be a Mystery. What it is a Mystery?

Wood. A Mystery: I take it to mean, for he saith, he speaketh betwixt Christ and the Congregation: So the great Mystery that he speaketh of, I take to be the Faith of them that be married, which is hid in Christ, the which we see not, but Christ. But the deed which is in the Congregation, which is the outward marriage we see, but the inward marriage of the heart we see not. Wherefore Paul calleth it a Mystery. And therefore if it be a Sacrament, it is invisible to us: it is not seen, as other Sacraments be.

Chib. Nay, I tell you it is a visible Sacrament, seen as the other be: for is not the marriage seen? is not the Man and Woman seen?

Wood. My Lord, I pray? you what is a Sacrament.

Chib. It is the sign of a Holy thing. Wood. Me thinks you have certified me very well. There need not be a sign of a Holy thing, where the Holy thing is itself. Then his Chaplains would have interrupted me, but I defied my Lord I might say out my mind in the matter. So with much ado he bade me say what I could.

There need not to be a sign of a thing, where the thing is itself. Matrimony is an Holy thing itself, and it is ended outwardly, and need no more sign but themselves: Wherefore it cannot be a Sacrament as other be.

Argumentum.

A thing signified and a thing signifying cannot be at one time, in respect or itself, in any Subject. Matrimony is an Holy thing itself, signified.

Matrimony cannot be a Sacrament signifying an Holy thing.

Chib. Lo, how much you speak against your self. And for an example, I come by an Heifer, and there hangeth a pair of Hofs, the which be Hofs: and a sign of Hofs that be to sell withal.

Priest. How say you to this? Now my Lord hath hit you home indeed.

Wood. He hath hit me perillously, I tell you, with Sophistry to blind mine eyes withal. I marvel you are not all ashamed of it. I can answer that to all your names, if I might be jolly heard, I tell you plainly.

Priest. What, you be angry me think.

Wood. I am not angry, but I am earnest. I tell you, Children, to see your understand folly. I talked of the Scriptures power that be written, and it is Gods word, to prove my own true, and you will prove your matter true by a pair of Hofs. And as well can you prove it by that, as pair of Hofs by Gods Word.

Priest. Why, is there nothing true, but that is written?

Wood. Saint Paul saith to the Galatians the first Chapter, if an Angel come from Heaven and preach unto you their Doctrine then may be proved by Gods Word, bold him as cursed: and so do I, I tell you plainly.

Priest. Here is a Testament in my hand, if I hurl it into the Fire and burn him, have I burned Gods Word, or not? I will buy a new one for solace.

Wood. I say, you have burned Gods Word, and therefore lie, he that will burn a Testament willingly, would burn God himself, if he were here, if he could: for God and his word are all one.

Then they made a great laughing at it.

Wood. Laugh on, quoth I. Your laughing will be turned to weeping, and all such joy will be turned to mourning, if you repeat it not with peace.

Chib. Then the Bishop began to cloak the Priest's folly, saying, Why, if my Counting house were full of Books, and if my house should be on Fire by chance, and be burned, were Gods Word burned?

Wood. No, my Lord, because they were burned as wood, and not the Word.

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Chib.

Chick. Come hither. I say to thee, thou shalt not eat of this Table. What do I mean thereby?

The Man. Forsooth, my Lord, you would not have me eat of this Table, laying his hand thereupon.

Chick. With this answer he made all them in the house to fall on laughing, and I could not hold it in, but burst out with laughter, and said.

Wood. He hath expounded the matter almost as well as I.

Chick. He meaneth well enough, if you would understand him.

Answer me again, to make it more plain. I say to thee, thou shalt not eat of this Table. What mean I thereby?

The Man. Forsooth you would not have me eat this Table.

Wood. These words made them all laugh. Wherewith the Bishop was almost angry, because the answer proved no better, and said.

Chick. He meaneth that I would not have him eat any of the meat that is set upon this Table. How fallest thou, dost thou not mean so?

The Man. Yes forsooth my Lord, that was my meaning indeed.

Wood. Yea, my Lord, how you have told him what you mean, he can say too; and so could I have done (as little wit as I have) if you had said, Paul meant that no Man might eat of that which was offered upon the Altar, but the Priests.

Chick. Yea, I perceive you understand the meaning of Paul well enough, but that you list to cavil with me.

Wood. Why my Lord, do you thing I understand such dark places of the Scripture, without learning? you said even now, I had no knowledge nor learning, wherefore I answered you, as you judged of me.

Chick. Well, let this matter pass, and let us turn to the principal again. How say you by the Sacrament of the Altar?

Wood. You mean the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ.

Chick. I mean the Sacrament of the Altar, and so I say.

Wood. You mean Christ to be the Altar, do you not?

Chick. I mean the Sacrament of the Altar in the Church.

Wood. What, is it so strange to me indeed, if you mean the Altar of stone.

Chick. It is that Altar that I mean.

Wood. I understand not the Altar so.

Chick. No, I think so indeed; and that is the cause that you be deceived. I pray you, how do you understand the Altar then?

Wood. If you will give me leave till I have done, I will tell you how I understand the Altar, and where it is.

Chick. Yes, you shall have leave to say your mind, as much as you will.

Wood. It is written, Math. 18. That whosoever two or three be gathered together in Christ's Name, there is he in the midst among them, and whosoever they ask the Father upon Earth, he shall be granted them in Heaven.

Math. 18. Agreeing to the fifth of Math. saying, When thou comest to thy gift at the Altar, and there rememberest that thy brother hath ought against thee, leave there thy offering, and go first and be reconciled to thy brother, and then offer thy gift. The Priests would have interpreted me, but the Bishop bade them let me alone.

Chick. They shall hear a pretty conclusion anon.

Wood. I pray yet let me make an end, and then find fault with me if you can. Now to the matter. In these two places of Scripture, I prove that Christ is the true Altar, whosoever any Christian Man and Woman ought to come and offer their gifts, whosoever the people are gathered together in Christ's Name, there is he in the midst; and where he is, there is the Altar, so that may be told to come and offer our gifts, if we be in love and charity; if we be not, we must leave these our offerings, and go first and be reconciled to our Brother, and agree with him quickly, and so forth, and then come and

offer the gift. Some will say, how shall I agree with Anno my adversary, when he is not high by a hundred miles? may I not pray till I have spoken with him? To all this I answered; if you presume to pray among the Fasts, without any evil to any Man, Woman, or Child, thou shalt ask vengeance from thyself. For no such asketh any thing else of the Lord in his Prayer. Wherefore agree with thy adversary, that is, make thy life agreeable to Gods Word. Say in thy heart without diminution, that thou askest God and all the World forgiveness from the bottom of thy heart, intending never to offend them any more. Then all such may come to come and offer their gifts, their Prayer on the Altar, where the people of God be gathered together. Thus have I showed you my mind, both of the Altar, and of the offering, as I understand it.

Chick. Do you understand the offering and the Altar so? I never heard any Man understand it so, no not Luther the great Heretic, that was condemned by a General Council, and his picture burned.

Wood. If he were an Heretic, I think he understood it not so indeed; but I am sure all Christians ought to understand it so.

Chick. Oh what vain glory is in you, as though you understood all things, and other Men nothing! Hear me; I will show you the true understanding, both of the Altar, and the offering on the Altar. We have an Altar (said Paul, Heb. 13. that ye may not eat of). Meaning thereby, that no Man might eat of that which was offered on the Altar, but the Priest. For in Pauls time all the living that the Priest had, the people came and offered it on the Altar, Money or other things; and when the people came to offer it, and then remembered that they had any thing against their Brother, then they left their offering upon the Altar, and went and were reconciled to their Brother; and they came again and offered their gift, and the Priest had it. This is the true understanding of the place that you have rehearsed: wherefore you be deceived.

Wood. My Lord, that was the use in the Old Law. Christ was the end of that. But indeed I perceive by Pauls words, the Sacrifice was offered in Pauls time yet that maketh not that was well done, but he rehearsed it. Wherefore, it seemeth to me that this is mistaken.

Chick. Who shall be Judges betwixt us in this matter?

Wood. The 12. of John declareth who shall be Judge, in the last day.

Chick. You mean the Word shall judge the Word.

Wood. Saint Peter faith, The Scripture hath no private interpretation: But one Scripture must be understood by other.

Chick. You will understand it one way, and I will understand it another way: and who shall be Judges betwixt us then?

Wood. The true Church of God is able to discuss all doubts: to whom I refer it.

Chick. I am glad you say so, if you will say so to me.

Wood. My Lord, I never meant otherwise.

Chick. The Church of God doth allow the Sacrament of the Altar.

Wood. What do you offer now upon the Altar?

Chick. We offer up in the Blessed Sacrament of the Altar, the Body of Christ to pacify the Wrath of God the Father; and therewith they put off their caps all to the abominable Idol.

Wood. Saint Paul faith to the Hebrews, in the tenth Chapter, We are justified by offering of the body of Christ.

Chick. Every offering is daily ministering, and sometimes offering in such manner of offering, which can never take away Sin; and that is the offering that you use to offer. At the Altar, the Body of Christ to pacify the Wrath of God the Father; and therewith they put off their caps all to the abominable Idol.

Wood. Saint Paul faith to the Hebrews, in the tenth Chapter, We are justified by offering of the body of Christ.

Chick. Nay, Aarons Sacrifice was with Blood which signifieth the death of Christ, the which was ended upon the Cross by his Blood-shedding: but you are Priests

Ann. Priests after the order of Melchisedech; the which of bread Bread to the King in remembrance, and signifieth the giving of Christs Body in Bread and Wine at the last Supper, the which he gave to his Disciples, and commanded it to be used to the end of the World. This is the Sacrifice that we offer, according to his word.

Wood. Me think you have made the matter very plain to me, that as Christ was the end of all Sacrifices, so was he the beginning of the Sacraments, willing them to be used in the remembrance of him, to the Worlds end.

Chick. What in remembrance of him, and not himself, as his word faith, Take, eat, this is my Body? Is it not the sign only, but the thing it self? How say you? It is not his Body, after the words be spoken by the Priest? How say you? go briefly to work, for I cannot long tarry with you.

Wood. My Lord, if you will answer me to one Sacrament, I will answer you to another.

Chick. Yes I am very well content with that.

Wood. If you say the words of Baptism over the Water, and there be no Child there, is there true Baptism?

Chick. No, there must be the Water, the Word and the Child, and then it is Baptism.

Wood. Very well. Then if a Child be Baptized in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, it is not truly Baptized.

Chick. No: the Child must be Baptized in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and the Holy Ghost, or else it is not truly Baptized.

Wood. Then there may be nothing added, nor taken away from the Sacraments: may there?

Chick. No, said the Bishop.

Wood. Now my Lord, I will answer to you, if it please you.

Chick. Well, how say you, Take, eat, this is my Body? Is it not Christs Body, as soon as the words be said?

Wood. My Lord, I will answer you by your own words, that you answered me, which is true: the Water, the Word, and the Child, all these together make Baptism; the Bread, Wine, and the Word make the Sacrament; and the Eater, eating in true Faith, maketh it his Body. Here I prove it is not Christs Body, but to the faithful receiver. For he said, Take, eat, this

is my Body.

He called it not his Body before eating, but after eating. And S. Augustine faith, Crede & manducasti. Believe and thou hast eaten. And Saint John faith, He that believeth in God, dwelleth in God, and God in him: Wherefore it is impossible to dwell in God; and to eat his Body, without a true Faith.

Priest. Then the Faith of the receiver maketh it his Body, and not his word, by your saying. I pray you what did Judas eat?

Wood. Judas did eat the Sacrament of Christ, and the Deed with all.

Priest. He eat the Body of Christ unworthily, as S. Paul faith.

Wood. Nay, St. Paul faith no such thing. He speaketh not of eating of his Body unworthily, but of the Sacrament unworthily. For he faith, Whosoever eateth of this Bread, and drinketh of this cup unworthily, shall be guilty of his own Damnation, because he eateth the Lords Body: and not because he

eateth the Lords Body. If Judas had eaten Christs Body, it must needs follow, that Judas is saved. For Christ faith in the sixth of John, Whosoever eateth my Flesh, and drinketh my Blood, hath eternal life, and I will raise him up again at the last day.

Priest. My Lord, this Man is an interpreter after his own mind.

Chick. I fecit it but folly to talk with you: it is but lost labor. How say you? Do you not believe that after the words be said, there remaineth neither Bread nor Wine, but the very Body of Christ ready to be made a plain answer, for I will talk no more with you.

Wood. I will make you a direct answer, how I believe of the true Sacrament. I do believe, that if I

come to receive the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ truly ministered, believing that Christ was born for me, and that he suffered death for me, and that I shall be saved from my Sins by his Blood-shedding, and to receive the Sacrament in that remembrance, then I believe I do receive wholly Christ, God and Man, mystically by Faith: this is my belief.

Chick. Why, then is no Body without Faith Gods word is of no force as you count it?

Wood. My Lord, I have told you my mind without diminution, and more you get not of me, without you will talk with me by the Scriptures: and if you will do so, I will begin a new with you, and prove it more plainly three or four ways, that you shall not say nay to that I have said, your self.

Then they made a great laughing, and said, This is an Heretic indeed, it is time he were burned.

Which words moved my Spirit, and I said to them Judge not, lest you be judged. For as you judge me, you shall be judged your selves. For that you call Heretic, I serve God truly with, as you all shall well know, when you shall be in Hell, and have Blood to drink, and shall be compelled to say for pain, This was the Man that we jested on, and whose tale we thought foolishness, and his end to be without honor: but now we may see how he is counted among the Saints of God, and we are purified. These words shall you say, being in Hell, if you repent not with speed, if you consent to the shedding of my Blood: wherefore look to it, I give you Council.

Priest. What? you are angry, me thinks, Now I will say more to you, then I thought to have done. You were at Basill a twelvemonth ago, and sent to the Parson and talked with him in the Churchyard, and would not go into the Church: for you said, it was the Idols Temple. Yea I was with mine old Lord, when he came to the Kings Bench to you, and you said many flowers to him.

Woodman. That I said, I said: and where you said I was angry, I take God to my Record, I am not, but am zealous in the truth, and speak out of the Spirit of God with clearfulness.

Priest. That you have of God? how, how, how: think you that you have the Spirit of God?

Woodman. I believe surely that I have the Spirit of God, I praise God therefore: and you be deceivers, mockers, and corners before God, and be the Children of Hell, all the sort of you as far as I can see. And therewith came in Doctor Story, pointing at me with his finger, speaking to the Bishop in Latin, saying at the length.

Story. I can say nothing to him, but he is an Heretic. I have heard you talk this hour and a half, and can hear no reasonableness in him.

Wood. Judge not, lest you be judged: for as you judge, you shall be judged your self.

Story. What, be you a Preaching? you shall Preach at a Stake shortly with your fellows. My Lord, trouble your self no more with him.

With these words, one brought word that the Abbot of Westminster was come to dine with the Bishop, and many other Gentlemen and Women. Then there was rushing away with speed to meet him. Then said Doctor Story to my Keeper.

Story. Carry him to the Marshalsea again, and let him keep close, and let no Body come to speak with him.

Wood. And so they departed. Then one of the Priests began to flatter with me, and said, For Gods sake remember your self. God hath given you a good wit: You have read the Scriptures well, and have born them well in memory. I were great pity you should do amiss.

Wood. What a flatterer be you, to say my wit is good, and that I have read the Scriptures well? and even now you said I was an Heretic and despised me. If I be an Heretic, I can have no good wit as you have confided. But I think your own Conscience accuses you. God give you Grace to repent, if it be his will.

Priest. I call it a good wit, because you are expert in all questions.

Wood.

So, when he perceived that I spoke earnestly and challenged him to talk by the Word, his colour began to change, and his flesh began to tremble and quake. And I said:

Prove your sayings true, if you can: for I will prove them false by Gods help. You said, All Children, or other that be not Baptized with Water, shall be damned, and not say so for all the good in the World. And you brought in the saying of Christ for your Warrant in the 16 of Mark it is written, *Whoever believeth, and is Baptized, shall be saved*: which words be very true and *whoever believeth not, shall be damned*. Which words be very true also. He that believeth not, shall be damned. Yes, Saint John faith, *He that believeth not, is condemned already, because he believeth not*. But neither of these two Scriptures, nor any other Scripture in all the New Testament faith, That he that is not Baptized, shall be damned, or is damned already. But if he be, he shall be damned, or is damned already, as you should be. Then he would have interrupted me, and would have laid to my charge, that I was an Anabaptist. But I would give him no place to speak, but said:

Let me make an end, and then say what you can. You shall have as much to do, by Gods help, with this matter, as ever you had to answer things in your life. You know (I am sure) it is no manners to pluck a tale out of a Mans Mouth, nor is the order of reasoning, as you think that better then I can tell you. Then D.

Langdale made me say on.

Woodman. My saying was, that they that believe not shall be damned, and be damned already. But I dare not say for all the goods under Heaven, that all they that receive no material Baptism by the Water shall be damned, as you have said. For I would you should not gather of these words, that I deny Baptism, as you were about to lay to my charge, ere ever I had half told out my tale. But I would not have you, nor any Man to rashly in Judgment, to condemn the thing that they are not able to prove by scripture, and to make it seem so simple, that the outward valuing of the water were the cause of Faith.

Lang. Why, is it not so? Will you deny it? How say you? Will you deny it? I say, the Child hath no Faith before it is Baptized: and therefore the Baptizing bringeth the Faith. How say you to it? Make me plain answer to this question.

Woodman. Now I perceive you go about nothing else, but to take vantage of my words. But by Gods help, I will answer you so, that you shall feel your sayings untrue. And yet I will not speak mine own words, but the words of the Holy Ghost, out of the Mouth of the Prophets and Apostles: and then ask them whether they will deny it.

You said, that Faith cometh by Baptism, had by the use of material water. I must be so bold to ask you, where *Jacob* was Baptized before he had Faith. Saint Paul faith in the ninth Chapter to the Romans, *Ever since the Children were born, ere ever they had done either good or bad, that the purpose of Gods, which is by election, might stand by the reason of works, but by the Grace of our Lord Jesus Christ, before the younger Jacob was born, he called the elder Jacob, for the younger Jacob was called after him*. How then you, had this Child Faith ere he were born, or no? answer to this if you can.

Lang. What: you speak of the old *Law*, *Jacob* was not Circumcised, but circumcised. I speak of Baptism, not Circumcision, and you are gone from Baptizing to the time of Circumcision: answer me to the Baptizing. And me think by your talks, you deny Original sin, and free will, by the words that you brought in of Saint Paul.

For if Children can be saved without Baptism, then it must needs follow, that Children have no Original sin, which is the put away in the Baptizing. But I think you know not what Original sin is, nor free will neither. Me think by your talk.

Wood. Yes, I praise God (I think) I can tell them all better then you can, me think even by your words. First I pray you what Free will hath Man to do good of himself? tell me this first, and then I will answer to all other your questions that you have objected against me.

Lang. I say, that all Men have as much Free will Anno now, as *Adam* had before his fall.

Wood. I pray you how prove you that?

Lang. Thus I prove it, that as sin entered into the World, and by the means of one that sinned all Men became sinners, which was by *Adam*: so by the obedience of one Man, righteousness came upon all Men that had fared, and then was as free as they were before they fell, and fell as they were before they fell.

Woodman. Oh Lord, what an error have you in all this. Given you self here in Original sin, and yet can you say, that you are free will? For in proving that we have Free will, you have fallen into denied quite Original sin. For here you have declared that we be let as free by the death of Christ, as *Adam* was before his fall, and I am sure that *Adam* had no Original sin before his fall. If we be as free now as he was then, I marvel wherefore Paul complained thirteenth God, to take away the sting of it. God making him answer, and saying, *My Grace is sufficient for thee*.

Their words with divers other, prove Original sin Original, in us: but not that it shall hurt Gods elect people, but that his Grace is sufficient for all his.

But I think it is not without Baptism; and in another place, you put it away quite by the death of Christ; and in very deed you have spoken truth in the matter, for then you are aware of. For all that believe in Christ are Baptized in the Blood of Christ: that he shed his blood on the Cross, and in the water that he fove for pain and putting away of our sins at his death. And yet I say with David in the 51. Psalm, *In sin was I born, and in sin hath my Mother conceived me*: but in no such faith that shall be imputed, because I am born of God by Faith, as Saint John faith, *John 3*. Therefore I am bidden as faith the Prophet, *Psalm 23*. *Because the Lord imputeth not my sin, and not because I have no sin*; but because God hath not imputed my sin. One of our own delectation of his free mercy he hath saved us. When is our sin? Your Free will become that you speak of? If we have free will, then our Salvation cometh of our own faith, and not of Gods; which is a great Blasphemy against God and his word.

For S. James faith, *James 1*. *Every good gift and every perfect gift cometh from above, from the Father of lights, with whom is no variableness, neither is a change into darkness. Of his own will he begets us. For the wind bloweth wheres it listeth, and we hear the sound thereof, but we know not whence it cometh, neither whither it goeth: even so is it with every one that is born of God*. For Saint Paul faith, *Phil. 2*. *It is God that worketh in us, will, and also the deed, even of good will. Seeing Adam into that every good and perfect gift cometh from above will and lightness upon whom it pleaseth God, and that he doeth his work in us both the will and the deed, think all the rest of our own will is little worth, nor ought at all to be wickedness. So me think here be places now to prove that a Man hath no free will to do good of himself with a hundred places more that I could recite, if time did serve. And as for Original sin, I think I have declared my mind therein, how it remaineth in Man; which you cannot deny, unless you deny the word of God. Now, if you will suffer me, I will prove my saying of *Jacob* and *Esau*, that I brought in to prove that Faith was before Baptism, and you refused it, because (you said) *Jacob* was not Baptized. If you will give me leave, you shall feel what I can say therein: for me think you think my talk long, this I said, because I saw he was fore offended at my sayings.*

Lang. Say what you can. For I avouch me to say, D. Langdale, that you are a good man, and a good Christian, and a good thing to you. For I was desired to find for you, to teach the people, and there will no words of mine take place in your ears, you go about to reprove me. Say what you will, for me.

Wood. I take not upon me to teach you, but to answer to their things as you lay to my charge: and I speak not mine own words, but the mind of the Holy Ghost, written by the Prophets and Apostles. Will you give me leave to answer briefly in that matter, that you have reported to other what I hold? And he said he was contented. But I think it was for nothing but to have caught vantage of my words.

Wood.

Wood. If you be remembered, you said, that if my Child had died without Baptism, I had been the cause that it had not been baptized: the Child should have been damned, and I too. How say you?

Lang. Yes that you should.

Wood. That is most untrue. For the Prophet faith, *The Father shall visit the Children of men, and shall say, What could the Child have done, if it had died without Baptism? the Child could not do what I brought in, in the old Law, to prove that Faith is before Baptism, is not disagreeable unto the word. For Circumcision was a Figure of Baptism. And that I may bring to prove Baptism by, as well as S. Peter did: for he brought in *Noahs Flood*, which was a long time before *Jacob* and *Esau*, to prove Baptism, saying, *While the Ark was a preparing, a deliverance was made to eight Souls were saved by water, like as Baptism also now saveth us, not in putting away of the filth of the flesh, but there is a good Conscience* concerning to God.*

Here Peter proveth, that Water had not saved *Noah* and the other seven, no more than it saved all the rest, if it had not been for their Faith, which Faith now saveth us; not in putting away of the filth only of the flesh, but by the washing of the water, but by a good Conscience concerning to God.

But you said, if they be baptized with the water, if they dye before they come to the years of discretion, they be all saved: the which S. Peter is clean against, unless you grant that Children have Faith before they be baptized.

Now I ask you what content of Conscience the Children have, being Infants. For you say, they believe not before they be baptized: Ergo, then they consent not to be baptized, because they believe not. And by this it followeth, that none shall be saved, although they be baptized. I would fain see how you can answer this.

Lang. You are the most perverse man that ever I knew. You wot not what you say. The Children are baptized in their Godfathers and Godmothers Faith, and that is the good Conscience that S. Peter speaketh of: and the Circumcision is the keeping of the Law, and not Circumcision, any thing worth, nor Uncircumcision any thing worth, but keeping of the Law is all together. Like as the Circumcision was the keeping of the old Law, so is Baptism the keeping of the new Law.

Wood. Alas, me thought if you would talk with me, you should be able to bring in the old Law to maintain your sayings by (for all that you refused it), when I brought it in. But yet it serveth not for your purpose, so much as you think for. For here you have confessed, that neither Circumcision availeth, nor Uncircumcision; which you your self have coupled with Baptism, proving that none of them both prevaileth, but keeping of the Law is all together: the which Law is kept (if you say) by the outward sign; and the which is nothing for: for *Abraham* believed God, and that was counted to him for righteousness, and this was before he was circumcised. So the Children believe before they be either circumcised or baptized, according to my first saying of *Jacob* and *Esau*, *Jacob* loved, but *Esau* hated. These words declare, that *Jacob* had faith in his Mothers Womb. And *John* Baptist was sanctified in his Mothers Womb, and therefore it was counted to them for righteousness: and I am sure, if they had died before they had either received Circumcision or Baptism as concerning the outward deed, they should have been saved. For Gods gifts and callings are such, that he cannot repent him of them.

But by your saying he doth both repent and change. For you say, keeping of the outward Law is all together. But a bad excuse is as good as none at all. And where you said, the Children be baptized in their Godfathers and Godmothers Faith, they being all unbelievers, in what Faith is Child baptized then? in none at all, by your own saying. Which words made him stamp and stare.

Lang. What? then you would count that there were very few Believers, if there be not one of three that believeth. You enter into judgment against the People. Believe you think there are more that believe well, unless they be of your mind. Indeed then Churchs Flock were a very little Flock.

Wood. Indeed they be Churchs words in the twelfth of Luke, which we may say to be very true. Yes, you said, if there were not one amongst three, that were very few. But there is not one amongst three hundred, for any thing that I can see. For if there were, there would not be so many that would seek their Neighbours Goods and Lives as there be.

Lang. Is the Flock of Christ faith a little Flock as you speak of? You may call it a great Flock. How many be there of them, can you tell me?

Wood. A pretty question, I promise you; it is that you ask me: as though I did not make my self equal with God.

No, no, you shall catch me such vantage of my words, nor do I know how many there be. But I will tell you as high as I can. For therefore you look. I am sure that I should enter into judgment against the People.

Lang. Yes, I pray you tell me as much as you can, feeling you be so coming.

Wood. You shall feel my judgment in it by and by. First the Prophet faith, *Follow not a multitude to do evil, for they may pull you wrong way*. For the most go the wrong way. There is one point to know them.

Then Christ faith in the seventh of Matthew, *Broad is the way, and wide is the gate that leads into destruction, and many there be that go in thither: and strait is the gate, and narrow is the way that leads unto life*. And there be that find it. And in the twelfth of Luke, it is written (which words were spoken of Christ) *Com ye little Flock, is a my Fathers will to give you a Kingdom*. The third point is, in the third of Mark and second of Matthew, *Ye (faith Christ) shall know the Tree by his fruit. A good Tree bringeth forth good fruit, and a bad Tree bringeth forth bad fruit*: So by Fruits I know them: For every Tree that bringeth not forth good Fruits, must be hewn down, and cast into the fire (into Hell I think Christ meant); and your fruits declare that you be one of them. Thus have I proved four ways, that the People that shall be saved is but a small Company in comparison of the rest. But if that be not enough, for the proof thereof, I have twenty ways more to prove it by, and you were never the nearer of your purpose.

Lang. What a naughty man are you? you would D. Langdale make the patient man in the World angry with you. I think your talk is nothing but pride and vain-glory, with frumps, and mocks, and defaming and judging of your men. It was time fash a Fellow were taken such. Such a one is enough to trouble a whole Country. I think he is blest of God that took you: for you are not meet to be in a Commonwealth.

Wood. They divers other fish like words that I cannot recite, which came out so thick, with stamping and railing and chiding, as though he had been out of his wits. I held my peace, until he had made an end of his Tormentors talk, and then I spake.

Wherein have I said amiss? or have I not answered you unto every question that you have demanded of me? What fault can you find in one word that I have said? I dare say you can find none. I marvel why you take on thus against me, having no cause to do so.

Lang. No, no, you have not answered me to Original sin, you deny Original sin.

Wood. With these words came in at the door Mr. James Gage: and I think he stood at the door a good while before he came in, and that Dr. Langdale saw him: for his face was to the doorward, and my face was from it.

Gage. Alas Woodman, me think Mr. Doctor and you

can agree up all.

Wood. Yes Sir, me think we agree very well.

Lang. Without doubt, Sir, he is the naughtiest man that ever I talked with in all my life: for he will have his own way in all things.

Gage. Woodman leave that pride. Do not trust too much

M m m much

Winch. I cannot tell, but this is reported of you. As for me, I never did see before this day; but I am sure it is not all lies that I have said, as you report.

Wood. Yes, my Lord, there is never a true word of that you have said. And further, where you said you never saw me before this day, you have both heard and seen me, I dare say, before this day.

Winch. I think I heard you indeed on Sunday, where you played the malapert fellow; but I cannot tell that I saw you. But I pray you, were you not taken in the favours by the Sheriffs men?

Wood. No sire, I was taken behind my House, I being in my House when they came, wherefore that is not true.

Winch. Were not you at the Sheriffs three weeks? **Wood.** Yes that was, a Month full, and was gently treated of him, I can say no otherwise; for I had meat and drink enough, and fair words.

Winch. Ah, I am well paid; it is not all lies that, as is charged. For I fake but of three weeks, and you confess a Month for your self.

Wood. Yet your tale is never the truer for that. For you said, I was there three weeks for Heretic, the which is not so. For I was not apprehended for Heretic at the first, neither did mine old Lord of Chichester travel with me to pull me from Heretic, as you said; for I held none then, neither do I now, as God knoweth, neither was I sent to the Commissioners, nor to the Bishop of London for Heretic, neither was I delivered to him for any such thing, nor promised him to recant as you said I did. Wherefore I marvel you be so ready to tell for many lies being a Bishop, that should be an example to other.

Winch. Lo, what an arrogant Heretic this fame is. He will deny God; for he that denieth his own hand, denieth God.

Wood. My Lord, judge not left you be judged your self. For as you have judged me, you have judged, if you report not. And if I have let my hand to any Recant, let it be to my shame, before this Audi-ence. For I will never deny mine own hand by Gods help. **Winch.** It is not here now, but I think it will be had well enough; but if it cannot be found, by whom will you be tried?

Wood. Even by my Lord of London, for he dealt like a good man with me in that matter that I was sent to Prison for. For it was upon the breach of a Statute, as Master Sheriff here can tell: For he was Sheriff then, as he is now, and can tell how I was tossed up and down from Sessions to Sessions; and because I would not consent that I had offended thereby, they sent me to Prison again.

Then my Lord of Chichester being mine Ordinary, and I being his Tenant, came to me, to persuade with me that I should have confessed to them, and to find my self in fault, where I was in none. To the which I would not agree, but I desired him that he would free me of my wrong; but he said he could not, but would me or my Friends to speak to the Commissioners for me, because it was a Temporal matter: and when I came before them, they sent me to my Lord of London, and my Lord of London was certified by the hands of almost thirty men, both Esguiers, Gentlemen and Yeomen the chiefest in all the Country where I dwell, that I had not offended in the matter that I was sent to Prison for. Whereupon he delivered me, not willing me to recant Heretics, for I held none (as God knoweth) neither do I now: nor do I know wherefore I was sent to Prison, nor more than any man here knoweth; for I was taken away from my work.

Winch. No? wherefore appealed you then to my Lord of Chichester, if it were not for Heretic?

Wood. Because there was laid to my charge that I had baptized Children, and married Folks, the which I never did, for I was no where Minister. Wherefore I appealed to mine Ordinary, to purge my self thereof, as I have. Wherefore if any man have any thing against me, let them speak; for I came not hither to accuse my self, neither will I.

Winch. Master Sheriff, can you tell upon what breach of Statute he was sent to Prison first?

The Sheriff. Yea forthwith, my Lord, that I can.

Wood. My Lord, if you will give me leave, I will answer you the whole matter.

Winch. Nay, Master Sheriff, I pray you tell the matter in the Pulpit, as I remember.

Wood. Ah, like enough, that he would not flick to recant, prove Curate. For did you not see how he fashioned himself to speak to me in the Pulpit on Sunday? he played the malapert fellow with me; and therefore it was not great marvel though he played that part with me.

Winch. Why, you will not blame me for that, I am sure. **Wood.** For we fake for no other cause, but to purge our selves of those Heresies that you laid to our charge. For Priests were your words; Good people, these men that be, therefore before us, being here, deny Christ to be God, which the Holy Ghost to be God; pointing us to your right hand (left hand) the which might seem to the whole Audience, that you meant us all. Wherefore to clear our selves thereof, we fake, and said we held no such thing. And you said you would cut out our Tongues. But I am sure you have no such Law.

Winch. Yes that we have, if you blaspheme, and as it chanced, I found such amongst you.

Wood. Indeed after we fake, you declared who they were, but not before; for you fake generally. Wherefore we blasphemed not, but purged our selves.

Winch. But I pray you, how can you purge your self speaking to the Curate, that it is not Heretic?

Wood. Forthwith these be the words of the Statute: I saw Whosoever doth interrupt any Preacher or Preachers, lawfully authorized by the Queens Majesty, or by any other lawful Ordinary, that all such shall suffer three Months imprisonment, and furthermore be brought to the Quarter Sessions, there (being forty for the same) to be released upon his good abearing one whole year.

I had not so offended as it was well proved: For he that I fake to was not lawfully authorized, nor had put away his wife. Wherefore it was not lawful for him to preach by your own Law; and therefore I brake not the Statute, though I fake to him.

Winch. I am glad, I perceive this man speaketh against Priests marriages; he is not contented with Priests that have wives. 'Tis an honest man than I took him for a Master Sheriff, have him away. I am glad he loveth not the Priests marriages.

Wood. Then I would have answered to his sayings, but he would in no wise hear me, but bade the Sheriff have me away. So the Sheriff took me by the hand, and plucked me away, and would not let me speak, but going out of the Chancel door, I said; I would show him the whole matter, if he would have given me leave, but seeing he will not, if he will let me go to, they shall see whether I will not go home to my wife and children, and keep them, as your bounden duty is, by the help of God. So I was sent to the Marshalsea again, where I am now merry, I praise God therefore, as a Sheep appointed to be slain.

Moreover, I was credibly informed by one of our Brethren that heard our talk, that the Bishop said when I was gone, that they would take me whilst I was somewhat good. Which words seemed to many of the people that were there, that I fake against Priests marriages, but I did not, but did only answer to such questions as he asked me, as you shall perceive well by the words, if you mark them, which words were these:

How can you purge your self from Heretic, for talking to the Curate in the Pulpit, and not offend the Statute, said the Bishop? meaning thereby, I think, as you have taken vacation of my words; but it was not that I should will that he should at that time. For I answered him by the words of the Statute, which words be as here followeth, (that is) Whosoever doth interrupt any Preacher or Preachers, lawfully authorized by the Queens Majesty, or by any other lawful Ordinary, that all such shall suffer three Months imprisonment. But I proved that this man was not lawfully authorized to preach (by their own Law) because he had not put away his wife. For their Law is, that no Priest may fake Mass, nor preach with the Mass, but he must first

be separated from his wife. That is, because honest marriages be good and commendable, and their naught and abominable; therefore they cannot do otherwise.

Now I give you all to understand, that I did not reprove this Priest, because he had a wife, but because he taught false Doctrine, which grieved my soul, because he had been a fervent Preacher against the Mass, and all the Idolatry thereof, seven years before, and then came and held with it again; for the which cause I reproveth him in the Pulpit. And the words that I spoke to him, are written in divers of my Examinations at my first imprisonment for that fame. But in very deed, I knew not of the Statute when I reproveth him. But because I was sent to Prison upon the breach of it, I bought a Statute Book, and when I had perused it, I perceived I had not offended by their own Law; and therefore still when I was called to answer, I answered them with their own law. But yet they kept me in Prison a year and almost three quarters or ever I was released. I was at mine answer for that eighteen times. If any think I do not allow Bishops and Priests marriages, let them look in my first Examination before the Bishop of Chichester that now is, during this my imprisonment, and there they shall find what I have said in the matter. The truth is, I looked to be condemned with my brother that fame day: But we may all see that they can do nothing but as God will permit them to do. But when the time is full come, I wish in God I shall run that joyful race that my brethren have done. Thus I commit you into the hands of God, who is the preserver, defender, and keeper of all his Elect for evermore, Amen.

The fifth Examination of Richard Woodman, a bad Curate, by the Bishop of Winchester, the Archbishop of Canterbury, Dr. London, with a few headed Priests, and other, whose names I know not, with certain also of the Commissioners, at S. Mary Overies Church in Southwark, in the presence of three hundred people at the least, the 15th day of June, Anno 1557.

Winch. **W**oodman, you were before us the last day, and would not be known in any wife that you were sent to Prison for Heretic, and called for your Accusers, and stood stoutly in defending of your self, and in your departing I had thought you had spoken against Priests marriages, thinking by your words we should have found you an honest man, and comfortable, when we had called you before us again. You told such a false tale for your self, as though you had been free from all that was laid to your charge. For you said it was all that I told against you; but since I have proved the contrary, as here is your own hand to them. By the which I have proved, that you reproveth not the Priest for lacking of Authority, and because he had not put away his wife, but because you liked not his preaching. For indeed I took it, that you reproveth him because he was not lawfully authorized, but I have proved the contrary since.

Wood. I told you not that I did either reprove him for lack of Authority, or because I liked not his preaching, but because I would defend him from being sent to Prison. For you said I was sent to Prison for Heretic, and made a long tale against me. And indeed I told you that there was never a word of your sayings true, but was all lies, as it was indeed. For I never was sent to Prison for Heretic, neither held I any then, nor do now, I take Heaven to witness to witness; but I told you I was sent to Prison upon the breach of a Statute, which was for speaking to a Priest in the Pulpit, and for that cause the Justices of that Country had thought I had offended the Statute, and called me before them, and would have had me to have been bound to my good abearing, and because I refused it, they sent me to Prison. And thus be the words of the Statute, as I told you the last day.

any man may do interrupt any Preacher or Preachers, lawfully authorized by the Queens Majesty, or by any other lawful Ordinary, that then every party that so offendeth, shall suffer three months imprisonment, and furthermore be brought to the Quarter Sessions, and there being forty for the same, and also bound for his good abearing

one whole year, to be released, or else to remain to Prison again.

And when I was in Prison, I bought a Statute Book, which when I had perused over, I found by the words which I had not offended, because he was not lawfully authorized, as the Bishop of London was certified by the hands almost of thirty men, both Esguiers, Gentlemen, and Yeomen, the chiefest in all that Country. For he had not put away his wife, and therefore the Statute took no place on me, as I told you the other day. Wherefore I did like a good man to me in that matter, and released me. Now when I had told you this matter, you bade the Sheriff have me away; You said you were glad I held against Priests marriages, because I answered to the question you asked me.

The first. My Lord, do you not hear what he saith by my Lord of London? He faith that he is a good man in that he released him, but he meant that he is good in nothing else.

Wood. What? can you tell what I mean? let every man say as he findeth; he did justify to me in that matter. I say, if he be not good in any thing else, as you say, he shall answer for it, and not I; for I have nothing to do with other mens matters.

Winch. Well, how like you this then? Here is your own hand writing. I am sure you will not deny it. Will you look on it?

Wood. It is mine own handy work indeed, the which by Gods help I will never deny, nor ever did I praise Gods therefore.

Winch. And here is good gear I tell you. I pray you hearken well to it; these be the words before the Commissioners. How say you? Do not you believe as soon as the words be spoken by the Priest, that there remaineth neither Bread nor Wine, but only the very Body of Christ, both flesh and blood, as he was born of the Virgin Mary? these were the words of the Commissioners.

And then those faithful, thou durst not say otherwise than the Scripture faith. I cannot find (say you) that it is the Body of Christ before it is received by Faith, bringing in the 22. of Luke, saying, Christ said, Take, eat, this is my Body. So I cannot prove it is his Body before it be eaten. Then gave the Commissioners, Did not Judas eat Christs Body? And if you can prove that Judas is saved (said you) I must grant that he eat his Body. For Christ faith in the sixth of John, Who eateth my flesh, and drinketh my blood, shall eternal life, and I will raise him up at the last day; which words prove, said you, that if Judas eat the Body of Christ, he must needs be saved. How say you now? Did Judas eat the Body of Christ, or not?

Wood. Then I perceived he went about nothing but to catch words of me in his Disceat to condemn me with. Though I should confound him never so much, I perceived that he was fully bent thereto. To whom I answered and said:

I will answer you to no such thing, for I am none of your Diocesis; wherefore I will not answer to you.

Winch. Thou art within my Diocesis, and thou hast offended within my Diocesis; and therefore I will have to do with thee.

Wood. Have to do with me if you will; but I will have nothing to do with you, I tell you plainly. For though I be now in your Diocesis, I have not offended in your Diocesis; if I have, here me when.

Winch. Master Mary, here is mine own hand writing, the which thou affirmedst in my Diocesis.

Wood. I do not deny but it is mine own hand writing, but that proveth never the more that I have offended in your Diocesis: for that doth but declare what tale there was between the Commissioners and me, the which you have nothing to do withal.

of soberness and truth out of the Spirit of God, as I do. But as you have judged me, you be your selves. You will go to Hell all the forgers of us, if you condemn me, if you report it not with good.

Wood. Then my Keeper, and the Sheriff's deputy Fuller, rebuked me, because I spoke so sharply to them. And I said, I pray you let me alone; I will answer for my Life.

Then there was much ado that I should keep silence, and so I held my peace. Then spake the Bishop of Winchester, and the Archdeacon of Canterbury, saying, We go not about to condemn thee, but go about to save thy Soul, if thou wilt be ruled, and as do we would have thee.

Wood. To save my Soul? nay, you cannot save my Soul. My Soul is saved already. I praise God therefore. There can no Man save my Soul, and he is that hath saved my Soul, before the Foundation of the World was laid.

The first Priest. What an Heretic is that my Lord there is an Heretic. He faith his Soul was saved before the Foundation of the World was laid. Thou canst not tell what words of the World were laid. Thou canst not tell what thou faidst. Was thy Soul saved before was?

Wood. Yes, I praise God, I can tell what I say, and I say the truth. Look in the first of the Epistles, and there you shall find it, where Paul faith, Ephesians 1. Blessed be God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, which hath blessed us with all manner of spiritual blessings in Heavenly things by Christ, according as he hath chosen us in himself before the Foundation of the World was laid, that we should be holy and without blame before him, through love, and therefore were predestinated. These be the words of Paul, and I believe they be most true. And therefore it is my Faith and by Jesus Christ, that I faith, and not you, or any Man else.

The first Priest. What? Faith without works? St. James faith, Faith without works is dead, and we have free will to do good works.

Wood. I would not that any of you should think, that I disallow good works. For a good Faith cannot be without good works. Yet not of our faith, but it is the gift of God as faith St. Paul to the Philippians the second Chapter, it is God that worketh in us both the will and also the deed, even of good will.

Wood. Make an end; answer to me. Here is your Ordinary, the Archdeacon of Canterbury, he is made your Ordinary by my Lord Cardinal, and he hath authority to examine you of your Faith upon a Book, to answer to such Articles as he will lay to you. And I pray you refuse it not; for the danger is great if you do. Wherefore we desire you to shew your faith in a Subject in this matter.

Then they spake all, and said; Lo, my Lord desireth you gently to answer to him, and so we do all. For if you refuse to take an Oath, he may excommunicate you. For my Lord Cardinal may put whom he will in the Bishops Office, until he is consecrated.

Wood. I know not so much. If you will give me time to learn the truth of it (if I can prove to be as you say) I will tell you my mind in any thing that he shall demand of me, without any flatering.

Priest. My Lord and all we tell thee it is true; and therefore answer to him.

Wood. I will believe none of you all, for you be turn-coats and changelings, and be wavering minded, as St. James; you be neither hot nor cold, as St. John; therefore you will give you out of his Mouth. Wherefore I can believe none of you all, I tell you this.

Wood. What? be we turn-coats and changelings, what meanst thou by that?

Wood. I mean, that in King Edwards time you taught the Doctrine that was for them, every one of you, and now you teach the contrary; and therefore I call you turn-coats and changelings, as I may well enough. Which words made the most part of them to quake.

Wood. Nay, not all as is changed.

Wood. No? I pray where you then?

Wood. I was in the Tower, as the Lieutenant will bear me record.

Wood. If you were in the Tower, it was not therefore I dare say, it was for some other matter.

Then they all took heart of Grace, and said; My Lord he cometh to examine you, we think he will not answer to the Articles, you were bidden to Excommunicate him. Winchester. He is the naughtyest varlet Heretic that ever I knew. I will read the Sentence against him.

Wood. Then they spake all at once, and I answered them as fast as I could. But I cannot remember it all, the words came out so thick, I spared them not, I praise God therefore for I spake freely.

Then they that stood by rebuked me, and said; You cannot tell to whom you speak I think.

Wood. No? Think you of it? they be but Men. I am sure I have spoken to you good to hear, and better then they will ever be, for any thing that I can see, if they repent not with speed.

Winchesh. Give ear; for I will read Sentence against you.

Wood. Will you for? wherefore will you? you have no do to condemn me, you will be condemned in Hell, if you repent not; and I praise God, I am not afraid to dye for Gods sake, if I had a hundred lives.

Winchesh. For Gods sake? nay, for the devils sake. Thou sayst thou art not afraid to dye. No more was Judas that hanged himself, as thou wilt kill thyself willfully, because thou wilt not be ruled.

Woodman. Nay, I defy the Devil, and Judas and all their members. And Judas Fleth was not afraid, but his Spirit and Conscience was afraid, and therefore despised and hung himself. But I praise God, I feel no lothness in my Fleth to dye, but a joyful Conscience, and a willing mind thereto. Wherefore my Fleth is shakled to ling mind thereto. Wherefore I am not afraid of it, I praise God; and therefore I am not afraid of death.

Chib. Woodman, for Gods sake be ruled. You know what you said to me at my Houle. I could say more, I would.

Wood. Say what you can; the most fault that you find in me is because I praised the living God and because I said, I praise God, and the Lord; which you would have me to be ashamed of if you have any Grace; for I told you where the words were written.

Winchesh. Well, how say you? will you confess that you received the Body of Christ unworthily? tell me plainly.

Wood. My Lord, if you, or any of you all can prove to me that I have received the Body of Christ unworthily, before all this audience, in all the Bible, that any Man may shew me, ever eat the Body of Christ unworthily, then I will with you in all things that you will demand of me, of the world, which matter I desire all this people to be witness.

Priest. Will you for? that we shall agree well enough. St. Paul faith so.

Wood. I pray you where faith he for? rehearse the words.

Priest. In the 11. of the first to the Corinthians he faith; Who eateth of this Bread, and drinketh of this Cup unworthily, eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference of the Lords Body.

Wood. Do these words prove that Judas eat the Body of Christ unworthily? I pray you let me see them. They were contended. Then said I, he that be the worse, even that you said: Good people, hearke the words of the Gospel.

Wood. Who eateth of this Bread and drinketh of this Cup unworthily? He faith so. Who eateth of this Bread unworthily, or drinketh of this Blood unworthily? But he maketh no difference; faith; Who eateth of this Bread, and drinketh of this Cup unworthily (which is the Sacrament) eateth and drinketh his own damnation, because he maketh no difference between the Sacrament which representeth the Lords Body, and other Bread and drink (good people) you may all see they are not able to prove their sayings true. Wherefore I cannot believe them in any thing that they do.

Winch. Thou art a rank Heretic indeed. Art thou an expounder? Now I will read Sentence against thee.

Woodman. Judge not lest you be judged. For as you have judged me, you be your self. Then he read the Sentence. Why, said I, Will you read the Sentence? gainst me, and cannot tell wherefore?

Winch. Thou art an Heretic, and therefore thou shalt be Excommunicated.

Wood.

Wood. I am no Heretic, I take Heaven and Earth to witness, I defy all Heretics, and if you condemn me, you will be damned, if you repent not. But God give you Grace to repent all; if he be his will, and so he read the Sentence in Latin, what he said, God knoweth, and not I. God be judge between them and me. When he had done, I would have talked my mind to them, but they cried, Away, away with him. So I was carried thence, that ever he be in elected, and predestinated me to come to so high dignity, as to bear rebuke for his Names sake; his Name be praised therefore, for ever and ever, Amen.

And thus you have the Examinations of this Blessed Woodman, or rather Goodman; wherein may appear as well the great Grace and Wisdom of God in that Man, as also the gross ignorance and barbarous cruelty of his adversaries, especially of Doctor White Bishop of Winchester. Now followeth likewise the effect of his Letter.

A Godly Letter of Richard Woodman, written to a Christian Woman, Mistress Roberts of Hawkhurst.

Grace, Mercy, and a Peace from God the Father, and from his Son our alone Saviour Jesus Christ, by the operation and working of the Holy Ghost, be multiplied plentifully upon you dear Sister Roberts; that you may the more joyfully bear the Cross of Christ that you are under, unto the end; to your only comfort and consolation, and to all our Brethren and Sisters that are round about you, both now and ever, Amen.

In my most humble will I commend me unto you, and to all our Brethren and Sisters in those parts, that love our Lord unfeignedly, certifying you that I and all my Brethren with me are merry and joyful, we praise God therefore, looking daily to be delivered from these our mortal Bodies, according to the good pleasure of our Heavenly Father, praising God also for your constancy, and gentle benevolence, that you have shewed unto Gods elect people, in this troublesome time of persecution, which may be a sure pledge and token of Gods good will towards you, and to all other that bear there, and for. Be blessed are the merciful, for they shall obtain mercy. Wherefore the fruits declare always what the tree is. For a good Man or Woman, out of the good treasure of her heart, bring forth good things.

Wherefore (dear Sister) it is not as many affirm in these days (the more is to be lamented) that say God is dead, but a Mans heart; which is the greatest injury that can be devised against God and his Word. For St. James faith; Shew me thy Faith by thy deeds, and I will shew thee my Faith by my deeds, saying; the Devils have Faith, and tremble for fear, and yet shall be but Devils still, because their minds were never to do good. Let us not therefore be like them, but let our Faith be made manifest to the whole World by our deeds, in the midst of a crooked and perverse nation, as St. Paul faith, let our light shine as in a dark place.

Oh dear hearts, now is the Gospel of God overwhelmed with many black and troublesome clouds of persecution, for the which cause very few go about to have their eyes made clear by the true light of the Gospel, for fear of losing of their treasures of this World, which are but vain, and shall perish.

Let not us therefore be like unto them which light their candle, and put it under a bushel; but let us set our candle upon a candlestick, that it may give light unto all them that are in the House; that is to say, let all the people of the household of God see our good works, and suffering of all things patiently that shall be laid upon us for the Gospels sake, if it be death itself. For Christ died for us, leaving us an Example, that we should follow his Steps; and as he hath given his life for us, so ought we to give our lives for the defence of the Gospel, to the comfort of our Brethren.

How is it then that some will say, that their Faith is good, and yet they do all the deeds of Antichrist? The Devil and he are not ashamed to alledge certain Scriptures to maintain their wickedness. Saint Paul faith; To be like with the heart, justified, and to converse with the

mouth maketh a Man false. Oh good God, here may all Men see, that no Man or Woman can have a true Faith, unless they have deeds also; and he that doubteth like the waves of the Sea tossed about of the winds, and can not hold for good things at the Lords hands. May not a Man judge all such to be like those in St. Johns Epistle, that say; we love him, but we do not love his works, (he faith) I put them out of his Mouth? If we judge evil of such, have not they given us occasion? Did it not been better for them to have had a Mistake dead about their necks, and to have been cast into the Sea, than that they should give such offence to Gods elect people, in condemning them as they do going to the Synagogue of Satan, and there to receive the mark of the Beast, in that they fee and hear God Blasphemed there, and hold their peace? Doth not that declare to the whole World, that they allow their doings to be good? and the do do not only defile themselves, but also be an occasion to confirm the Papists in their Papistry, and so be an occasion of our weak Brethren falling, the which will be all required at their hands, which will be too heavy a burden for them to bear; if they repent it not with speed. For they that take to know their Matters will, and do it not, shall be beaten with many stripes. Oh, do you not perceive, that now is the acceptable time that Christ speaketh of? you even now is the Axe put to the roots of the tree, that every Man, tree that bringeth not forth good fruits now, shall be hewn down, and cast into the Fire.

Now is the Lord come with his Fan in his hand, to try the Wheat from the Chaff. The Wheat will he gather into his barn, and the Chaff he will burn as a store. Now is the time come that we must go meet the Bridegroom with oil in our lamps. We are also bidden to the feast, let us make no excuse. Yet our Master hath delivered his talents unto us, God give us Grace to occupy them well, that at his coming he may receive his own with vantage. Yet, now is the Lord come to see if there be any fruit upon his trees; so that if the Lord come and find none, he will hew us as he did the fig tree, which will be a sure fruit that shall grow on him now; Also, if we go to meet the Bridegroom without oil in our Lamps, and should go to buy, the doubt is, we should be served as were the foolish Virgins, that were, God find them, depart I know you not. Or if we were, should make excuse to come to the Feast, our oil shall be bidden in our rooms; if we occupy not our Talents well, they shall be taken from us given to other, and all such unprofitable servants shall be cast into Prison in Hell, where shall be weeping and gnashing of teeth.

Oh good God! what a sort of fearful sayings are here contained! what Christian heart will not hearken diligently hereto? Oh, may not all people well perceive now that this is the time that our Master Christ speaketh of, that the Father should be against the Son, and the Son against the Father, and one Brother against another, that the Brother shall deliver the Brother to death, and that the wicked shall say all manner of wicked sayings against us, for his Names sake (the which I have well found by experience, I praise God therefore, that hath given me strength to bear it. For I think there can be no evil devised but hath been imagined against me, and that of my familiar friends, as David faith; but I praise my Lord God, they are not able to prove any of their sayings true, but that they go about to find fault in them that God hath chosen, because they themselves list not to take up their Cross and follow Christ; and therefore they speak evil of, thinking that they know not, the which shall give account for it before him that is ready to judge both the quick and the dead.

But my truth is, that all the people of God will be ruled by the Council of St. Johns faith; My Sheep will hear my voice, strangers they will not hear; meaning thereby, that they should not believe strangers, counting them strangers that go about to subvert the Gospel. Wherefore mark well what they be, and try them well or ever you give credit to them, according to St. Johns Council in his Epistle, saying; Believe not every Spirit, but the Spirits whether they be of Gods, or not, meaning thereby, that they be not of Gods, will speak good of none but of them that be as they be. Wherefore (dear Sister)

be

The burning of Rose Allins hand by Edm. Tyrrel, who was hanged for his death, being sick in his bed.



The Devil pays the price of their wages.

Rose, Mend it! nay, the Lord mend you, and give you repentance, if it be his will. And now if you think it good, begin at the Feet, and burn the Head also. For he that let you work, shall pay you your wages one day, I warrant you: and so the wret and carried her Mother drink as the was commanded. Furthermore after the furching of the house for more Company, at the last they found one John Thurlston and Margaret his Wife there also, whom they carried with the rest to Colchester-Castle immediately.

And this said Rose Allins being Prisoner, told a Friend of hers this cruel act of the said Tyrrel; and shewing him the manner thereof, the said while my own hand (quoth she) was a burning, I having a Pot in my other hand, might have laid him on the Face with it. If I had would: for no man held my hand to let me therein. But I thank God (quoth she) with all my heart, I did it not.

Also being asked of another, how she could abide the painful burning of her hand, she said, at first it was some grief to her, but afterward, the longer she burned, the less she felt, or well near none at all.

And because Mr. Tyrrel shall not go alone in this kind of Cruelty, you shall hear another like example of a blind Harpers hand burnt by Bishop Boner, as is testified by the relation of Valentine Dingley, sometime Gentleman to the said Bishop, who declared before credible witnesses, as followeth: How the said B. Boner, having this blind Harper before him, faked thus unto him, That this blind Harper which follow a sort of Heraldic preachers, when they come to the feeling of the Fire, will be the first that will fly from it.

To whom the blind man said, that if every joynt of him were burnt, yet he trusted in the Lord not to fly. Then Boner signifying privacy to certain of his men about him what they should do, they brought him to a burning Coal. Which Coal being put into the poor mans hand, they clofed it fast again, and so was his hand piously burned. Amongst the doers whereby was the said Mr. Valentine Dingley, witness and reporter hereof, as is declared.

We read in the Story of Titus Livius of King Porcena, who after the burning of the right hand of Marcus Scaevola, which came purposely to kill him, being only contented therewith, sent him home to Rome again. But thus to burn the hand of poor Men and Women which never meant any harm unto them, and not yet contented with that, but also to confine their whole

The Martyrdoms of three men and three women at Colchester, burned in the same manner, besides four others burned in the afternoon.



Bodies without any just cause, we find no example of such barbarous Tyranny, neither in Titus Livius neither in any other story amongst the Heathen.

But to return to our Colchester Martyrs again, as touching William Mant and his Wife, and burning of their Daughter Rose Allins hand, sufficient hath been declared. With the said William Mant and his Family, was joynted also in the same Prison at Colchester another Faithful Brother, named John Johnson, alias Alike, of Thorp in the County of Essex Labourer, of the age of four and thirty years, having no Wife alive, but three young Children, who also was with them indicted of Heresie, and so all these four lay together in Colchester Castle.

The other six Prisoners lay in Mote-Hall in the said Town of Colchester, whose names were:

First, William Bonger, of the Parish of St. Nicholas in Colchester, Glazier, of the age of sixty years.

2. Thomas Benold of Colchester, Tallow Chandler.

3. W. Purces of Becking in the County of Essex Falle, a young man, of the age of twenty years.

4. Agnes Silverfide, alias Smith, dwelling in Colchester, Widow, of the age of forty years.

5. Helen Ewring, the Wife of John Ewring Miller, dwelling in Colchester, of the age of 45 years or thereabouts, who was one of the 22. Prisoners mentioned before, sent up in bands from Colchester to London, and after being delivered with the rest, repaired home to Colchester again to her Husband, where notwithstanding her enjoyed her liberty not very long; for shortly after her return, met with her one Robert Maynard then Bayliff of Colchester, a special enemy to Gods Gospel, who spying her, came to her, and killed her, and bade her welcome home from London. Unto whom the confiderrately answered again, and said, that it was but a Tinkers knife; for in the end, quoth she, I know you will betray me, as indeed it came to pass: for immediately after that talk she was apprehended by him again, and there lodged with the rest in the Town Prison (as is aforesaid) called the Mote-Hall.

6. The sixth of this Company was Elizabeth Folke, a young Maid, and Servant in Colchester, of the age of twenty years. These six were imprisoned in the Town Prison of Colchester, called Mote-Hall, as the other four, above specified, were in the Castle.

Directs

Ann Divers Examinations these good men had at sundry times before divers Justices, Priests, and Officers, as Mr. Roper, John Kingston, Commiffary, John Bowtell Priest and Boners Scribes, and others more, whereof the said Bowtell made relation to Bishop Boner, certifying him of their depolutions, as is to be read in our first Book of Acts and Monuments. Last of all they were examined again in Mote-Hall the twenty fourth day of June, by Dr. Chadsey, John Kingston Commiffary, with other Priests, and Bowtell the Scribe, in the presence of the two Bayliffs of Colchester, Robert Brown and Robert Maynard, with divers other Justices both of the Town and Country, and other Gentlemen a great sort: at which time and place, and before the said persons, they had Sentence of Condemnation read against them, chiefly for not affirming the Real presence of the Sacrament in their Altar. The effect of their words therein, was this, or such like, as here followeth.

For first the Lords faithful Prisoners in Mote-Hall. William Bonger of the Parish of St. Nicholas in Colchester Glazier, said, that the Sacrament of the Altar was Bread, is Bread, and so remaineth Bread, and for the Consecration it is not the holier, but rather the worse. To this he did stand, as also against all the rest of their Papistical Doctrine: and so had Sentence read against him.

Then the Lords faithful Prisoners in Colchester Castle. Tallow Chandler, affirmed the like in effect that the said William Bonger did: and so had Sentence also read against him.

W. Purces of Becking said, that when he received the Sacrament, he received Bread in an holy use, that preacht the remembrance that Christ died for him. To this he stood, and against other their Popish matters: and so also had Sentence read against him.

Agnes Silverfide, alias Smith, said, that she loved no Consecration. For the Bread and Wine is rather worse than better thereby, she said. This good old Woman answered them with such found judgment and boldness, to every thing they asked her, that it rejoiced the hearts of many, and especially of the Justices, because of such a reverend old age, against the rants and checks of such Enemies. To this she also stood, and had Sentence read against her in like manner.

Helen Ewring answered the like in effect as the other did, clearly denying all the Laws set forth by the Pope, with her whole heart. This good Woman was somewhat thick of hearing, but yet quick in understanding the Lords matters, his name therefore be praised. Against her also there was Sentence read:

Elizabeth Folke the young Maiden, being Examined whether she believed the presence of Christs Body to be in the Sacrament substantially and really, or no; answered that she believed that it was a substantial Lie, and a real Lie. At which words the Priests and others chafed very much, and asked her again, whether after the Consecration there remained not the Body of Christ in the Sacrament. And the answered, that before Consecration and after, it is but bread, and that man blefsh without Gods Word, is cursed and abominable by the Word, &c. Then they examined her of Confession to the Priest, of going to Church to hear Mass, of the Authority of the Bishop of Rome, &c. Unto all which she answered, that she would never use no frequent use of them all, by the grace of God, but utterly detest and abhor them from the bottom of her heart, and all such trumpery.

Then read they the Sentence of Condemnation against her. In which time Doctor Chadsey wept, that the tears trickled down his Cheeks. So the sentence being read, she kneeled down on both her knees, lifting up her hands and eyes unto Heaven, with fervent prayer in audible voyce praising God that ever she was born, to so sweetly blessed and happy day, that the Lord would count her worthy to suffer for the Testimony of Christ: and Lord, said she (if it be thy will) forgive them that thus have done against me, for they know not what they do. Then rising up, she exhorted all those on the Bench to repentance, especially those who brought her to Prison, as Robert Maynard the Bayliff, and such like; which Maynard commonly, when he late in judgment

upon life and death, would sit sleeping on the Bench many times, so careful was his mind on his Office.

Further the willing halting Gospellers to beware of Blood, for that would cry for vengeance, &c. And in the end he told them all, laying her hand upon the Bars, if they did not repent their wicked doings therein, that undoubtedly the very Bar would be a witness against them at the day of judgment, that they had that day shed innocent Blood.

This Elizabeth Folke, the day before she was condemned, was examined only upon this Article, Whether she believed that there was a Catholick Church of Christ or no. Unto which she answered, Yea. Then was she immediately (by Bowtell means the Scribe) delivered unto her Uncle Hulse of the same Town of Colchester to keep, who carried her home unto his house: and the being there, might have departed thence many times, if she had would: for there were means offered to convey her away. But the hearing that some doubted that she had yielded to the Pope (although it was most untrue) would in no wise content her, till she wept, and was in such anguish of mind and terror of Conscience, that (as remedied) she would to the Papists again, for any persuasions that could be. And coming before them at Coffins House at the White-Hart in Colchester, she was at utter defiance with them and their Doctrine: and so had, as you have heard, in the end a Papistical reward, as the rest of her Brethren had.

The Lords faithful Prisoners in Colchester Castle.

William Mant of Mucheberry in Essex of the age of sixty one years, said, that the Sacrament of the Altar was an abominable Idol; and that if he should observe any part of their Popish proceedings, he should offend God, and bring his Conscience upon him, and therefore for fear of his vengeance he durst not do it. This good Father was examined of many things: but God be thanked, he stood to the Truth, and in the end therefore had Sentence of Condemnation read against him. John Johnson of Thorp in Essex, a Widow, of the age of thirty four years, was examined as the rest, and made answer in such sort, as the Papists counted him none of theirs, and therefore condemned him with their Bloody Sentence, as they had done the rest before. This John Johnson affirmed, that in the receiving of the Sacrament, according to Christs institution, he received the Body of Christ spiritually, &c.

Also Mams, the Wife of the said William Mant, of the age of one and forty years, being also examined as the rest, said and confirmed the same in effect as her Husband had, and was therefore also condemned by their Bloody Sentence in like manner.

Rose Allin Maid the Daughter of the said Alice Mant, of the age of twenty years, being examined of auricular Confession, going to the Church to hear Mass, of the Popish seven Sacraments, &c. answered stoutly, that they thank in the face of God, and she durst not have to do with them for her life, neither was she (the said) any member of theirs: for they were the members of Antichrist, and so should have (if they repented not) the reward of Antichrist. Being asked further, what she would say of the See of the Bishop of Rome, whether she would obey his Authority or no, she answered boldly, that she was none of his. As for his See (quoth she) it is for Crows, Kites, Owls, and Ravens to swim in, such as you be: for by the grace of God I shall not swim in that See, while I live, neither will I have any thing to do therewith. Then read they the Sentence of Condemnation against her, and so sent her unto Prison again unto the rest, where she sung with great joy, to the wonder of many.

These three poor condemned Lambs, being delivered into the hands of the Secular power, were committed again every one unto the Prison from whence they came, where they remained with much joy and great comfort (in continual reading, and invocating the name of God) ever looking and expecting the happy day of their dissolution, which time the cruel Papists feared not their malicious attempts against them (although the words were now to have no more to do with them, for Bishop Boner, who Thurst never cried bloody, nor after got a Writ for the

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the burning of the forehead then good Creatures; and to show the more diligence in the cause, he sent his own trusty man down with it, named *Edward Coffin*, and with him also his Letter for the furtherance of the matter, the 30. day of July, the next month after the Condemnation.

The Writ being thus received of the said Bayliffs, and they having then no leisure thereabout, appointed the day of the execution thereof, to be the second day of August next following. And because the faithful Souls were in two several Prisons, as the Castle, was for the Country, and *Mote-Hall* for the Town: therefore it was agreed among them, that they in *Mote-Hall* should be burnt in the forenoon, and those at the Castle, the Shire, in the afternoon, as here thou mayst see it more plain how it came to pass accordingly.

The second day of August, 1557. betwixt six and seven of the Clock in the morning, was brought from *Mote-Hall* unto a plot of ground hard by the Town wall of Colchester, the outward-side, *William Bengeor*, *William Parcat*, *Thomas Benolt*, *Agnel Silverfilds*, *Alas Smith*, *Helene Ewring* and *Elizabeth Folke*, so named; which being there, and all things prepared for their Martyrdom, at the last these said Confessors lay kneeling down, and made their humble prayers to God, but not in such sort as they would, for the cruel Tyrants would not suffer them: especially one Master *Clerc* among the rest (who sometime had been a Gospel preacher himself very extreme unto them; and the Lord gave him repentance (if he by his good will and grace to be a better man. When they had made their prayers, they rose, and made them ready to the fire. And *Elizabeth Folke*, when she had plucked off her Petticoat, would have given it to her Mother (which came and knifed her at the Stake, and exhorted her to be strong in the Lord) but the wicked there attending would not suffer her to give it. Therefore taking the said Petticoat in her hand, she threw it away from her, saying, Farewell all the world, farewell Faith, farewell Hope, and so taking the Stake in her hand, said, Welcome Love, &c. Now the being at the Stake, and one of the Officers nailing the Chain about her, in the striking of the Staple, mist the place and strake her with a great stroke of the hammer on the shoulder Bone: whereas the falsely turned her head, lifting up her eyes to the Lord, and prayed continually, and gave her life to exhorting the People again.

When all the six were also nailed likewise at their flanks, and the fire about them, they clapped their hands for joy in the fire, that the flanders by which were by estimation thousands) cried generally almost; The Lord strengthen them, the Lord comfort them, the Lord pour his mercies upon them, with such like words, as was wonderful to hear.

Thus yielded they up their Souls and Bodies into the Lords hands, for the true testimony of his Truth. The Lord grant we may imitate the same in the like quarrel (if he so vouch us worthy) for his mercies sake, Amen.

In like manner the said day in the Afternoon, was brought forth into the *Castle-Tard*, to a place appointed for the same, *William Mann*, *John Johnson*, *Alice Mann* and *Rafe Allen* aforesaid: which godly Constant persons, after they had made their prayers, and were joyfully tied to the Stakes, calling upon the name of God, and exhorting the People earnestly to flee from Idolatry, first they feared their Martyrdom with such triumph and joys, that the People did not less than threaten to see it, then at the other that they were burnt the same day in the Morning.

This ended all these glorious ten Souls that day, their happy lives unto the Lord, who ages all did grow to the sum of four hundred and fix years, or thereabouts. The Lord grant we may well spend our years and days likewise to his glory, Amen.

John Thurston died in Colchester Castle.

Before you have heard of the taking of *John Thurston* at *Mackbentley*, in the house of one *William Mann* of the same Town; which said *John Thurston* afterward about the month of May, in the year aforesaid, died in *Colchester-Castle*, a constant Confessor of Jesus Christ.

The fiery and Death of George Eagles, otherwise termed Trudgeover, a most painful Traveller in Christ; Gospel, who for the same Gospel most cruelly was Martyred by the Cruel Papists.

Among other Martyrs of singular virtue and constancy, one *George Eagles* doth deserve not the least admiration; but is so much the more to be commended, for that he, having little learning or none, most manfully served and fought under the banner of Christs Church. For oftentimes the will and pleasure of God is, to beautify and adorn his Kingdom with the weak and feeble Instruments of this world; such as in the old Testament *Amos* was, who with many other of obscure and unknown names, were called from the heards and folds to the honour of Prophets; as likewise we read of the Apostles that were called from Fishermens craft, and put into Churches. Wherefore this *George Eagles* is not to be neglected for his late occupation, whom Christ called thence to sit forth and declared abroad his Gospel. Rather we ought to glorify God the more thereby in his holiness, which in fo blind a time inspired him with the gift of preaching, and constancy of suffering; who after a certain time he had used the occupation of a Taylour, being eloquent and of good utterance, gave and applied himself to the Profit of Christs Church.

Which man, as before in Christs most bright and clear days of King *Edward* the sixth, he had not unfruitfully shewed and preached the power and force of the Lord, fo afterward in the tempestuous time and fall of the Church (at what time the Confessors of Christ and his Gospel were troubled, divers of them murdered, persecuted, and oftentimes constrained for fear not to show their heads) he expressed and uttered his manly freedom. For he, wandering abroad into divers and far Countries where he could find any of his Brethren, did there most earnestly encourage and comfort them, now tarrying in this Town, and sometime abiding in that of another month, &c. upon such occasions, as occasion served, lodging sometime in the Country, and sometime for fear living in Fields and Woods, who, for his moderate and unreasonable going abroad, was called *Trudgeover*. Oftentimes he did lie abroad in the night without cover, spending the most part in devout and earnest prayer.

His diet was fo above measure spare and slender, that for the space of three years, he used for the most part, to drink nothing but very Water, whereunto he was compelled through necessity of the time of persecution: and after when he perceived that his Body by Gods providence proved well enough with this diet, he thought best to nurse himself therewithal against all necessities.

Now when he had profited Christs Church in this sort, by going about and preaching the Gospel a year or two, as especially in *Colchester*, and the quarters therabout; that privy Enemy which envieth always the salvation and blessed estate of the good, lurked and hid way by all means possible for him, so that there were divers Spies sent forth, who had in commandment, wherever they found him, to bring him either quick or dead.

But when this their attempt could not prevail, but he was in vain (the said *Eagles* with his Brethren keeping in clove, and hiding themselves in out and dark places, as in Barns, Thickets, Holes, and privy Closets) his Adversaries went about another way to compass this their enterprize of taking him.

For in the Queens name a grievous Edict was proclaimed thoroughout four Shires, *Essex*, *Suffolk*, *Kent*, and *Northfolk*, promising the party that took him twenty pounds for his pains; doubting a worthy hire to entice any Jew to treachery. For being inflamed with greedy desire of the money, they deviled and invented all ways and reasons they could possibly be to be enriched with the hurt and destruction of this holy man.

At length came to pass, that this *George* being seen by chance at *Colchester* upon *Mary Magdalens* day, at which time they kept a Fair in the Town, should have forthwith been delivered to his Adversaries, if he perceiving the same (as God would have it) had not conveyed himself away as fast as he could, a great multitude pursuing after, and seeking diligently for him, who

Who first hid himself in a grove, and then from thence he stole into a Corn-field thereby, and fo lay secretly couched from the violence of his enemies, inasmuch as they were all, faving one, past hope of taking him, and therefore ready to depart their way.

This one, having more subtilty and wicked craft in his head than the rest, would not depart thence with his Fellows, but climbed up into a high tree, thence to view and espy if he might see *Eagles* any where fir or more.

Quid non mortali pectora cogis,
Auri sacra fames?

The poor man thinking all safe enough, by reason that he heard no noise abroad, rose up on his knees, and lifting up his hands, prayed unto God. And whether it were for that his head was above the Corn, or because his voice was heard, the lucker perceiving his desired prey that he hunted after, forthwith came down, and suddenly laying hands on him, brought him as Prisoner, to *Colchester*. Notwithstanding the greedy and *Judas* Knave, which had somuch promised him, was fain to be contented with a very small reward, and glad to take that too, lest he should have had nothing at all.

This *George*, not without great lamentation of divers good men, and great lack unto the Church of God (of which to his power he was a worthy Instrument) was committed to Prison there, and from thence within four days after conveyed to *Chelmsford*, where he abode all that night in devout Prayer, and would not sleep, neither would eat or drink but Bread and Water. The next day he was carried to *London* to the Bishop or the Council, and there remained a certain time, and then was brought down to *Chelmsford* to the Sessions, and there was indicted and accused of Treason, because he had assembled Companies together, contrary to the Laws and Statutes of the Realm in that case provided. For fo it was ordained a little before, to avoid sedition, that if men should flock secretly together, above the number of six, they should be attached of Treason: which strict Law was the calling away of the good Duke of *Somerfet* before mentioned.

And albeit it was well known, that poor *Eagles* did never any thing seditionally against the Queen, yet to cloak an honest matter withal, and to cause him to be the more hated of the People, they turned Religion into a Civil offence and crime, and though he defended his cause fully and boldly, making a full declaration of his Religion, or Faith before the Judges, yet could he not bring it to pass by any means, but that he must needs be indicted (as is said) of Treason; whose indictment did run much after this fashion.

George Eagles, thou art indicted by the name of *George Eagles*, otherwise *Trudgeover* the Word, for that thou didst such a day make thy prayers, that God should turn *Maries* heart, or else take her away.

He denied that he prayed that God should take her away, but he confessed he prayed that God would turn her heart in his prayer. Well, notwithstanding he was condemned for a Traitor, although the meaning thereof was for Religion.

This thing done, he was carried to the New-Inn, called the sign of the *Crown* in *Chelmsford*, by the beauty of *Bayliffs* which some of whom were they that before did this best to take him; and being in the Inn, one *Richard Potts* the Elder, an Inn-holder, dwelling at the sign of the *Cock* in the same Town, did much trouble him, in persuading him to confess he had offended the Queen in his prayer, which he was condemned for, and to ask her forgiveness.

To whom he said, he had not offended her Grace in that behalf. So in process of time, he was laid upon a Sled, with an hurdle on it, and drawn to the place of execution, being fast bound, having in his hand a Psalm-Book, of the which he read very devoutly all the way with a loud voice, till he came there standing on the Ladder this fearful *Potts* did much trouble him with the nutter afterwards, when he would have uttered other things, till such time as the Sheriff commanded *Potts* to hold his peace, and trouble him no more.

So he made his confession, and stood very constant till: then he was, turned off the Ladder. With him were certain Thieves also, and the next day, when they were brought out to be executed with him, there happened a thing that did much fret forth and declare the innocency and godliness of this man. For being led between two Thieves to the place where he should suffer, when he was exhorted both them and all other to stand faithfully to the Truth, one of these turned the counsel he gave, into a jesting matter, and made but a flout at it.

Why should we doubt to obtain Heaven, faith he, so much as this holy man shall go before us, as Captain and leader unto us in the way. We shall flee thither straight as soon he hath once made us easy.

In this *George Eagles* and that other did greatly reprove him, who on the other side gave good heed to *Georges* exhortation, earnestly bewailing his own wickedness, and calling to Christ for mercy. But the more that the first was bid to be still and to leave off his scoffing the more perverse he did continue in his foolishness, and his wicked behaviour. At length he came to the Gallows, where they should be hanged, but *George* was carried to another place thereby to suffer. Between the two it was the godliers chance to go the foremost, who being upon the Ladder, after he had exhorted the People to beware and to take heed to themselves, how they did transgress the Commandments of God, and then had committed his Soul into Gods hands, he ended his life after a godly and quiet manner.

The mockers turn cometh next, which would have faid likewise somewhat, but his Tongue did fumble and he could not utter a word, but he was so much ashamed, that he was not able to speak a word. Fain would he have uttered his mind, but he could not bring it out. Then did the Under-sheriff bid him say the Lords Prayer, which he could not say neither but fluttering, as a man would say, one word today and another to morrow. Then one did begin to say it, and fo bade him say after.

Such was there and saw it, that were very astonished, especially those that did behold the just punishment of God against him that had mocked fo earnest a matter. *George Eagles* in the meantime, after he had hanged a small time, having a great check with the halter, immediately one of the Bayliffs cut the halter asunder, and he fell to the ground being still alive, although much amazed with the check he had off the Ladder.

Then one *William Swallow* of *Chelmsford* a Bayliff, did draw him to the Sled that he was drawn thither on, and laid his neck thereon, and with a Cleaver, which he carried as it was occupied in many men Kitchens, and blunt, did hackle off his head, and sometime hit his neck, and sometime his Chin, and did fowly mangle him, and fopped him. Notwithstanding this blessed Martyr of Christ abode steadfast and constant in the very midst of his torments, till such time as this tormentor *William Swallow* did pluck the heart out of his Body. The Body being divided in four parts, and his Bowels burnt was brought to the said *Swallow* the doors, and there laid upon the Fill-balls before his door, till they had made ready a horse to carry his quarters, one to *Colchester*, and the rest to *Harwich*, *Chelmsford*, and *S. Rowles*.

His Head was let up at *Chelmsford* on the Market-Cross on a pole Long, and there stood, till it was blown down, and lying certain days in the street Gods just Judgment was upon the wicked man.

Yea, another wonderful work of God was it performed, that he shewed on this wicked Bayliff *Swallow*, who within short space after this was fo punished, that all the hair well near off his head, his eyes were as it were clared up, and could faintly see, the nails of his fingers and toes were clear off. He was in such case of his Body as though he had been a Leper, and now in his last age almost a very beggar, and his Wife, which he a little while after married, God hath punished with the Falling-sickness, or a diftike like that: which may be a warning or glaif for all men and women to look in, that be enemies to Gods true Servants.

No less tokens of his marvellous judgment did God Gods holy men upon the forehead *Richard Potts*, which did fo much trouble him, as is above specified. He lived till the day of execution, as is above specified. He lived till the beginning of 1560.

beginning of *Q. Elizabeths* Reign, all which time he little joyed, and being on a time in a great chate with two or three of his neighbours in his own house, feeling himself not well, he said to one of his servants, Go with me into the Chamber, and when he came there, he fell down on a low Bed, as heavy as in had been Lead, and lay there foming at the mouth, and could never speak after, neither yet understand what was said to him, as by all means was tried by his neighbours with figins to him made, but lay as senseless as it had bin a very dumb Beafund within three or four days dyed. God grant that this cruel fen of God, with many more like, may be a warning to us ever hereafter, while we shall live into the worlds end.

Besides this, God hath wonderfully shewed his work. For at a time when they had great waite for this *George Eagles*, so that it was thought that it was impossible, but that he should be taken being so better; his Friends did put him into Apprentise apparell, viz. Watch-hose as there manner is, and an old Cloak, and a cap on a Pack of Wool, as though he had ridden to carry Wool to the Spinners, and escaped them all for that time. Another trouble of the said *George Eagles*, was also Justice *Isaiah* whom who enjoyed not his cruelty many years after, &c.

Also when he was at the Sessions at *Chelmsford*, there was a rumor raised, that he had accused divers honest men that did keep him in their houses, and was conversant with him, and all to discredit him; which rumor was very false and utterly untrue. Witness one *Raynold*, with divers other dwelling in *Chelmsford*.

The Martyrdom, and Examination of Richard Crafthfield of Wyndham, condemned to death for the testimony of *Jesu* Christ.

About this time suffered at *Norwich*, a godly man, and a constant Martyr of Christ, called *Richard Crafthfield*, whose Examinations before the Chancellor, named *Dunning*, as he penned them with his own hand, so have we faithfully recorded the same.

How say you Sirrah, said the Chancellor, to the Ceremonies of the Church?

Then said he, What Ceremonies? He said unto me, do you not believe that all the Ceremonies of the Church were good and godly?

My answer was, I do believe to be many as are grounded in the Testament of *Jesu* Christ.

Tulsh, said he, Do you believe in the Sacrament of the Altar?

I said, I knew not what it was.

Then said he, Do you not believe that Christ took Bread, gave thanks, brake it, and said, *Take, eat, this is my Body*?

Yes verily, said I, and even as Christ did speak, so did he perform the work.

Tulsh, said he, Do you not believe this, that after the words be spoken by the Priest, there is the substance of Christ's Body, Flesh and Blood? How say you, do you not believe this? I speak man.

I do believe that Christ's Body was broken for me upon the Crofs, and his Blood shed for my redemption, whereof of the Bread and the Wine is a perpetual memory, the pledge of his mercy, the Ring and Seal of his promise, and a perpetual memory for the Faithful unto the end of the world. So then I was commanded into Prison until the next day.

Another Examination of Richard Crafthfield

The day following I was brought forth. Then the Chancellor said unto me, *Richard*, how say you? Are you otherwise minded than you were yesterday?

He rehearsing all the words that we had afore, said, Are not these thy words? Whereunto I answered, Yes.

I said, I know not what it was.

Then said he, How say you, can you not find in your heart, when you come to the Church, to kneel down before the Crofs, and make your Prayer?

I answered and said, No; rehearsing the Commandment of God forbidding the same.

He said, Have you not read or heard, that God commanded an Image to be made?

I answered, What Image?

He said, The brazen Serpent.

I said, Yes, I have heard it read, how that God did command it to be made, and likewise to be broken down.

Then Doctor *Bridges* said, Wherefore did God command the *Seraphims* and *Cherubims* to be made?

I said, I could not tell; I would fain learn.

Then said the Chancellor, But how say you to this? can you find in your heart to fall down before the Picture of CHRIST, which is the Crofs?

I said, no, I fear the Rod of God: for it is written, that God curseth the hands that make them yea and the hands that make the tools wherewith they are carved.

Then Dr. *Bridges* ragged and said, Lift now what a piece of Scripture he hath here gotten to serve his purpose, for he will not allow but where he listeth.

Then said the Chancellor, How say you to Confession to the Priest? when were you confessed?

I said, I confess my self daily unto the eternal God, whom I most grievously offend.

Then the Chancellor said, Do you not then take Confession to the Priest to be good?

I answered, No, but rather wicked.

Then the Chancellor said, How say you by yonder the Organs? is it not good and godly?

I said, I could perceive no godliness in it.

Then he said, Why, is it not written in the Psalms, *That we should praise God with hymns and Spiritual Songs*?

I said, Yes, spiritual Songs must be had: but yonder is of the Flesh, and of the Spirit of error. For to you it is pleasant and glorious, but to the Lord it is bitter and odious.

Then said the Chancellor, Why, is it not written, *My house is an house of Prayer*?

I said, Yes. It is written also, *That you have made my house of prayer a Den of Thieves*.

With that, the Chancellor looked and said, have we?

I answered and said, Christ said so. Then was I commanded to ward.

Then *Thursday* next following, was Dr. *Bridges* sent unto me to examine me of my Faith. And he said, as of a Countryman, my Lord Bishop (for love he would have you favored), hath sent me unto you, because to morrow your day appointed: therefore my Lord hath thought it meet, that you should declare unto me your Faith. For to morrow my Lord will not have much ado with you.

I answered and said, Hath my Lord sent you?

It is not you, to whom I am disposed to shew my mind.

Then he said to me, I pray you shew me your mind concerning the Sacrament of the Altar.

I answered, Are you ignorant what I have said?

He said, No for it was well written, Except you believe, faith he, as the Church hath taught you are damned for a P'sy and Soul.

I answered and said, Judge not, lest you be judged: condemn not, lest you be condemned.

And he said, Lo, we shall have a traitor as well as a Heretic: for he will disallow the Kings Judgment.

I said, No, I do not disallow the Kings Judgment, but yours I do disallow. For I pray you tell me, how came you by this Judgment?

He answered and said, by the Church: for the Church hath power to give and condemn: for if you be condemned by the Church, be ye sure, that you are damned both Body and Soul.

Then I answered, if you have this power, I am for the Pope decided. For I believe that Christ said, *He is our Judge*. But now I perceive that you will do much for him, that you will not put him in the pain.

Then he said, stand nearer Countryman: why stand ye so far off?

I said, I am near enough, and a little too near.

Then he said, Did not Christ say, *Is not my Flesh meat, and my Blood Drink indeed*?

I said, To whom shall Christ these words?

He said, To his Disciples.

I (intending to rehearse the Text) said, wherent did Christ's Disciples murther inwardly?

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He said, No, they did not murmur, but they were the Infidels (saith he) for the Disciples were satisfied with these words.

I said, did not Christ say thus, as he taught at *Caper-naum*? whereas his Disciples murmured, saying, *This is an hard saying, Who can abide the hearing of it?* *Jesu* perceiving their thoughts, said, *dash this off your ears*.

Then he ragged and said, Oh, thou wretched Text for thine own purpose. For the Disciples did never murmur, but the unbelievers; as thou art.

I said, Yes, but I perceive you know not the Text.

Then said he, with much raging, I will lay my head thereon, it is not so.

Then said I, I have done with you.

Then said he, What shall I tell my Lord of you?

If you have nothing to tell him, your errand shall be sooner done said I. And he departed.

Then on *Friday* I was brought forth to receive judgment. Then the Chancellor said unto me, Are you a new Man, or are you not?

I answered and said, I trust I am a new Man Born of God.

God give Grace you be so, said he. So he rehearsed all my examination, and said, How say you, are not these your words?

I said, Yes, I will not deny them.

Then he said to Dr. *Pere*, standing by, I pray you talk with him. Then he alledged to me many fair flattering words, said, *Take, eat, this is my Body*. How say you to this? Do you not believe that it is Christ's Body? I speak.

I said, Have you not my mind? Why do you trouble me?

He said, What did Christ give you? was it Bread, or was it not?

I said, Christ took Bread, and gave thanks, and gave it, and they took. Bread and said, *And St. Paul maketh it more manifest, where he saith, So oft as ye shall Eat of this Bread, and Drink of this Cup, ye shall shew forth the Lords Death until he come*. St. Paul saith not here as you say: for he saith, *So oft as ye shall Eat of this Bread*. He doth not say, *Body*. So they intending at short, turning to the wicked generation, if it be his Body, his story hereafter followeth in his order and place, further to be seen.

One Fryer, and a certain godly Woman burned at Rochester, who was the Sister of *George* Eagles.

ABout the same time and Month, one named *Fryer*, with a George accompanying him, who was the Sister of *George* Eagles, in the like cause of righteousness, suffered the like Martyrdom by the unrighteous Papists, whose Tyranny the Lord of his mercy abate and short, turning to the wicked generation, if it be his will, to a better mind.

The apprehension and Death of *Mistress* Joyce Lewes, the Wife of Thomas Lewes, of Mancton, most constantly suffering for Gods Word at Litchfield.

Mistress *Joyce* Lewes, a Gentlewoman born, was delicately brought up in the pleasures of the world, having delight in gay apparell, and such like toys, foolishness with the which folles the most part of the Gentel folks of England were then; and are yet infected, who was married first to one called *Applby*, and afterward to *Thomas Lewes* of Mancton. In the beginning of Queen *Mary's* time he went to the Church and heard Mass as others did, but when he heard of the burning of that most godly and learned Martyr, *Lawrence Sanders*, who suffered in *Covenstry*, he began to take more heed to the matter, and enquired earnestly of him as the knew feared God, the cause of his Death; and when he perceived it was because he refused to receive the Mass, he began to be troubled in Conscience, and waxed very unquiet. And because her house was even hard by *Mr. John Glovers* house, of whom mention was made before, a Man of Blessed Memory, and a singular example of his unfeigned godliness and manifold troubles which he suffered for the Gospel, the did oftentimes resort to him, and desired him to tell her the faults that were in the Mass, and other things that at that time were urged as necessary to salvation.

Now he perceiving both her unquiet mind, and also the desire he had to know the truth, did most diligently instruct her in the ways of the Lord, approving unto her out of Gods Holy Word, that the Mass, with all other papistical inventions, was odious in Gods sight; and besides this reproved her, for that the delighted in the vanities of this world to much, which godly counsel given by him, it happened that she began to be weary of the world, thoroughly forswearing for her sins, being inflamed with

with the Love of God, desirous to serve him according to his word, purposing also to flee from those things the which did displeased the Lord her God. And because she had learned the Mass to be evil and abominable, she began to hate it. And when at a time she was compelled by the Enviousness of her Husband to come to the Church, at the same time when the Holy Water was called, turned her back towards it, and threw her self to be displeased by their Blaphemous Holy Waters, injurious to the Blood of Christ. Whereupon she was accused before the Bishop for the defiling of their Sacramentals.

Immediately, a Citation was sent for her to her Husband's House, to appear before the Bishop incontinently. The Sumner that brought the Citation delivered it to her Husband, who looking upon it, and perceiving that it was moved with anger, willing the Sumner to take the Citation with him again, or else he would make him to eat it. The Sumner refused to take it again, for he thought no Man durst have been so bold, to trouble him. But in the end Lewes compelled the said Sumner to eat the Citation indeed, by setting a Dagger to his Heart's content, and when he had eaten it, he caused him to drink to it, and so he sent him away. But immediately after, the said Lewes with his Wife were commanded to appear before the Bishop, where the said Lewes by and by submitted himself, and desiring the Bishop to be good to him, excusing himself after the best Fashion he could. Whereupon the Bishop was content to receive his submission, with condition that his Wife should submit her self also. But she stoutly told the Bishop, that by refusing of the Holy Water she had neither offended God, nor any part of his Lewes. At the which words the Bishop being grievously offended, yet because she was a Gentle Woman, he would not take her at the word (as he said) he gave her one Month's respite, binding her Husband in an hundred pound to bring her again unto him at the Month's end, or if they were both let go.

When they came to their own House, the said Mistress Joyce Lewes gave her self to most diligent prayer, and invoking of the name of God, reforming continually to the abovementioned God, Master *Jehan*, who did most diligently instruct her with Gods Word, willing her in any case not to meddle with that matter in respect of vain glory, or to get her self a name, throwing her the great dangers she was like to call her self in, if she should meddle in Gods matter otherwise than Christ doth teach.

When the Month was now almost expired, and the time at hand that she should be brought before the said Bishop her Husband being advertised by the said *M. Jehan* Glesier and others, not to carry her to the Bishop, but to seek some ways to save her, or the word should come to be content to forfeit for most Money, rather than to call his own Wife into the fire: He answered, he would not looke or forfeit any thing for her sake: and so, like a nurser of his own Wife, he carried her to the bloody Bishop where she was examined, and found more good, than she was before Death was threatened. And to begin withal, she was sent to such a thinking prison, that a certain maid, which was appointed to keep her company, did swoon in the same prison.

Being thus kept in prison, and offences examined, and ever found fault, at the length she was brought in judgment, and pronounced an Heretic worthy to be burned. When the Bishop reasoned with her, why she could not cometo the Mass, and receive the Sacraments and Sacramentals of the Holy Ghost: she answered, Because I find not these things in Gods Word, which you fo find and magnifie, at things most needfull for mans Salvation. If these things were in the same Word of God commanded, I would with all my Heart, receive, esteem, and believe them. The Bishop answered, If thou wilt believe no more than is in the Scriptures concerning matters of Religion, thou art in a Damnable case. At which words she was wonderfully amazed, and being moved by the Spirit of God, told the Bishop, that his words were ungodly and wicked.

After her condemnation, she continued a whole twelve Month in prison, because she was committed to the Sheriff that was of late chosen, who could not be compelled to put her to Death, in his time, as he affirmed: for the

which things, after her Death, he was sore troubled and in danger of his Life. All that time she was in prison, her behaviour was such both in words and deeds, that all they, that had any spark of godliness or honesty, did greatly lament her case, that she should be put to Death.

Now when the time did draw near the which God had appointed for her Deliverance, the Wife *De commendation* (as they term it) being brought down from London, the desired certain of her Friends, to come to her, with whom when they came, she consulted how she might behave her self, that her Death might be more glorious to the Name of God, Comfortable to his People, and also most Discomfortable unto the Enemies of God. As for Death (said she) I do not greatly grieve, when I behold the admirable Countenance of Christ my dear Saviour the Ouglesome Face of Death doth not greatly trouble mee. In the which time also the reasoned most comfortably out of Gods Word, of Gods election and reprobation.

In the evenings, before the day of her suffering, two of the Priests of the cloister of *Lichfield*, came to the under Sheriff's House where she lay, and sent word to her by the Sheriff, that they were come to hear her Confession: for they would be sorry she should die without. She sent word again, she had made her Confession to Christ *Lewes* her Saviour, at whose hands she was sure to have forgiveness of her sins. As concerning the cause for which she should die, she had no cause to confess that, but rather to give unto God most humble praise, that he did make her worthy to suffer Death for his Word: And as concerning that Absolution that they were able to give unto her, being authorized by the Pope, she did defie the same, even from the bottom of her Heart. The which thing, the Priests heard they said to the Sheriff, Well, tomorrow her stoutness will be proved and tried. For although perhaps she hath now some Friends that whisper in her ears, to morrow we will see who dare be so hardy as to come near her: and so they went their ways with anger, that their confession and absolution was nought fit by.

All that night she was wonderfully cheerful and merry, with a certain gravity, in so much that the Majesty of the Spirit of God did manifestly appear in her, who did expect the fear of Death out of her Heart, spending the time in prayers, reading, and talking with them that were purposely come unto her, to comfort her with the Word of God.

About three of the clock in the mornings, Satan (who tempest never sleepest, especially when Death is at hand) began to stir himself foolishly, flouting at her that fiery dart he had which he is wont to do against all that are at defiance with him, questioning with her, how she could tell that she was chosen to eternal Life, and that Christ dyed for her. I grant that he dyed, but that he dyed for thee how canst thou tell; with this suggestion when she was troubled, they that were about her did counsel her to follow the example of *Paul*, *Galatians* 2. where he saith, *Which hath loved me, and given himself for me*. Also, that her vocation and calling to the knowledge of Gods Word, was a manifest token of Gods love towards her, especially that same Holy Spirit of God working in her Heart, that love and desire towards God to please him, and to be justified by him through Christ, &c. By these words and like persuasions, and especially by the comfortable promises of Christ, brought out of the Scriptures, Satan was put to flight, and they comforted in Christ.

About eight of the clock, Mr. Sheriff came to her into her Chamber, saying these words, Mistress Lewes, I am come to bring you tidings of the Queens pleasure, the which is, that you shall live no longer but one hour in this world: therefore prepare your self thereto, it standeth in your hand. At which words, being so grossly uttered, and so suddenly by such an officer as he was free of countenance abashed. Wherefore one of her Friends and acquaintance standing by, said these words, Mistress Lewes, you have great cause to praise God, who will vouchsafe so speedily to take you out of this world, and make you worthy to be a witness of his truth, and to bear record unto Christ, that he is the only Saviour of sinners.

After the which words spoken thus, the said *M. Sheriff* your message is welcome to me, and I thank my God

Anno

1557.

God that he will make me worthy to Adventure my Life in his quarrel. And thus Mr. Sheriff departed: and within the space of one hour he came again, *cum gladiis & fustibus*; and when he came up to the Chamber, one of his Friends desired him to give him leave to go with her to the stake, and to comfort her, the which the Sheriff granted at that time, but afterwards he was sore troubled for the same, when she was dead.

Now when she was brought with the Town with a number of Bill-men, a great multitude of People being present, she being led by two of her Friends (which were Mr. *Michael Reniger*, and Mr. *Augustine Bernier*) she was brought to the place of execution: and because the place was far off, and the throng of the People great, and the not acquainted with the fresh ayre (being so long in prison) one of her Friends sent a messenger to the Sheriff's House for some drink; and after he had prayed three several times, in the which prayer the desired God were Mr. *Michael Reniger*, and Mr. *Augustine Bernier* most infinitely to absolve the Idolatrous Mass, and to deliver his Realm from Papistry (at the end of the which prayers the most part of the people cried *Amen*, yea, even the Sheriff that stood hard by her, ready to call her in the fire for not allowing the Mass, at this her prayer said with the rest of the people *Amen*) when she had thus prayed, she took the Cup into her hand, saying; I drink to all them that unkindly love the Gospel of Jesus Christ, and with for the abolishment of Papistry. When she had drunk, they that were her Friends drank also. After that a great number, specially the Women of the Town did drink with her; which afterward were put to open penance in the Church by the cruel Papists, for drinking with her.

When she was tied to the stake with the Chain the blessed such a cheerfulness, that it passed mans reason, being so well coloured in her face, and being so patient, that the most part of them that had honest hearts did lament, and even with tears bewail the Tyranny of the Papists. When the fire was upon her, the neither struggled nor flinched, but only lifted up her hands towards Heaven, being dead very speedily: for the Under-Sheriff at the request of her Friends had provided such fluff, by the which she was suddenly dispatched out of this miserable world.

This amongst other things may not be forgotten, that the Papist had appointed some to rail upon her openly, and to revile her, both as she went to the place of execution, and also when she came at the stake. Amongst others there was an old Priest, which had a pair of writing Tables to note both the names of the Women that drank of her Cup (as before you heard), and also described her Friends by their apparel, for presently he could write their names, and afterwards enquired for their names: and so immediately after Process was sent out for them, both to Coventry and other places: but God whose providence sleeps not, did defend them from the hands of these cruel tyrants. Unto the which God, with the Son and the Holy Ghost, be honour and glory for ever, Amen.

The Marriage of Ralph Allerton, James Auttoo, Margery Auttoo, and Richard Roth, burned at Ilington. In searching out the certain number of the faithful Martyrs of God that suffered within the time and Reign of Queen *Mary*; I find, that about the twentieth day of September, were burned at Ilington, near unto London, these four constant Professors of Christ, *Ralph Allerton*, *James Auttoo*, *Margery Auttoo*, his Wife, and *Richard Roth*. Among the which, it first apperth that this *Ralph Allerton* was, more then a year before his condemnation, apprehended and brought before the Lord Darcy of Chichester, and there was accused, as well for that he would not consent and come unto the Idolatry and Superstition which then was used, as also that he had by preaching enticed others to do the like.

Being then hereupon examined, he confessed that he coming unto his Parish of *Bentley*, and finding the People listening there, either gazing about, or else talking together, he exhorted them that they would fall unto prayer, and meditation of Gods most Holy Word, and not sit still idly. Whereunto they willingly consented. Then after prayer ended, he read unto them a Chapter of the New Testament, and so departed.

In the which exercise he continued until *Condempnation*, and then being informed that he might not do by the Law (for that he was no Priest or Minister) he left off, and kept himself close in his house until *Essex* then next after. At what time, certain Sworn Men for the inquiry of such matters came unto his house, and attached him for residing in the Parish of *Welles*.

But when they understood that he had read but once, and that it was of obedience (whereunto he earnestly moved the People) they let him for that time depart. Notwithstanding for their cruelty, he was not long after constrained to forsake his own house, and keep himself in Woods, Barres, and other solitary places, until the time of his Apprehension.

After this examination, the Lord Darcy sent him up to the Council; but they (not minding to trouble themselves with him unto *Boner* who by threatnings and other subtle means, so abused the simple and fearful heart of this Man (as yet not thoroughly stayed upon the ayd and help of God) that within short time he won him to his most wicked will, and made him openly at *Pauls* Croft to revoke and recant his former profession, and thereupon set him at liberty of Body. Which yet brought such a bondage and Terror of Soul and Conscience, and so call him down, that except the Lord (whose mercies are immeasurable) had supported and lift him up again, he had perished for ever.

But the Lord, who never suffereth his elect Children utterly to fall, calling his pitiful eyes upon his lost sheep, with his merciful and Fatherly Chastitements, did (with *Peter*) raise him up again, giving unto him not only heavy and unfeigned repentance, but also a most constant boldness to profess again (even unto the Death) his most holy name and glorious Gospel, Wherefore at the procurement of one *Thomas Tye Priest*, (sometime an earnest *Ty. Tye* professor of Christ, but now a fierce Persecutor of the same) (as appeareth more at large before in the history of *William Boner* and his wife) he was again apprehended, and set up again unto *Boner*, here whom he was upon the eighth day of April, and sundry other times examined. The report of which examination, written by his own hand with Blood for lack of other ink, hereafter followeth.

The Examination of Ralph Allerton at his second apprehension, appearing before the Bishop of London at Fulham, the eighth day of April, Anno 1557, written by himself, with his own Blood.

Boner. Ah firrsh, how chanceth it that you are come a hidder again on this fashion? I dare say thou art accused wrongfully.

Ralph. Yea my Lord I am. For if I were guilty of such things as I am accused of, I should be very sorry. *Boner*. By Saint Mary that is not well done. But let me hear, Art thou an honest Man? for if I can prove no Heretic by thee, then shall thee Accusers do thee no harm at all. Go to, let me hear thee: for I did not believe the tale to be true.

Ralph. My Lord, who did accuse me? I pray you let me know, and what is mine accusation, that I may answer thereunto.

Boner. Ah, wilt thou go? Before God if thou hast not dissembled, then thou needest not be afraid, nor ashamed to answer for thy self. But tell me in Faith, hast thou not dissembled?

Ralph. If I cannot have mine accusers to accuse me before you, my Conscience doth constrain me to accuse my self before you: For I confess that I have grievously offended God in my diffimulation as my last being before your Lordship, for the which I am right sorry, as God knows.

Boner. Wherein I pray thee, didst thou dissemble, when thou wast before me?

Ralph. Forsooth my Lord, if your Lordship remember, I did set my hand upon a certain writing, the contents whereof (as I remember) were, That I did believe in all things as the Catholic Church teacheth, &c. In the which I did not diftise my mind, but shamefully difsembled, because I made no difference between the True Church and the untrue Church.

Boner,

were no Beef, because it hath not the fashion of Beef?
Ralph. Let me understand a little further, my Lord; said the Cook adding thereto, nor take any thing therefrom?

Boner. What is that to the matter, whether he do or no, so long as the thing is changed into another likeness?

Ralph. Ah, will you to my Lord? your Sophistry will not serve; the truth will have the victory nevertheless, as *Ejy* faith; He that refraineth himself from evil, must be spoiled. And *Amos* hath such like words also. For the Wile must be fain to hold their peace; so wicked a time it is, faith he. Nevertheless, he that can speak the truth, and will not, shall give a frait account for the same.

A Doctor. By my Lords leave, here me thinks thou speakest like a fool. Wilt thou be a Judge of the Scripture? Nay, thou must stand to learn, and not to teach; for the whole Congregation hath determined the matter long ago.

A Grift. No, by your leave, we have a Church, and not a Congregation. You mistake that word, Mr. Dr.

Ralph. Then said I to my fellow prisoners Handling by; My Brethren, do ye not hear how these Men help one another? Let us do to all. But we never came in together. Then was I carried away for that time. The 19. day of May I was brought before the Bishop of *Becheff*, and *Chichester*, with others.

R. Becheff. Were you a companion of *George Eagles*, otherwise called *Trugethorpe*? My Lord of *London* telleth me that you was his fellow companion.

Ralph. I know him very well, my Lord.

Becheff. By my Faith, I had him once, and then he was as drunk as an Ape, for he thank'd for drink, that I could not abide him; and so sent him away.

Ralph. My Lord, I dare say you took your mark amiss. It was either your self, or some of your own company, for he did neither drink Wine, Ale, nor Beer, in a quarter of a year before that time; and therefore it was not he foolish.

The rest of mine Examinations you shall have when I am condemned, if I can have any time after my coming into *Newgate*, the which I trust shall touch the matter a great deal more plainly; for the pitty matters are yet unwritten. Thus fare you well good Friends all. Yea, I say, farewell for ever in this present world. Greet ye one another, and be joyful in the Lord. Salute the good widows among you, with all the rest of the Congregation in *Barfild*, and *Dellam*, and *Chichester*.

This promise of his, being either not performed, for that he might not thereto be permitted, or else if he did write, the same not coming to my hands. I am fain in the rest of his examinations to follow the only report of the Register; who witnesseth, that the 15. day of May, Anno 1557. in the Bishops Palace at *London*, he was examined upon certain Interrogatories, the contents whereof be these.

First, that he was of the Parish of *Mushevill*, and so of the Diocese of *London*.

Secondly, that the 10. day of January then last past, Mr. *John Marant* preaching at *Pauls*, the said *Ralph Allerton* did there openly submit himself unto the Church of *Rome*, with the Rites and Ceremonies thereof.

Thirdly, that he did consent and subscribe as well unto the same submission, as also to one other bill, in the which he granted, that if he should at any time turn again unto his former opinions, it should be then lawful for the Bishop immediately to denounce and adjudge him as an Heretic.

Fourthly, that he had subscribed to a bill, wherein he affirmed, that in the Sacrament, after the words of Consecration be spoken by the Priest, there remaineth still material Bread and material Wine; and that he believeth that the Bread is the Bread of thanksgiving, and the memorial of Christs Death; and that when he receiveth it, he receiveth the Body of Christ spiritually in his Soul, but material Bread in substance.

Fifthly, that he had openly affirmed, and also advisedly spoken that which is contained in the said former fourth Article last before specified.

Sixthly, that he had spoken against the Bishop of *Rome*, with the Church and See of the same, and also against the 7. Sacraments and other ceremonies and ordinances of the same Church, used then within this Realm.

Seventhly, that he had allowed and commended the opinion and faith of Mr. *Crammer*, *Ridley*, and *Laines*, and others of late burned within this Realm, and believed that their opinions were good and godly.

Eighthly, that he had divers times affirmed, that the Religion used within this Realm, at the time of his apprehension, was neither good, nor agreeable to Gods Word, and that he could not conform himself thereto.

Ninthly, that he had affirmed, that the Book of Common Prayer set forth in the Reign of King *Edward* the sixth, was in all parts good and godly; and that the said *Ralph* and his company prisoners, did daily use amongst themselves in prison some part of the Book.

Tenthly, that he had affirmed, that if he were out of prison, he would not come to *Mafis*, *Mattins*, nor *Evening*, nor bear *Taper*, *Candle*, or *Palms*, nor go in *Procession*, nor would receive *Holy Water*, *Holy Bread*, *Aches*, or *Race*, or any other ceremony of the Church then used within this Realm.

Eleventhly, that he had affirmed, that if he were at liberty he would not confest his sins to any Priest, nor receive absolution of him; nor yet would receive the Sacrament of the Altar, as he was then used.

Twelfthly, that he had affirmed, that praying to Saints and prayers for the Dead, were neither good nor profitable, and that a man is not bound to fast and pray, but at his own will and pleasure; neither that it is lawfull to reserve the Sacrament, or to worship it.

Thirteenthly, that the said *Allerton* hath, according to these affirmations, submitted and refused to come unto his Parish Church ever since the 10. day of January last, or to use, receive, or allow any ceremonies, Sacraments, or other rites then used in the Church.

To all the Articles he answered affirmatively, denying precisely none of them; faving to this clause contained in the twelfth Article, that a Man is not bound to fast and pray but at his own will and pleasure, he said that he had affirmed no such thing, but he certified that he had not fasted nor prayed for oile as he was bound to do. And unto this answer he also subscribed in this sort.

Except it be proved otherwise by the Holy Scriptures, I do affirm these Articles to be true. By me *Ralph Allerton*.

The next Examination was the fourth day of July, The Acts whereof, because they do appear more amply in his other examination, had the 10. day of September, I do here omit, giving you farther to understand, that upon the seventh day of the same month of July, he was brought before Dr. *Darbyshire* in the Bishops Palace, who examined him again upon the former Articles, and after perswaded him to recant, threatening him that otherwise he should be burned. To whom he boldly answered, I would I might be condemned ever to morrow; for I perceive my Lord (meaning *Boner*) doth nothing but seek Mens Blood. Upon which saying *Darbyshire* committed him again to prison, and the 10. day of September the Bishop caused him (with the other three abovementioned) to be brought unto *Fulham*, and there in his private Chapel within his house, he judicially pronounced unto him certain other new Articles; of the which, the Tenors of the first, fifth, sixth, and seventh are already mentioned in the second, third, and fourth former objections: As for the rest, the contents thereof be thus.

Now *Ralph Allerton* canst not deny, but that the Information given against thee, and remaining now in the Acts of this Court of thine Ordinary, *Edmund Allerton* Bishop of *London*, was and is a True Information.

This Information was given by *Thomas Tyte*, Curate of *Bentley* (of whom you have already heard) and certain other of the same Parish and affinity: as namely, *John*

Anno 1557. *John Painter*, *William Harris*, *John Barker*, *John Carter*, *John Candler*, *Jeffrey Beffwood*, *John Richard*, *Richard Mer*.

The effect whereof was, that one *Lawrence Edwards*, of *Bentley* aforesaid, had a Child that was unchristened, and being demanded by the said Tyte, why his Child was not baptized, he made answer it should be when he could find one of his Religion (meaning a true professor of Christs Gospel). Whereat the Curate said, Ah, ye have had some Instructor that hath schooled you of late. Yea (quoth the said *Edwards*) that I have, and if your Doctrine be better than his, I will believe you; and therewithal fondly offered to fetch him.

Whereupon the Constable going with him, they brought before the said Curate the said *Ralph Allerton* of whom in this Information they make this report that he was a Seditious person who since his coming down from the Bishops, had set upon the Constables door certain Seditious Letters, moving and perswading thereby the People to follow his malicious disobedience; and that these his persuasions had taken effect in many; and farther, that the said *Ralph Allerton* (the Curate asking him whether he had instructed this *Lawrence Edwards*, that it was against Gods Commandment to enter into the Church) casting abroad his hands, should say; Oh good People, now is fulfilled the saying of the godly Priest and Prophet *Elisha*, who faith, 4. E. 4. 16. The fire of a multitude is kindled against a few: they have taken away their houses, and spoiled their goods, &c. Which of you all have not seen this day? who is he here amongst you, that seeth not all these things done upon this day? The Church which they call us unto, is the Church of Antichrist, a persecuting Church, and the Church malignant. With these and many more words (said they, most maliciously and falsely alleged out of the Scriptures) he thus perswaded a great multitude there present (as much as in him lay) unto disobedience. For the which cause the Constables did then apprehend him.

3. Item, thou *Ralph Allerton* canst not deny, but that the Letter sent unto me by my Lord *Darcy*, beginning with these words (Pleaseth it your Lordship, &c.) was thine own Letter, and was subscribed by thine own hand.

The contents of the Letter mentioned in this Article, and written by *Allerton* unto the Lord *Darcy*, was a Confession of his demeanour before his first apprehension, the effect and purport whereof, because it appeareth in the beginning of his History, I do here omit.

4. Item, thou *Ralph Allerton* canst not deny, but that the other Letter, sent also to me from my said Lord *Darcy*, beginning thus (Pleaseth it your Lordship, &c.) and ending with these words (whensoever it be) is thine own very Letter, and subscribed with thine own hand.

This was also another Letter written by him unto the Lord *Darcy*, the Contents whereof were, that where the said Lord had commanded him to declare where he had been ever since *Whitsunday* last before his first apprehension, this was to certify his Lordship, that he was not able to do, otherwise then as he had already shewed him by his former Letters. And moreover, whereas he charged him to have read unto the People abroad in the Woods, he certified him that he did never read any thing abroad, faving once when he was in the Company of *George Eagles* and others, *Richard Roth* took a writing out of his bosom, and desired the said *Ralph* to read it which request he then accomplished; and demanding of him whole doing the same was, the said *Roth* told that it was *Matthew Crammers* last writing upon of *Conterbury*; and farther he could not shew him. Nevertheless, he was ready and willing to suffer such punishment as his Lordship should think meet, desiring yet that the same might be with favour and mercy, although he feared neither punishment nor death, praying the Lord that it might be in his fear, wherefore he should be.

8. Item, thou *Ralph Allerton* canst not deny, but that the Letters written with Blood, beginning with these words (Grace, mercy, and peace, &c. and ending thus, (Farewell in God;) remaining now registred in the Acts

of this Court, were written voluntarily with thine own hand.

HE wrote this Letter in the Prison with Blood for lack of other links, and did mean to send the same unto *Agnes Sumner alias Silverfide*, at that time imprisoned, and afterwards burned at *Chichester* for the testimony of the Gospel of Christ, as before is mentioned. The Copy of which Letter here ensueth.

A Letter written by *Ralph Allerton*, unto *Agnes Smith Widow*.

GRace, mercy and peace from God the Father, and a Letter from our Lord Jesus Christ, with the assistance of Gods holy Spirit, and the abundant health both of Soul and Body, I will unto you, as to my own. Souls as God knoweth, who is the Searcher of all secrets.

Forasmuch as I hath pleased Almighty God of his infinite mercy not to me to the state of grace, to suffer Martyrdom for Jesus Christs sake, although heretofore I have most negligently called thereunto, and therewithal far unworthy I am of such a high benefit, to be crowned with the most joyful Crown of Martyrdom: Nevertheless, it hath pleased God not to leave me, but hath raised me up again according to his promise, which faith, *Although he fall, yet shall he not be hurt: For the Lord upholdeth him with his hand. Psal. 37.* Whereby we perceive Gods election to be most sure, for undoubtedly he will preserve all those that are appointed to die. And as he hath begun this work in me, even so do I believe that he will finish the same, to his great glory, and to my worth, through Jesus Christ, So be it.

Deerly beloved Sister (I am constrained so to call you, because of your constant Faith and love infused) consider, that if we be the true Servants of Christ, then may we not be in any wise made agreement with his enemy Antichrist. For there is no concord and agreement between them, faith the Scriptures, and a man cannot serve two Masters, faith Christ. And also it is prefigured unto us in the old Law, whereas the People of God were most strictly commanded that they should not mingle themselves with the ungodly Heathen, and were also forbidden to eat, drink, or to marry with them. For as often as they did either marry unto their Sons, or take their Daughters unto them, or to the Sons, even so oft came the great and heavy wrath of God upon his own People, to overthrow both them and all their Cities, with the holy Sanctuary of God; and brought in strange Princes to reign over them, and wicked Rulers to govern them, so that they were diseased of Hunger, Sword, Pestilence, and wild Beasts to devour them. Which plagues never ceased, until the good People of God were clean separated from the wicked Idolatrous People.

Oh dearly beloved, this was written for our learning that we through patience and comfort of the Scriptures might have hope. And is it not in like case happened now in this Realm of England? For now are the People of God had in derision, and trodden under foot, and the Cities, Towns, and Houses where they dwell, are inhabited with them that have no right teachers, and the true owners are spoiled of their labours: yea, and the holy Sanctuary of Gods most blessed Word is laid desolate and wast, so that we very Foxes run over it, &c. yet is it the food of our Souls, the Lantern of our feet, and the Light unto our paths; and where it is not preached, the People perish. But the Prophet faith, *Ejy 39. He that restraineth himself from evil, must be spoiled.* Why should men then be abused to be spoiled, seeing that it is told us before that it must be happen unto them that refrain from evil? And thus I bid you farewell in God.

R. A.

Item, thou *Ralph Allerton*, canst not deny, but that the Letters written with Blood, beginning with these words in the over part thereof: (The Angel of God, &c.) and ended thus (Be with you, Amen, and having also this Postscript (Do ye apple that our Brethren &c.) remaining now registred in the Acts of this Court, are thine own hand-writing.

9. For the better understanding of this Article, I have also here inserted the Copy of the Letter mentioned in the fame; which Letter he wrote (by his own Confession) unto *Richard Roth*, then in danger of the subtle snare of that bloody Wolf *Boner*.

A Letter of
Ralph Allerton
to
Richard Roth.

Another Letter written by Ralph Allerton unto Richard Roth, his fellow-Martyr.

The Angel of God pitch his Tent about us, and defend us in all our ways, *Amen, Amen.*

O dear Brother, I pray for you; for I hear thy, who have been divers times before my Lord in Examination. Wherefore take heed for Gods sake what the wife man teacheth you, and shrink not away when you are enticed to confess an untruth, for hope of life, but be ready always to give an answer of the hope that is in you. For whosoever confesseth Christ before men, him will Christ also confess before his Father. But he that is ashamed to confess him before men, shall have his reward shut out. And therefore, dear Brother, be thou with them that do deny him. And when thou art ready to give a ready way, or to raise up our Brethren, the holy Martyrs of God. Therefore covet to go hence with the multitude while the way is full. Also (dear Brother) understand that I have been your Letter, and although I cannot read it perfectly, yet I partly perceive your meaning therein, and very gladly I would copy it out, with certain comfortable additions thereto annexed. The which as yet will not be brought to pass for lack of Paper, until my Lord be gone from hence, and then your request shall be accomplished, God willing, without delay. Thus fare ye well in Gods dear Brother and Fellow in tribulation, *Robert Allin*, flourish you, and the fellowship of the Holy Ghost be with you, *Amen.*

Ralph Allerton.

Do ye suppose that our Brethren and Sisters are not yet disparted out of this world? I think that either they are dead, or shall be within these two days.

And for the other Objection yet remaining, and not specified, if it were not more foretold that the folly of these bloody Tyrants (which of so small trifles take occasions to quarrel with the Saints of God) than for any weighty thing therein contained; I would neither trouble you with the reading thereof, nor yet my self with writing. But that ye may judge of them as their doings do give occasion, I will now proceed in the matter.

Item, that *Ralph Allerton* can't deny, but confesseth, that the writing of Letters in a little piece of Paper on both sides of it, with this Sentence following: *On the one side (look at the foot of the Stocks for a Knife)* and with this Sentence following upon the other side (look between the *Post* and the *Wall* for two *Bells*, and *look between the Post and the Wall for two Bells*) remaining now in the Register and Acts of this Court, is voluntarily written by the *Ralph Allerton* with thine own hand.

Item, that *Ralph Allerton* can't deny, but that thou art privy to a certain Writing remaining now in the Register and Acts of this Court, the beginning whereof is with these words (*I would have men wife, &c.*) and ending thus (*from house to house*).

Item, that *Ralph Allerton* can't deny, but that thou art privy, and of consent and maintenance of a certain great Woodknife, a long Sword, a Hook, a Stone, and of a Trencher written upon with Chalk, the one having this Sentence (*Call it a gun and life, because of your folly*) of two Boards written upon with Chalk, the one having this Sentence (*under the Stone look*) and the other having this Sentence (*whereas you did me take heed, I thank you, I trust in God that I shall be at peace with him shortly*) remaining now Registered in the Acts of this Court.

For answer unto all these Articles, he granted that the first Nine were true, as the Register records. Howbeit, I find noted in the backside of the Information, specified in the second Article (although crossed out again) that he denied such things as were therein in the same information.

against him. Wherefore it is not likely that he did himself grant unto the contents of the second Article, but rather that he only affirmed, that such an Information was given against him, and not that the same was true.

Thus much I thought to warn the Reader of, lest that in mistaking his answers, it might seem, that he granted himself to be a fictitious and a rebellious Person; of which fact he was much clear and innocent. And being further demanded upon the contents of the eighth Article, where he had the Blood he wrote that Letter withal; he said, that *Richard Roth*, sometime his Prison-fellow, did make his Nose bleed, and thereby he got the Blood wherewith he did then write. The Bishop again asked him, to whom he would have sent the Letter mentioned in one *Agnes Smith alias Silver-side, of Colchester*. Why (quoth the Bishop) *Agnes Smith* was an Heretic, and is burned for Heresy. Nay, said *Allerton*, he is a better case, than either I, my self, or any of us all. Then being again demanded (upon the ninth Objection) to whom he would have sent the Letter mentioned in the same, he answered, that he meant to have sent it unto *Richard Roth*, at that present separated from him. Whereupon the Bishop further inquired, what he meant by these words *Brethren and Sisters* (specified in the said Letter? He answered, that he meant thereby, such as were lately condemned at *Colchester*, and were like (at the writing thereof) shortly to be burned. Now as for the contents of the tenth and the eleventh Articles he utterly denied them. But to the twelfth he confessed, that he wrote upon the said Trencher and other Boards, the words mentioned in the said Article, and that he did leave the same in the Prison-house, to the intent that *Richard Roth* should read them. *Boner* also bringing out the *Wooden Sword*, mentioned in the said Article, asked him who made it, and for what purpose. Whereunto he answered, that he was the maker thereof, howbeit for no evil purpose. But being idle in the Prison, and finding there an old Board, he thought the time better spent in making thereof, then to sit still, and do nothing at all.

The fore-named being now spent, the rest of this tragedy was deferred until the afternoon. Wherein was ministered unto him yet certain other Objections, thereof whereof was.

First, that he had milked the Maf, calling upon other Saints, and carrying the Crofs in Procession, with other their Ceremonies, calling them Idolatry, and also that he had diffused them therefrom.

2. Item, that he was much desirous to have the People believe as he did; and therefore being in Prison with his Fellows, did sing Psalms and other Songs against the Sacrament of the Altar, and other Ordinances of the Church, so loud that the People abroad might hear them, and delight in them.

3. Item, that he had divers times conspired against his Keeper, and had provided things to kill him, and so to break the Prison, and escape away.

4. Item, that he had raised against the Bishop, being his Ordinary, calling him a bloody Butcher, Tyrant, and ravaging Wolf, and also against his Officers, especially *John* his Sumner, calling him Butchers Cars, with other such names.

5. Item, that he had murmured, grumbled, disdained, and milked, that the Bishop had proceeded against certain of his Diocess, and had condemned them as Heretics, or that he should proceed now against him and others yet remaining in errors, notwithstanding that his Chaplains had charitably admonished and exhorted them from the same.

6. Item, that he ought faithfully to believe, that there is one Catholic Church, without the which there is no salvation; of the which Church Jesus Christ is the very Priest and Sacrifice, whose Body and Blood is really and truly contained in the Sacrament of the Altar, under the forms of Bread and Wine; the Bread and Wine being by the divine power transubstantiated into his Body and Blood.

7. Item, that he had kept himself, and also distributed to others certain heretical and corrupt Books, condemned and approved by the Laws of this Realm.

8. Item,

Ano 1557. 8. Item, that he had contrary to the orders and Statutes of this Realm kept Company with that fictitious Heretic and Traytor, *George Eagles*, commonly called *Trudegeer*, and had heard him read in Woods and other places, yet not accusing but allowing and praising him.

Unto which Articles, because they were for the most part so foolish and full of lies, he would in a manner make no answer, having he granted that he did milk the Maf, and other Ceremonies, because they were wicked and naughty. And moreover, he told the Bishop, that he and his complices did nothing but seek how to kill Innocents.

The Bishop then asked him, whether he would believe in all points touching the Sacrament of the Altar, as contained in the General Council holden and kept under Innocent the Third, and therewithal he did read the Decree of the said Council touching the Sacrament.

Whereunto *Allerton* again made answer and said; I believe nothing contained in the same Council, neither have I any thing to do therewith; and it were also very necessary, that no man else should have to do therewith.

Then (quoth *Boner*) thou art of the Opinion that the Heretics lately burnt at *Colchester* were of.

Yes, said he, I am of their Opinion, and I believe that they be Saints in Heaven.

This done, the Bishop perceiving that he would not recant, demanded what he had to say, why he should pronounce the Sentence of Condemnation against him. To whom he answered, Ye ought not to condemn mean Heretic, for I am a good Christian. But now go to, do as you have already determined: For I fear right well, that Right and Truth be suppressed, and cannot appear upon the Earth.

These words ended, the Bishop pronounced the Sentence of Condemnation, and so delivered him unto the temporal Officers: Who relieved him in their custody until the 17. day of September, at which time, both he and the other three before mentioned, were all burned, as ye have already heard. Of which other three, because as yet little is known, therefore now proceeding to God for helps (he but who it was the knew not giving a grunt, and fearing belike to commit to cruel death, departed his ways without any more hurt doing.

James Auttoo, and Margery his Wife

Touching the first Apprehension of these two persons, I find neither occasion why, neither time nor manner how: Howbeit, as the days then served, it was no hard or strange matter to fall into the hands of such, as with cruelty persecuted the true Professors of Gods Gospel, especially having so many Promoters, and unneighbourly neighbours to help them forwards. By which kind of People, it is not unlike these two godly yoke-fellows were accused and taken; and being once delivered into the pitiless handling of *Boner*, their Examinations (ye may be sure) were not long deferred. For the 16. day of July 1557. they were brought before him into his place at *London*. Where first he demanded of the said *James Auttoo* (amongst other questions) where he had been confided in *Lent*, and whether he received the Sacrament of the Altar at *Easter*, or not?

To whom he answered, That indeed he had been confided of the Curate of *Albhallows Barking*, nigh to the Tower of *London*, but that he had not received the Sacrament of the Altar; for he defied it from the bottom of his heart.

Why (quoth the Bishop) dost thou not believe, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is the true Body and Blood of Christ?

No, said *Auttoo*, not in the Sacrament of the Altar, but in the Supper of the Lord, to the Faithful Receiver is the very Body and Blood of Christ by Faith.

Boner now well pleased with this talk, asked then the Wife, how she did like the Religion then used in this Church of *England*?

She answered, that she believed, that the same was not according to Gods Word, but false and corrupted; and that they which did so therewith, did it more for fear of the Law, than otherwise.

Then he again asked her, if she would go to the Church and hear Mass, and pray for the Prosperous estate of the King, being then abroad in his Affairs. Whereunto she said, that she defied the Mass with all her heart, and that she would not come into any Church wherein were Idols.

After this the Bishop objected unto them certain Articles, to the number of eighteen. The Tenor whereof (because they touch only such common and trifling matters as are already mentioned in divers and sundry places before) I do here for brevities sake omit and pass over; giving you yet this much to understand, that in the matters of Faith they were as found, and answered as truly (God be therefore praised) as ever any did, especially the Woman, to whom the Lord had given the greater knowledge, and more ferventness of Spirit. Notwithstanding according to the nature of grace that God gave them, they both stood most firmly unto the truth. And therefore to conclude, the tenth day of September they were (with *Ralph Allerton*, of whom ye have heard) brought again before the Bishop within his Chapel at *Fulham*, where he speaking unto them, did lift up this wife; *Auttoo*, dost thou know where thou art now, and in what place, and before whom, and what thou hast to do?

Yea (quoth *Auttoo*) I know where I am: For I am in an Idols Temple.

After which words, their Articles being again read, and their Confancy in Faith perceived, *Boner* pronounced against either of them severally the Sentence of Condemnation, and delivering them unto the Sheriff there present, did rid his hands (as he thought) of them; but the Lord in the end will judge that: to whom I refer his cause.

It so happened upon a night, that as this *Margery Auttoo* was in the Bishop's Prison (which Prison I suppose was his Dog-Kennel; for it was, as is reported, under a pair of Stairs), by the Bishops procurement there was sent a stout Champion (as appeared) about twelve of the Clock at night, who suddenly opened the door, and with a Knife drawn, or ready prepared, fell upon her, to the intent to have cut her Throat. Of which her by reason of the cleanness of the Moon perceiving, and calling unto God for helps (he but who it was the knew not giving a grunt, and fearing belike to commit to cruel death, departed his ways without any more hurt doing.

The next night following, they caught a great rumbler to be made over her head, which seemed to her to have been some great Thunder, which they did to have feared her out of her wits; but yet, thanks be to God, they mislaid of their purpose.

Richard Roth.

IN the godly fellowship of the forenamed three Martyrs, was also this *Richard Roth*, as is already specified in the said Article.

Who being apprehended, and brought up unto the Bishop of *London*, was by him examined the fourth day of July; at which time the Bishop did earnestly travel to induce him to believe that there were seven Sacraments in Christs Church, and that in the Sacrament of the Altar (after the words of Consecration duly spoken) there remained the very substance of Christs Body and Blood, and none other. Whereunto (at that present) he made only this answer; that if the Scripture did so teach him, and that he might be by the same so perverted, he would so believe, otherwise not. But at another Examination (which was the 3. day of September) he declared plainly, that in the said Sacrament of the Altar as it was then used there was not the very Body and Blood of Christ, but that it was a dead God, and that the Mass was detestable, and contrary to Gods holy word and will, from the which Faith and Opinion he would not go or decline.

The next day, being the tenth day of the same month of September, the Bishop at his house at *Fulham* (by way of an Article) laid and objected against him; that he was a comforter and boldner of Heretics; and therefore had written a Letter to that effect unto certain that were burnt at *Colchester*; the Copy whereof enueth.

The Martyrdom of John Kurde, at Northampton, Anno 1557, September 20.



Officers without the Northgate of Northampton, and in the stone pit was burned. A Popish Priest standing by, whose name was John Rose, Vicar of Saint Giles in Northampton, did declare unto him, that if he would recant, he was authorized to give him his pardon. His answer was, that he had his Pardon by Jesus Christ, &c.

A True Certificate of the taking of one John Noyce of Laxfield, in the County of Suffolk, Shoemaker, who was taken the nineteenth day of April, in the year of our Lord God, 1557, as hereafter followeth.

Item, in the Month of September this present year, (as some report) in the year past, suffered the blessed Martyr Jo. Noyce, whose story here followeth.

First, Master Thomas Lovel being then chief Constable of Hoxton Hundred, in the County aforesaid, and one John Jacob, and William Stannard then being under-Constables of the forefield Town of Laxfield, and one VVolfren Dewings, and Nicholas Stannard of the same Town, being then accounted faithful and Chatholick Christians, though undoubtedly they proved most cruel hindrers of the True Professors of Christ and his Gospel, with others, were commanded to be that present day before the Justices whose names were Master Thurston, Sir John Tyrrel, and Master Kene, and Sir Jo. Sillard being High Sheriff.

These sitting at Hoxton in the County of Suffolk aforesaid, and there the said Townsmen shew'd having commandment of the said Justices to inquire in their Town if there were any that would neglect to come to their Service and Mass, further to examine the cause why they would not come, and thereupon to bring the true certificate to the said Justices within fourteen days then next ensuing; they then coming homeward, being full of hatred against the truth, and desirous to get promotion, without any such commandment of the Justices (as far as we can learn) took Council one with another how to attach the said John Noyce without any more delay.

This devilish enterprise agreed upon, chiefly through the Council of Master Thomas Lovel, VVolfren Dewings, and Nicholas Stannard aforesaid with expedition his house was beset on both sides. This done, they found the said John Noyce, on the backside of the said house going

The Martyrdom of John Noyce of Laxfield, Anno 1557, or as some say, Aprile 1558 September 20.



outward, and Nicholas Stannard called to the said John, and said, Whither goest thou? And he said, to my neighbours. And the said Nicholas Stannard said, your Master hath deceived you; you must go with us now. But the said John Noyce answered, No, but take you heed your Master deceives not you. And so they took him and carried him to the Justices the next day. After his appearance and sundry causes alleged, the Justices and the Sheriff together call him into Eye-dungeon, and there he lay a certain time. And then was carried from thence to Norwich, and so came before the Bishop, where were ministered unto him these positions following:

1. Whether he believed that the Ceremonies used in the Church were good and golly, to stir up Mens minds to Devotion.

2. Item, whether he believed the Pope to be Supreme Head of the Church here in Earth.

3. Item, whether he believed the Body of our Lord Jesus Christ to be in the Sacrament of the Altar under the Forms of Bread and Wine, after the Words of Consecration.

Whereunto he answered, that he thought the natural Body of Christ to be only in Heaven, and not in the Sacrament, &c.

For the which, Sentence at last was read by the Bishop, that he should be burnt at the stake the next day, at the hour of three o'clock, in the Guild hall of Norwich, after Christian Exhortation, as he himself desired.

More of his Examination than this came not to our hands.

In the mean time his Brother-in-law, one Nicholas Fick of Dunnington going to comfort him at such time as he remained prisoner, in the Guild hall of Norwich, after Christian Exhortation, asked him if he did fear Death when the Bishop gave judgment against him, considering the terror of the same; And the said Noyce answered, he thanked God he feared death no more: at that time the said Nicholas required him to shew the cause of his Condemnation. Upon which request the said John Noyce writ with his own hand as followeth:

I said

I said (quoth he) that I could not believe, that in the Sacrament of the Altar there is the natural Body of Christ that same Body that was born of the Virgin Mary. But I said, that the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ received of Christian People in the remembrance of Christs death, as a spiritual food, if it be ministered according to Christs Institution.

But they said, I could not tell what spiritual meant.

The Bishop said, that the Sacrament was God, and must be worshipped as God. So said the Chancellor also.

Then answered I, my Lord, I cannot so believe. Then (quoth the Bishop) why? Then say thou dost believe. Notwithstanding these collutions could not prevail.

Now being condemned, he was sent again from Norwich to Eye-Prison upon the 11 day of September in the year aforesaid, about midnight, he was brought from Eye to Laxfield to be burned, and on the next day morning was brought to the Stake, where was ready against his coming the forefield Justice, Master Thurston, one Mr. Wren then being under Sheriff, and Mr. Thomas Lovel being High Constable, as it before expressed, the which commanded men to make ready all things meet for that sinful purpose. Now the fire in most places of the Street was put out, having a smoke was eplied by the said Thomas Lovel proceeding out from the top of a Chimney, to which house the Sheriff and Grammar school Man went, and broke open the door, and Gureley got fire, and brought the same to the place of execution. When John Noyce came to the place where he should be burned, he kneeled down and said the 50. Psalm, with other Prayers, and then they making half bound him to the Stake, and being bound, the said John Noyce said, Fear not them that can kill the Body, but fear him that can kill both Body and Soul, and cast it into no everlasting fire.

When he saw his Sister weeping and making moan for him, he bade her that she should not weep for him, but weep for his sins.

Then one Nicholas Cadman being Hatfield, a valiant Champion in the Pope aforesaid, brought a Page and set against him; and the said John Noyce took up the Fagot and killed it and said; Blessed be the time that ever I was born to come to this.

Then he delivered his Platter to the under Sheriff, desiring him to be good to his Wife and Children, and to deliver to her that same Book; and the Sheriff promised him that he would, notwithstanding he never as yet performed his promise. Then the said John Noyce said to the People, they say they can make God of a piece of Bread, believe them not.

Then said he; Good People, bear witness that I do believe to be saved by the merits and passion of Jesus Christ, and not by mine own deeds; and so the fire was kindled, and burned about him, then he said; Lord have mercy upon me. Christ have mercy upon me. Son of David have mercy upon me.

And so he yielded up his life, and when his Body was burned, they made a pit to bury the Coals and Ashes, and amongst the same they found one of his feet that was unburned, whole up to the Ankle, with the hose on, and that they buried with the rest.

Now while he was a burning, there stood one John Jarvis by, a manservant of the same Town, a plain Fellow, which said; Good Lord, how the Sinews of his Arms shake up, and then there stood behind him the Grammar and Bower, being the Sheriffs men, and they said to their Master, that John Jarvis said, What villain wretches are these? And their Master bid lay hand on him, and they took him and pinioned him, and carried him before the Justice that same day, and the Justice did examine him of the words aforesaid, but he denied them, and answered that he said nothing but the truth. Good Lord, how the Sinews of his Arms shrink up. But for all this the Justice did bind his Father and his Master in a piece, that he should be forth coming at all times. And on the Wednesday next he was brought again before the Justices, Mr. Thurston and Mr. Kene, they sitting at

Freelingfield in Hoxton Hundred, and there they did appoint and command, that the said John Jarvis should be set in the stocks the next market day, and while about the market stand. But his Master, one William Jarvis, did after crave friendship of the Constables, and they did not let him in the Stocks till Sunday Morning, and in the afternoon they did whip him about the Market with a Dog-whip, having three Cords, and so they let him go.

Some do give out, that John Jarvis was whipped for saying that Nicholas Cadman was Noyces Hatfield, that is, such a one as maketh and healeth the fire.

The Copy of a certain Letter that he sent to comfort his Wife at such time as he lay in Prison.

Wife, you desired me that I would send you some a Letter of tokens that you might remember me. As I have to do in the New Testament, I thought it good to write unto you certain places of the Scripture for a remembrance. St. Peter faith, 1 Pet. 4. Dearly Beloved be not troubled with this heat that is now come among you to try you, as though some strange thing had happened unto you, but rejoice, in so much as ye are partakers of Christs sufferings, that when his glory appears it may be merry and glad. If ye be ruled on for the name of Christ, happy are ye, for the spirit of glory, and the spirit of God resteth upon you.

It is better, if the will of God be so, that ye suffer for well doing than for evil doing. 1 Pet. 3.

So 1 Pet. 4. Set that none of you suffer as a murderer, or as a thief, or an evil doer, or as a lustful doer, in other mens matters; but if any man suffer as a Christian man, let him not be ashamed, but let him glorify God in this behalf; for the time is come that Judgment must begin at the house of God. If it first begin at us, what shall the end of them that suffer in following to the will of God? Wherefore let them that suffer in well doing. St. Paul faith, 2 Tim. 3. All that will live godly in Christ Jesus, must suffer persecution.

St. John faith, 1 John 2. See that ye love not the world, neither the things that are in the world. If any man love the world, the love of the Father is not in him. For all that is in the world, as the lust of the Flesh, the lust of the eyes, and the pride of life, is not of the Father, but is of the world, which vainlyeth away and is the lust thereof, but he that fulfilleth the will of God abideth for ever.

St. Paul faith, Colos. 3. If ye be risen again with Christ, seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth on the right hand of God. Set your affection on things that are above, and not on things which are on earth.

Our Saviour Christ faith, Mat. 18. Whosoever shall of find one of these little ones that believe in me, it were better for him that a Millstone were hanged about his neck, and that he were cast into the Sea.

The Prophet David faith, Psal. 34. Great are the troubles of the righteous, but the Lord delivered them out of all.

Fear the Lord, ye his Saints: for they that fear him lack nothing.

When the Righteous, the Lord heareth them and delivereth them out of all their troubles: But misdoers shall fall by the ungodly, and they that hate the righteous shall perish.

Heb. 10. My People, I assure thee O Israel, if thou wilt hearken unto me, there shall strange God be in thee, neither shalt thou worship any other God. O that my People would obey me: for if Israel would walk in my ways, I should soon put down their Enemies, and turn my hand against their Adversaries.

Our Saviour Christ faith, The Disciple is not above his Master, nor yet the Servant above his Lord. It is enough for the Disciple to be as his Master is, and then the Servant to be as his Lord is. If they have called the Master of the house Belzebub, how much more shall they call them of his household? fear not them therefore.

St. Paul

St. Paul faith, 2 Cor. 4. *Let your felues therefore at large, and beare no a strangers yoke with the unbelievers: for what fellowship hath righteousnes with unrighteousnes? what Company hath light with darkness? what part hath the believers with the Infidel &c.?* Wherefore come out from among them, and separate your felues now (saith the Lord) and touch none unclean thing: so will I receive you, and I will be a Father unto you, and ye shall be my Sons and Daughters, saith the Lord Almighty.

For neither eye hath seen, nor the ear hath heard, neither can it enter into the heart of man what good things the Lord hath prepared for them that love him, 1 Cor. 2.

Ye are bought neither with Silver nor Gold, but with the precious Blood of Christ, 1 Pet. 1.

There is none other Name given to men wherein we must be saved, Acts 4.

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So fare ye well Wife and Children; and leave worldly care, and see that ye be diligent to pray.

Take no thought (saith Christ, Mat. 6.) saying, what shall we eat, or what shall we drink, or wherewith shall we be clothed? (for after all these things) seek the Gentiles: for your Heavenly Father knoweth that ye have need of all these things, but seek ye first the Kingdom of Heaven, and the righteousness thereof, and all these things shall be ministered unto you.

The Martyrdom of Cicely Ormes at Norwich. An. 1557. September 23.



The Martyrdom and suffering of Cicely Ormes, burnt at Norwich for the Testimony and witness of Christ's Gospel.

Sup. 23. Cicely Ormes Martyr.

About the 23. day of the said month of September, next after the other above mentioned, suffered at Norwich Cicely Ormes wife of Edmund Ormes Worsted-weaver, dwelling in St. Lawrence Parish in Norwich: the being of the age of 32. years or more, was taken at the death of Simon Miller and Elizabeth without Bishops-Gate, at the said Norwich, for that the said she would pledge them of the same Cup that they drank on. For so saying, one Master Corbet of Sprowston by Norwich took her and sent her to the Chancellor. When the came before him, he asked her what the said unto the Sacrament of Christs Body. And the said, he did believe that it was the Sacrament of the Body of Christ. Yea, said the Chancellor, but what is that that the Priest holdeth over his head? She answered him and said, it is Bread: and if you make it any better, it is worse. At which words the Chancellor sent her to the Bishops Prison to the Keeper called Fellous, with many threatening and hot words, as a man being in a great chafe.

23. Sep. 23. Cicely Ormes Martyr.

The 23. day of July she was called before the Chancellor again, who fate in Judgment with Master Bridges and others. The Chancellor offered her, if her Bill, she was taken and sent to Prison as is before-said. She was burnt the 23. day of September, between seven and eight of this Clock in the

But the told him she would not consent to his wicked desire therein, do with her what he would; for if he should, the said, God would surely plague her. Then the Chancellor told her, he had shewed more favour to her, than ever he did to any, and that she was loth to condemn her, considering that she was an ignorant, unlearned, and foolish Woman. But she, not weighing his words, told him if he did, he should not be so delirious of her infidel faith, as the would (by Gods grace) be content to give it in to good quarrel. These words he read the bloody Sentence of Condemnation against her, and so delivered her to the Secular Power of the Sheriffs of the City, Mr. Thomas Substerton, and Mr. Leonard Substerton Brethren, who immediately carried her to the Guild-hall in Norwich, where she remained until her death.

This Cicely Ormes was a very simple Woman, but yet zealous in the Lords cause, being born in East Deram, and was there the Daughter of one Thomas Haund Taylor. She was taken the fifth day of July, and did for a twelvemonth before the was taken, recant; but never after was the quiet in Conscience, until she was utterly driven from all their Popery. Between the time that she recanted, and that she was taken, she had gotten a Letter made to give to the Chancellor, to let him know that she repented her recantation from the bottom of her heart, and would never do the like again while she lived. But before she exhibited this, her Bill, she was taken and sent to Prison as is before-said. She was burnt the 23. day of September, between seven and eight of this Clock in the

Anno 1557.

the morning, the said two Sheriffs being there, and of people to the number of 200. When the came to the stake, she kneeled down, and made her prayers to God: that being done, she rose up and said, Good People, I believe in God the Father, God the Son, and God the Holy Ghost, three persons and one God.

This do I not, nor will I recant, but I recant utterly from the bottom of my heart the doings of the Pope of Rome, and all his Popish Priests and shavings. I utterly refuse and never will have to do with them again by Gods Grace. And good people, I would you should not think of me that I believe to be saved in that I after my fall here under the Death for the Lords cause, but I believe to be saved by the Death and passion of Christ; and this my Death is and shall be a witness of my Faith unto you all here present. Good People, as many of you as believe as I believe, pray for me. Then she came to the stake, and laid her hand on it, and said, Welcome the Cross of Christ. Which being done, the looking on her hand, and seeing it blacked with the stake, she wiped it upon her smock, for she was burnt at the same stake that Simon Miller and Elizabeth Cooper was burnt at. Then after she had touched it with her hand, she came and kissed it, and said, Welcome the sweet Cross of Christ, and so gave her self to be bound thereto. After the Tormentors had kindled the fire to her, the said, My Soul dash magnify the Lord, and my Spirit rejoice in God my Saviour: and in so saying she let her hands together right against her breast, casting her eyes and head upward, and so stood, heaving up her hands by little and little, till the very finewes of her Arms did break slender, and then they fell; but she yielded her Life unto the Lord, as quietly as if she had been in a slumber, or as one feeling no pain; So wonderfully did the Lord work with her; his Name therefore be praised for evermore. Amen.

The trouble and disturbance among good Men and Women at Lichfield.

After the Death and Martyrdom of Mistress Joyce Lewys, a little above specified, diverse good Men and Women in the same Town of Lichfield were vexed and in trouble before the Bishop and his Chancellor, for killing the said Joyce Lewys, and drinking with her about the time of her Death: the names of which persons were these: Joane Love, Elizabeth Smith, Margaret Biddell, Helene Buring, Margaret Costesfate, Nicholas Bird, John Harrison and his Wife, Agnes Glyn, Agnes Glover, Agnes Penfather, &c. These with other were produced to their examination before the Bishop and his Chancellor for the cause above-said, and therefore adjudged for Heretics, for that they did pray and drink with the said Mistress Lewys, but especially Agnes Penfather sustained the most trouble, for that she accompanied the said Joyce Lewys going to her Death. Which Agnes being examined further of the said Bishop, what words she had spoken to two Priests of the Church of Lichfield, called John Alf and James Foxe, concerning the said Joyce Lewys after her burning, said, as follows, That the being asked by the said two Priests being at her Fathers House in the City of Lichfield, at such time as the came from the burning of the said Joyce Lewys, wherefore the said Agnes did weep for such an Heretic, she answered, Joyce Lewys, whose Soul they say they did was in Hell; the said Agnes Penfather to their demand made this answer, that she thought the said blessed Martyr to be in better case than the said two Priests were.

She wept for such an Heretic, she answered, Joyce Lewys, whose Soul they say they did was in Hell; the said Agnes Penfather to their demand made this answer, that she thought the said blessed Martyr to be in better case than the said two Priests were.

With the which words being charged and willed to submit her self as the other had done above-said, to such penance as they should enjoin unto her, she refused to do so, and therefore was commanded to close prison, the Sheriff being charged with her under pain of 100 pounds, that none should have any access unto her. At length, at the persuation of her Friends she was compelled to do as the other had done before. And thus much concerning things done at Lichfield.

The persecution and cruelty exercised by the Papists in the Dioceses of Chichester.

And now from Lichfield to come to Chichester, although we have but little to report thereof, for among the lack of certain relation and records of that Country, yet it seemeth no little trouble and persecution there also to have ranged, as in other Countries. For what place was there almost in all the Realm, where the Popes Ministers did not better them, murdering some or other, as in the Acts of this Ecclesiastical history may sufficiently appear? Wherefore as this plague of the Popes Tyranny was general to all other People and Countreies of England, so likewise in the Dioceses of Chichester, divers and many there were condemned and Martyr'd for the true Testimony of righteousness within the compass of Queen Marias Reign. In the number of whom were these:

John Veriman of Efigrensted.
John Warner of Berne.
Christian Grover of the Archdeaconry of Lewys.
Thomas Althorpe, Priest.
Thomas Avington of Erdingly.
Dennis Burges of Buxted.
Thomas Avington of Rie.
John Miller of Hellinghale.
Nicholas Holden of Withiam.
John Hart of Withiam.
Margery Morice of Hethfield.
Anne Try of Efigrensted.
John Oward of Woodmancote.
Thomas Harland of Woodmancote.
James Morice of Hethfield.
Thomas Douglas of Efigrensted.
John Althorpe of Katherfield.

Martyrs:

The greatest doer against these godly and true faithful Martyrs, and setters upon their condemnation, were these: Christopher the Bishop after Day, Richard Brisly Dr. of Laws, and Chancellor of Chichester, Robert Talar Bachelor of the Law his Deputy, Thomas Paccard Civilian, Amb. Clarke, Albene Longdale Bachelor of Divinity, &c.

The Examination of Thomas Spurdance one of Queens Maries Servants, before the Chancellor of Norwich.

The Bishop Chancellor did ask me if I had been with the Priest, and confessed my sins unto him. And I said, No, I had confessed my sins to God, and to God faith. In what hour (saith a sinner doth repent and be sorry for his sins, and ask him forgiveness, willing no more to do so, he will no more reckon his sin unto him, and that is sufficient for me.

Then said the Chancellor, Thou deniest the Sacrament of penance.

I said, I deny not penance, but I deny that I should have my sins unto the Priest.

Then said the Chancellor, that is a denying of the Sacrament of penance.

Write this Article.

Have you received the blessed Sacrament of the Altar (said he) at this time of Easter?

And I said, No.

And why have you not faith he?

I said, I dare not meddle with you in it, as you use it. Why, do we not use it truly, said he?

I said, No: for the Holy Supper of the Lord reserved for the Christian Congregation; and you are none of Christs Members; and therefore I dare not meddle with you, lest I be like unto you.

Why are we none of Christs Members, said the Chancellor?

I said, Because you teach Laws contrary to Gods Laws.

What Laws are those, said he?

I said, These three Articles that you swear the people unto here, be false and untrue, and you do evil to swear the people unto them.

Then

Then said he good people take no heed unto his words: for he is an Heretic, and teacheth you disobedience: and so he would no more speak of that matter.

Then said he, How believeth thou in the blessed Sacrament of the Altar: dost thou not believe that after it is consecrated, it is the very same Body that was born of the Virgin Mary?

I said, No, nor the same Body in substance: for the same Body hath a substance in Flesh, Blood and Bones, and was a bloody Sacrifice, and this is a dry Sacrifice.

And I said, Is the Mass a Sacrifice? It is which a Doctor answered that fare by him, it is a Sacrifice both for the Quick and the Dead. Then said I, No, it is no Sacrifice, for St. Paul faith, that Christ made one Sacrifice once for all: and I do believe in none other Sacrifice, but only in that one Sacrifice that our Lord Jesus Christ made once for all.

Then said the Doctor, That Sacrifice that Christ made, was a wet Sacrifice, and the Mass is a dry Sacrifice.

Then said I, that same dry Sacrifice is a Sacrifice of your own making, and it is your Sacrifice, it is none of mine.

Spurdance examined upon the Sacrament of the Altar.

Then said the Chancellor, He is an Heretic, he denieth the Sacrament of the Altar.

Then said I, Will ye know how I believe in the Holy Supper of our Lord?

And he said, Yea.

Then said I, I believe that if I come rightly and worthily as God hath commanded me, to the Holy Supper of the Lord, I receive him by Faith, by believing in him. Put the Bread being received is not God, nor the Bread that is yonder in the Pice is not God. God dwelleth not in Temples made with hands, neither will he be worshipped with the works of Mens hands. And therefore you do very evil to cause the People to kneel down and worship the Bread: for God did never bid you hold it above your heads, neither had the Apostles faith use.

Then said the Chancellor, He denieth the presence in the Sacrament. Write this Article also. He is a very Heretic.

Then said I, The Servant is not greater than his Mr. For your Predecessors killed my Master Christ, the Prophets and Apostles, and Holy Virtuous Men, and now you also kill the Servants of Christ, so that all the righteous Blood that hath been shed, even from righteous Abel, until this day, shall be required at your hands.

Well said the Chancellor, have him away.

Another Examination of Spurdance, before the Bishop in his house.

Another examination of the Spurdance before the Bishop.

The Bishop said, firrath, dost thou not believe in the Catholic Faith of Holy Church?

And I said, I believe Christs Catholic Church.

Yea said he, in Christs Church, of the which the Pope is the Head? dost thou not believe that the Pope is supreme Head of the Catholic Church?

And I said, No. I believe not that he should be above the Apostles, if he take them to be his Predecessors. For when there came a thought among the Apostles, who should be the greatest when their Master Christ was answered them unto their thoughts. *The Kings of the Earth bear dominion above others, but ye shall not so do, for he that will be greatest among you shall become servant unto you all.* How is it then (said I) that he will climb so high above his fellows? And also we were sworn in my Master King Henry's time, that we should to the uttermost of our power, never consent to him to gain. And therefore as he hath nothing to do here in England, so neither in his own country more, then a Bishop hath in his Diocese.

Luke 22.

Yea, said the Bishop, what of that? We were then in error and sin, now we are in the right way again and therefore thou must come home again with us, and know ledge thy fault, and become a Christian man, and be sworn unto the Pope as our Supreme Head. Will thou be sworn unto the Pope? How faich thou?

The Pope's Supremacy.

Then I said, No, I warrant you, by the grace of God not so long as I live. For you cannot prove by the Scripture that the Pope is Head of the Church, and may do therein what him listeth.

No said he? Yes I trow: for as the Belweather which weareth the Bell, is head of the Flock of Sheep, even so is the Pope the Head of the Church of Christ, when they are the Bees in the Hive have Master Bees, when they are gone out, to bring them home again to the Hive: even so the Pope when he be gone astray and wandered from the Fold, from the Hive, &c. then is ordained our Head by succession of Peter, to bring us home again to the true Church; so that you may good fellow, habd wandered long out of the way like a scattered sheep. Heared therefore that Belweather, the Master Bell, &c. and come home with us to thy mother the Church again.

Unto whom I answered, My Lord, all this is but natural reason, and no Scripture: but since ye cannot prove the Pope to be Authorized by Scripture, ye answer not me as I thought ye would.

Ha, said he, I fee well ye be stout, and will not be answered: therefore ye shall be compelled by Law what ye will or no.

My Lord, said I, fo did your Forefathers intreat Christ and his Apostles. They had a Law, and by their Law they put him to Death; and so likewise, you have alaw which is Tyranny, and by that would ye enforce me to believe as you do: but the Lord I trust will affitt me against all your beggarly Ceremonies, and make your foolishness known to all the world one day.

Then said he, when were ye at Church and went in Procession, and did the Ceremonies of the Church?

And I said, Never since I was born.

No said he? how old are you?

And I said, I think about xl.

Why, said he, How did you use your self at Church twenty years ago?

I said, As you do now.

And even now, said he, you said you did not use the Ceremonies since you were born.

No more I did, said I since I was born; as Christ said unto Nicodemus, *Except ye be born anew, ye cannot enter into the Kingdom of Heaven.*

Then said a Doctor that late by, he is a very Anabaptist: for that is their opinion plain.

No Sir, you say falsely, said I: for I am no Anabaptist: for they deny Children to be Baptized, and fo do not I.

Well, said the Bishop, why dost thou not go to the Church, and do the Ceremonies?

And I said, Because they be contrary to Gods Word and Laws, as at your self have taught: but now you say it is good again: and I think if there were a return to morrow, you would say that false again which you hold now. Therefore, I may well say, there is no Truth in you.

Then said the Bishop, thou art a stubborn fellow, and an Heretic, and a Traytor.

No, said I, I am no Traytor, for I have done, I think, better Service to the Crown imperial of England, than you.

If you had done good service (said he) you would be obedient to the Laws of the Realm.

So I am, said I. There is no Man alive (I thank God) that can accuse me justly that ever I was disobedient to any Civil Laws. But you must consider my Lord, that have a Soul and a Body, and my Soul is none of the Queens, but my Body and my goods are the Queens. And I must give God my Souland all that belongeth unto it, as I must do the Laws and Commandments of God; and whosoever Commandeth Laws contrary to Gods Laws, I may not do them for losing of my Soul, but must rather obey God than Man.

And hee said, Why dost thou not the Laws then? are they not agreeable to Gods Law?

And I said, No, you cannot prove them to be Gods Laws.

Yea, faith he, that I can.

Then said I, if you can prove by the Word of God that you should have any Graven Images made to sit in your Churches for lay Mens Books, or to worship God

Q. Mary.

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God by them, or that you should have any Ceremonies in your Church as you have, prove them by the Word of God, and I will do them.

Then, said he, it is a good and decent order to furnish the Church: as when you shall go to dinner, you have a cloth upon the Table to furnish the Table before the meat shall come upon it, so are these Ceremonies a comely, decent order to be in the Church among Christian People.

These, said I, are inventions and imaginations out of your own brain, without any Word of God to prove them. For God faith, Look what you think good in your own eyes, if I command the contrary, it is abominable in my sight. And these Ceremonies are against Gods Laws. For, Saint Paul faith, they be weak and beggarly, and rebuketh the Galatians for doing them.

Well, said he, if you will not do them, feeling they be the Laws of the Realm, you are an Heretic and disobedient: and therefore come home again and confess your faults with us, that you have been in error, &c. Will you do so?

And I said, No, I have been in no error: for the spiritual Laws were never trulier set forth then in my Master King Edwards time, and I trust unto God I shall never forsake them whilst I live.

Then came in a Gentleman to me and said, Are ye wiser than all Men? and have ye more knowledge than all Men will ye call away your soul willingly? My Lord and other Men also, would fain you would have your self: therefore choose fome Man where you will, either spiritual or temporal, and take a day, my Lord will give it you.

Then said I, if I love my life, I shall lose it; and if I lose my life for Christs sake, I shall find it in life everlasting. And if I take a day, when the day cometh, I must give then even as I do now, except I will lie, and therefore that needeth not.

Well, then have him away, said the Bishop.

This above named Thomas Spurdance was one of Queen Maries Servants, and was taken by two of his fellows, the said Queens Servants, named John Haman otherwise called Barker, and George Lojon, both dwellers in Coleman in the County of Suffolke, who carried him to one Mr. Gajnal, dwelling in the said Coleman, and by him he was sent to Bury, where he remained in prison, and afterwards burned in the Month of November.

The Story and Martyrdom of three constant witnesses of Christ.

Not long after the Martyrdom of the two good Women at Clacheffe, above named, were three faithful witnesses of the Lords Testament, and were sent to death in Smith-field at London, the eighteenth of November, in the year afore said, whose names hereafter follow:

John Hallingdale.
William Sparrow.
Richard Gibbon.

Which three were produced before Boner Bp. of London, the fifth day of November, 1557. and had by him and his officers certain Articles ministred unto them: the sum whereof hereafter followeth.

Articles ministred by Boner unto John Hallingdale.

Fifth, that the said John Hallingdale is of the Diocese of London, and so subject to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London.

Secondly, that the said John before the time of the Reign of K. Edward the sixth, late King of England, was of the same Faith and Religion that was then observed, believed, taught, and fit forth in the Realm of England.

Thirdly, that during the Reign of the said K. Edward the sixth, the said John Hallingdale, upon occasion of the preaching of certain Ministers in that time, did not abide in his former Faith and Religion, but did depart from it, and fo did and doth continue till this present day.

and fo determineth to do (as he faith) till his life end.

Fourthly, that the said John Hallingdale hath thought, believed, and spoken divers times that the Faith, Religion, and Ecclesiastical Service received, offered, and used now in this Realm of England, is not good and laudable, but against Gods Commandment and Maner especially concerning the Mass and the seven Sacraments; and that he the said John will not in any wise conform himself to the same, but speak and think against it during his natural life.

Fifthly, that the said John absteneth himself continually from his own Parish Church of St. Lemards, neither hearing Matins, Mass, nor Evensong, nor yet confessing his sins to the priest, or receiving the Sacrament of the Altar at his hands, or using other Ceremonies as they are now used in this Church and Realm of England; and as he remembereth, he never came but once in the Parish Church of St. Leonard, and careth not (as he faith) if he never come there any more, the Service being as it is there, and so many abuses being there, as he faith there are, especially the Mass, the Sacraments, and the Ceremonies and Service set forth in Latine.

Sixthly, that the said John, whose Wife, called Alice, was brought in bed of a Man Child, caused the said Child to be Christened in English, after the same manner and form in all points, as it was used in the time of the Reign of K. Edward the sixth afore said, and caused it to be called Tynges, and would not have the said Child Christened in Latine after the form and Maner as it is now used in the Church and Realm of England, nor will he by his will (as he faith) to be confirmed by the Bishop.

Unto all which Articles the said John Hallingdale was answered by true and faying, that he would not revoke his said Answers, but stand unto them according as iv as in every Article above written.

Furthermore, the said John Hallingdale, being demanded by the said Boner, whether he did firmly believe that dead in the Sacraments, commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar, there is really and truly the very Body and Blood of our Saviour Christ, or no; made answer, that he neither in the time of the said K. Edward the sixth, nor at that present did believe, that in the said Sacrament there is really the very Body and Blood of Christ. For he said, that if he had so believed, he would (as others had done) have received the same, which he did not, because he had and then did believe, that the very Body of Christs only in Heaven, and no where else. And furthermore the said John Hallingdale said, that Cranmer, Latimer, Ridley, Hooper, and generally all that of late have been burned for Heretics, were no Heretics at all, because they did preach truly the Gospel; upon whole preaching he grounded his Faith and Confidence, as he said, according to the faying of S. John in the 18. Chapter of his Revelation, where he faith, That the Blood of the Prophets, and of the Saints, and of all that were slain upon Earth, was found in the Babylonian Church, by the which, he said, is understood the Church where the Pope is the head.

After which Examination, the said John was sent unto John Hallingdale Prison again. And the next day, being the sixth day of the said Month, he was called before the Bishop again, for his persisting him with some wretched sentences of the Scripture, the said John Hallingdale answered, Because I will not (faith he) come to your Babylonian Church, therefore (speaking unto Boner) you go about to condemn me. And being of Boner further demanded, whether he would persevere and stand in his Opinions or no; he made answer, that he would continue and persevere unto the Death. Then Boner read the bloody Sentence of Condemnation. At which time the said John read against the said Sentence, and faying, that he never came into the Church since the Abomination came into it: and so he was sent to Prison again.

Upon the sixth day, day also in the forenoon, was produced before the Bishop the forenamed William Sparrow and had laid unto him certain Articles, which hereafter follow.

Articles ministred by Boner unto John Hallingdale.

Fifth, that the said John Hallingdale is of the Diocese of London, and so subject to the jurisdiction of the Bishop of London.

Secondly, that the said John before the time of the Reign of K. Edward the sixth, late King of England, was of the same Faith and Religion that was then observed, believed, taught, and fit forth in the Realm of England.

Thirdly, that during the Reign of the said K. Edward the sixth, the said John Hallingdale, upon occasion of the preaching of certain Ministers in that time, did not abide in his former Faith and Religion, but did depart from it, and fo did and doth continue till this present day.

Articles

Articles ministered by Boner unto William Sparrow.

First, that thou *William Sparrow* wait in times past detected and preferred lawfully unto thy Ordinary, the Bishop of London, called *Edmund*, who also is now thine Ordinary of the said Diocese, and thou wait presented and detected unto him for Heresies, Errors, unlawful Opinions, which thou didst believe, set forth, and hold.

2 Secondly, that thou before the said Ordinary didst openly and justly confute the said Heresies, Errors, and unlawful Opinions, as appereth plainly in the Acts of the Court, had made before the said Ordinary.

3 Thirdly, that thou after the premises, didst make thy Submission in writing, and didst exhibit and deliver the same as thy deed, to thy said Ordinary, openly confessing and recognizing thy Heresies, Errors, unlawful Opinions, and thine offences and transgressions in that behalf.

4 Fourthly, that thou after the premises, didst promise unto thy said Ordinary voluntarily and of thine own mind, that always after the said Submission, thou wouldst in all points conform thy self unto the common order of the Catholic Church observed and kept here in this Realm of England, and in no wise fall again to Heresies, Errors, or unlawful Opinions.

5 Fifthly, that thou since thy said Submission, hast willingly fallen into certain Heresies and Errors, and hast holden and set forth diverse unlawful Opinions, to the right great hurt of thine own Soul, and also to the great hindrance and loss of diverse others, especially against the Sacrament of the Altar, against Confession auricular, and other the Sacraments of the Catholic Church.

6 Sixthly, that thou since the said Commencement, hast willingly gone about divers places within the Diocese of London, and fold diverse Heretical, Erroneous and Blasphemous Balleets about, and wast apprehended and taken with the said Balleets about these, and committed to prison.

Unto all which Articles the said William Sparrow answered in effect, as hereafter followeth.

To the first, second, third, and fourth Articles he answered affirmatively, as thus: That he was presented and detected to *Boner*, unto whom he made his Submission, &c. as in the Articles.

To the fifth Article he answered, That if he had spoken against them, he had spoken but the truth: for they be naught, meaning the Contents of the said Article.

To the sixth, he granted to the Article, adding, that he did sell the said Balleets then shewed and read before him, and that the same did contain Gods Word.

After which Answers, the said William Sparrow was sent unto prison. And the same day in the afternoon, being produced before the Bishop again, and there charged with his said Submission, made the year before unto the Bishop, he answered thus; I am sorry (said he) that ever I made it, and it was the worst deed that ever I did: adding further unto them, Hold up your Abomination so long as you can. Also being laid unto him, and charged by the Bishop that he went to Church, and there was confuted as heard Mass: the said William Sparrow made answer and confessed, that he did so, but with a troubled Conscience he said, God knoweth. And speaking further to the Bishop, he said, That which you call truth, I do believe (said he) to be Heresie. And also the Bishop charging him again with the Contents of the fifth Article above named, he answered, that he had done as, as contained in the said Article, and so will do again if he were at liberty. And being further demanded of *Boner*, whether he would persist and continue in the same, or no: he made answer, that he would not go from his Opinions: And adding thereto, he said, That which you call it (speaking to the Bishop) is good and godly, and if every hair of my head were a Man (said he) I would burn them all, rather than go from the truth.

Then being demanded what ground of learning he had to cleave to his Opinions: he made answer and said, That all the Laws now used (meaning the Ecclesiastical Laws) are taught and abominable. And further, thereunto he said, That the Mass is taught and abominable, &c. Which words being spoken, the Bishop immediately read the Sentence of Condemnation unto him, and so delivered him to the Secular Power, by whom he was sent to Prison again.

Richard Gibson, Martyr.

With the other two above named, suffered also in the same fire *Richard Gibson*, who first was called unto the Counter in the Poultry (where he had been prisoner by the space of two years for Suretyship in a matter of debt, and then stood upon his deliverance) then upon suspension and evil will was accused to *Boner*, for that in the Prison he was never confuted, nor received at the Popish Altar: by reason whereof he was called for, and furnished divers and sundry conflicts and examinations in the cause of his Faith and Religion. But first he seemed to make a certain Submission, which also he exhibited with the other 3 above mentioned, but because it seemed something to differ in words from the other, it appereth not to be received: or whether it was received or no, it is not fully certain. This is certain, that although his Submission was in the Bishops Register recorded, yet he was not delivered out from imprisonment till the day of his burning. The Articles first objected and ministered unto him by the Bishop, were these:

Articles objected and ministered to Richard Gibson by Boner Bishop of London.

First, that the said Richard Gibson, prisoner in the Counter in the Poultry in the Diocese of London, hath otherwise than became a faithful Christian Man, a good Subject of this Realm of England behaved himself in words and deeds in diverse conditions and points, contrary to the Order, Religion, and Faith of Christs Catholic Church, and contrary to the Order of this Realm, to the pernicious and evil example of the Inhabitants of the City of London, and the Prisoners of the Prison of the said Counter in the Poultry, and greatly to the hurt and damage of his own Soul, offending especially in the Articles following: By reason whereof the said *Richard Gibson* was and of the jurisdiction of the said Bishop of London, and subject to the said jurisdiction, to make answer to his offences and transgressions under writing, according to the order of the Law.

2 Secondly, that the said *Richard Gibson* hath unreverently spoken against the Pope, and See and Church of Rome, and likewise against the whole Church of this Realm of England, and against the seven Sacraments of the Catholic and whole Church of Christendom, and against the Articles of the Christian Faith here observed in this Realm of England, and against the commendable and laudable Ceremonies of the Catholic Church.

3 Thirdly, that the said *Richard Gibson* hath committed, allowed, defended, and liked, both *Cramer*, *Latimer*, *Ridley*, and also all other Heretics here in this Realm of England, according to the Ecclesiastical Laws condemned for Heretics, and also liked all their Heretical and Erroneous, Damnable and Wicked Opinions especially against the Sacrament of the Altar, and the Authority of the Pope and See of Rome, with the whole Religion thereof.

4 Fourthly, that the said *Richard Gibson* hath comforted, aided, assisted and maintained both by words, and otherwise, Heretics and Erroneous persons, or at the least suspected and informed of Heresies and Errors condemned by the Catholic Church, to continue in their Heretical and Erroneous Opinions aforesaid, favouring and counselling the same unto his power.

5 Fifthly, that the said *Gibson* hath affirmed and said, that the Religion and Faith commonly observed, kept, and used now here in this Realm of England, is not *displeasing* good and laudable, nor in any wise agreeable unto Gods Word and Commandment.

6 Sixthly

6 Sixthly, That the said *Gibson* hath affirmed, that the English Service, and the Books, commonly called the Books of Communion, or Common Prayer, here set forth in this Realm of England in the time of *K. Edward* the sixth, were in all parts and points good and godly, and that the same only, and no other, ought to be observed and kept in this Realm of England.

7 Seventhly, That the said *Gibson* hath affirmed, that if he may once be out of Prison and at Liberty, he will not come to any Parish Church, or Ecclesiastical Place, to hear Mass, Evening, or any Divine Service now used in this Realm of England, nor come to Procession upon times and days accustomed, nor bear at any time any Taper or Candle, nor receive at any time Almes, nor bear at any time Palm, nor receive Pax at Mass time, nor receive holy Water, nor holy Bread, nor observe the Ceremonies or Utiages of the Catholic Church, here observed or kept commonly in this Realm of England.

8 Eighthly, That the said *Gibson* hath affirmed, that he is not bound at any time, though he have liberty, and the presence of a Priest convenient and meet, to confess his sins to the said Priest, nor to receive the Absolution of his sins at his hands, nor to receive of him the Sacrament, commonly called the Sacrament of the Altar, after such form as is now used within this Realm of England.

9 Ninthly, That the said *Gibson* hath affirmed, that he praver unto Saints, or prayers for the dead, are not laudable, available, or profitable; and that no man is bound at any time or in any place to fast or pray, but only at his own will and pleasure, and that it is not lawful to refuse or keep the said Sacrament of the Altar, nor in any wise to adore and worship it.

The greatest matter which he was charged withal, was for not coming to Confession, being thereunto required, for not receiving of the Sacraments of the Popish making, and for that he would not swear to answer unto their interrogatories laid against him: hereafter his first Examination he continued in the foresaid Prison of the *Compter* a good space, from the Month of May unto November, at what time he was again produced against the final Examination Judiciary. Where is to be noted, that Mr. *Gibson* being a very big and tall man, of a personable and Heroical Stature, was sent for of *Boner* by a little and short person, a Promoter, like *Robin Papiſſ*, called *Robin Caley*, if it were not he himself.

This *Robin Caley*, having the conducting of the said Gentleman from the Poultry, would needs hale him thowr Cheapſide, the Gentleman desiring him to turn home other way. But the more the Gentleman intreated, the more force was the filly *Jack* upon him; and drawing and holding him by the Arm, would needs hale him thowr the High-street, that all the World might see what he could do in his Office. Mr. *Gibson*, desirous to be led without holding, walked and intreated him to let him where he would, only craving that he might go by him freely without noting of the People.

The faucy and impotent *Mike* the Promoter hearing this, who was scarce able to reach to his shoulders: Nay (said he) thou shalt not escape me, come on thy ways. Thou shalt not choose but come; and so reaching at his Arm, would needs drag him unto the Bishop. The Gentleman content to go, yet loth to be noticed in the Streets, gently requested again and again; that refraining his hold, he would suffer him to go of his own free and voluntary will; he should not need to fear him, for he would not hurt from him. To whom the Catfish, looking up to his face, Come on thy way (said he) I will hold thee fast, spite of thy Beard, and whether thou wilt or no.

Mr. *Gibson* seeing and beholding the intolerable bragging of the wretched *Mike*, and moved therewith not a mite, could bear no longer; but said, Wilt thou, said he? and added moreover, bitterly looking down towards him, and said, if he did not incontinently pluck away his hand (and so stayed withal) he would immediately wring his neck from his Body. Whereupon *Robin Papiſſ* the Promoter was fain to pluck away his hold, and so proceeded they

unto the Bishop there to be examined again before him.

After this, another day being assigned him to appear again, much talk passed between him and *Darbyshire*, then Chancellor. But in fine, being required to swear that he should answer unto all things the World would demand; he denied to answer unto all things the Bishop should command him as Ordinary: for he is not (said he) mine Ordinary, and so bade him go tell the Bishop. Before the which Bishop he then came, then commanded to appear the Friday next following, was brought unto the Justice-Hall without *Newgate*, where he had the like Conflicts with the foresaid Bishop and divers other Justices. At length he was assigned the Saturday following to be present in the Bishops Consistory Court, to hear his final Sentence. At which day and place, the said Examinee appearing as he was commanded, the Bishop after other matter of communication, asked him if he knew any cause why the Sentence should not be read against him. To whom the said Mr. *Gibson* answered, That the Bishop had nothing wherefore justly to condemn him. The Bishops reason was again objected to him, That men said he was an evil man. To whom *Gibson* replying again; Yea, faith he, and so may I say of you also. To be short, after this and such other talk, the Bishop halted unto the Sentence. Which being read, *Gibson* yet again admonished him to remember himself, and to save his Soul, for that he would not hear the Bishops hearing; and said moreover, boldly protesting and affirming that he was contrary, and an Enemy to them all in his mind and opinion; although he had afore time kept it secret in mind, for fear of the Law. And speaking to the Bishop, Blessed be he, am I, that am cured at your hands. We have nothing now, but thus will I: For as the Bishop said, so must it be. And no Heresie is to turn the truth of Gods Word into lies, and that do you, meaning the Bishop and his Fellows.

This valiant Souldier, fighting for the Gospel and sincere Doctrine of Christs Truth and Religion, against Falshood and Error, was committed, with his Fellows, to the Secular Power.

And to these three godly men, *John Hallingdale*, *William Sparrow*, and Mr. *Gibson*, being thus appointed to the slaughter, were the twelfth day after their Condemnation (which was the 18th day of the Month of November) burnt in *Smithfield* in London. And being brought thither to the stake after their prayer made, they were bound therewith with Chains, and Wood feet unto them, and after Wood, fire, in the which being compassed about, and the fiery flames consuming their flesh, at the last they yielded gloriously and joyfully their Souls and Lives into the holy hands of the Lord, to whose tuition and government I commend thee, good Reader. Amen.

It is a little above declared in this story of *Richard Gibson*, how *Boner* ministered unto the said *Gibson* certain Articles, to the number of nine. Now let us see likewise the Articles which the said *Gibson* ministered again to *Boner*, according to the same number of nine, for him to answer unto, as by the same hereunder written may appear.

Articles proposed by Richard Gibson unto Edmund Boner Bishop of London, by him to be answered, if ye are nay, or else to say he cannot tell.

1 Whether the Scriptures of God, written by *Moses* and the holy Prophets of old, be the true Faith that is in Christ Jesus, be available Doctrine, to make all men in all things unto Salvation learned, without the help of any other Doctrine, or no?

2 What is Authority, and from whence it cometh, and to whom it appertaineth, and to what end it tendeth?

3 Whether the holy Word of God, as it is written, doth sufficiently teach all men, of what dignity, estate, or calling by office (soever he or they be, their full, true, and lawful duty in their Office; and whether every man, of what dignity, estate, or calling by office (soever he or they be, are bound upon the pain of eternal damnation, in all things to do as they are hereby taught and commanded, and in no wise to leave undone any thing that is to be done, being taught and commanded by the same?

4. Whether any Man, the Lord Jesus Christ, God and Man only except, by the Holy Ordinance of God ever was, is, or shall be Lord over Faith, and by whose lawful authority of any Man, of what dignity, or by whose lawful authority of God, or of any of them, or any part of them?

6. By what evident tokens Antichrist in his Ministers may be known; seeing it is written, that Satan can change himself into the limelight of an Angel of light; and his Ministers fashion themselves as though they were the Ministers of righteousness; and how it may be known to him that it is devious thereof, when he is one of that number, or in the danger thereof, or when he is otherwise?

7. What the Beast is, the which maketh war with the Saints of God and doth not only kill them, but also suffer none to bury nor fill, but such as worship him, or receive his mark in their right hands, or in their foreheads, his Name, or the number of his Name, or do worship his Images, which by the just and terrible Sentence of God already decreed, shall be perished in Fire and Brimstone, before the Holy Angels, and before the Lambs; and they shall have no rest day nor night, but the smoke of their torment shall ascend up for evermore! And what the gorgeous and glittering Whore is, the which sitteth upon the Beast, with a Cup of Gold in her hand full of abominations, with whom the Kings of the Earth have committed fornication, and the Inhabitants of the Earth, and she her self is drunken with the Blood of the Saints, which is the Wine of her Fornication, whose Flesh is the horns of the Beast, that tear in pieces, and burn her with Fire. For God hath put in their hearts to do his will?

8. Whether a King over all those people which are born and inhabit within his own Dominions, Regions and Countries, or any part of them, of what dignity, estate, or calling by Office forever they be, here upon this earth immediately under Christ, by the Holy Ordinance of God, is lawful, supreme, and chief Governor, or no? And whether a King over all those people within his Dominions, Regions, and Countries and every part of them, by the Holy Ordinance of God, lawfully may, and ought not otherwise to do, nor suffer otherwise to be done, than in his own name, power, and authority (the Name of God only except) lawful, supreme, and chief Head in all things that belong to rule, without exception, to govern and rule? And whether all those people, of what dignity, estate, or calling forever they be, are bound by the Holy Ordinance of God, to owe their whole obedience and service in all things without exception (their duty to God only excepted) to their King only, as to the supreme and chief Governor upon Earth immediately under Christ. And whether a King without offence against God and his people, may give away, and not himself use of his Authority and Power given him of God, or lawfully may, without offence to God and his people (after knowledge thereof had) suffer himself by Force or guile, or by any other unlawful mean, to be beguiled, defrauded, and spoiled thereof? And whether any Subject of what dignity, estate, or calling forever he or they be, without offence to God and to his King, to the diminishing or derogation of the Supreme Prerogative of his Majesty, may any part thereof, may do ought, or after knowledge thereof had, without offence to God and to his King, may conceive the same?

9. Whether the Holy written Law of God be given of God unto all Men, of what dignity, estate, or calling by Office forever they be, as well thereby to govern all their Dominions, Regions and Countries, and their people therein inhabiting, as themselves; and whether any Law or Laws (the Holy Law of God only excepted) not being made within any Dominion, Region, or Country whereas it or they be used, may be lawfully used before it or they be, as the lawful Law or Laws of the same Dominion, Region, or Country, by public and common order of the same Dominion, Region, or Country

lawfully allowed; and whether any Subject without offence against God and his King, within the Dominion of his King, may lawfully use any such Law or Laws not so allowed?

Emanuel.

Ascribe unto the Lord, O ye mighty, ascribe unto the Lord, worship and strength: give unto the honour of his Name, and bow yourselves to the Majesty of the Lord.

I will hearken what the Lord God will say: for he shall speak peace unto his people, that they turn not themselves unto foolishness. This 6. of April 1557.

By me Richard Gibson.

The Death and Martyrdom of John Rough, Minister, and Margaret Meating, burned at London the xxvi. of December.

In this furious time of persecution, were also burned these two constant and faithful Martyrs of Christ, John Rough a Minister, and Margaret Meating.

This Rough was born in Scotland, who (as himself confesseth in his answers to Bonaer's Articles) because some of his kindred would have kept him from his right of inheritance which he had to certain Lands, did at the age of xvii. years, in despite (and the rather to displease his friends) profess himself into the order of the black Friars at Sterling in Scotland; a sudden change, where he remained the space of 16. years, until such time as the Realm of Scotland, after casting a favour unto him, did use unto the Archbishop of S. Andrews, to have him out of his professed order, that as a secular Priest he might serve him for his Chaplain. At which request the Archbishop caused the Provincial of that House, having thereto Authority, to dispense with him for his habit and order.

This suit being thus by the Earl obtained, the said Rough remained in his service, one whole year; during which time it pleased God to open his eyes, and to give him some knowledge of his truth, and thereupon was by the said Governor sent to Preach in the freedom of Ayr, where he continued four years, and then after the death of the Cardinal of Scotland, he was appointed to abide at Saint Andrews, and there had assigned unto him a yearly pension of twenty pound from King Henry the eighth, King of England. Howbeit, at last weighing with himself his own danger, and also abhorring the Idolatry and Superstition of the Country, and hearing of the freedom of the Gospel which in this Realm of England, he determined with himself not to tarry any longer there: And therefore soon after the Battle of Muldsborough, he came first unto Carlisle, and from thence unto the Duke of Somerset, then Lord Protector of England, and by his assignment had appointed unto him out of the Kings Treasurie twenty pounds of yearly stipend, and was sent (as a preacher) to serve at Carlisle, Barwick, and Newcastle. From whence (after he had there according to the Laws of God and also of this Realm, taken a Country Woman of York to Wife) he was called by the Archbishop of York that then was, unto a Benefice nigh in the Town of Hull, where he continued until the death of that Blessed and good King Edward the sixth.

But in the beginning of the Reign of Queen Mary (perceiving the alteration of Religion, and the persecution which would thereafter arise, and feeling his own weakness) he fled with his wife into Friesland, and dwelt there at a place called Norder, labouring truly for his living, in knitting of Caps, Hofs, and such like things, till about the end of the Month of October last before his death, which time, lacking yare, and other such necessary provision for the maintenance of his occupation, he came over again into England, here to provide for the same, and the tenth day of November arrived at London. Where, hearing of the fierce society, and holy Congregation of Gods Children there assembled, he joyed himself unto

unto them, and afterwards being elected their Minister and Preacher, did continue most veraciously exercised in that Godly fellowship, teaching and confirming them in the truth of the Gospel of Christ. But in the end (such was the providence of God, who disposeth all things to the best) the twentieth day of December, he with Cuthbert Symon and others, through the craft and traitorous suggestion of a false Hypocrite and dissembling Brother, called Roger Sergeant a Taylor, were apprehended by the Vicechamberlain of the Queens House, at the Saracens Head in Illington; where the Congregation had then purposed to assemble themselves to their Godly and accountable exercises of Prayer, and hearing the Word of God: which pretence, for the safeguard of all the rest, they yet at their examinations covered and excused, by hearing of a play that was then appointed to be at that place. The Vicechamberlain, after he had apprehended them, carried Rough and Symon unto the Council, who charged them to have assembled together to celebrate the Communion or Supper of the Lord, and therefore after sundry examinations, they sent the said Rough unto Newgate; but his examinations they sent unto the Bishop of London, with a Letter signed with their hands: the copy whereof followeth.

A Letter sent from the Queens Council unto Bonaer Bishop of London, touching the examination of John Rough, Minister.

After our hearty commendations to your good Lordship, we send you here inclosed the examination of a South Man named John Rough, who by the Queens Majesties commandment a prentice sent to Newgate, being of the chief of them that upon Sunday last, under the colour of coming to see a play at the Saracens Head in Illington, had prepared a Communion to be celebrated and received there among certain other Sedition and Heretical Persons. And forasmuch as by the said Roughs examination, containing the Story and progress of his former life, will appear of what sort he is; the Queens Highness hath willed us to remit him unto your Lordship, to the end that being called before you out of Prison, as oft as your Lordship shall think good, you may proceed, both to his further examination and otherwise, according to his own conscience, to the end that he shall require, and thus we bid your Lordship heartily well to fare. From Saint James the 15. day of December, 1557.

Your Lordships loving friends.

Nicholas Ebat.

F. Shrewsbury.

Edward Hastings.

Anthony Mounieage.

John Bourne.

Henry Iernegan.

Bonaer, now minding to make quick dispatch, did within three days after the receipt of the Letter (the 18. day of December) send for the Rough out of Newgate, and in his Palace at London ministered unto him 12. Articles; many whereof because they contain only questions of the Profession and Religion of that age, wherein both he and his Parents were Christianized (which in sundry places are already mentioned) I do here for brevity omit; minding to touch such only, as pertain to matters of Faith now in controversy, and then chiefly objected against the Martyrs and Saints of God, which in effect are these.

First, that thou John Rough didst directly speak against the Sacraments, used commonly with us. Verily, as these things of estimation and great worthiness in the Catholic Church, and also didst reprove and condemn the substance of the said Sacraments, but especially the Sacrament of the Altar, affirming that in that time is not really and truly the very Body and Blood of Christ, and that confession to the Priest, and absolution given by him (as the Minister of Christ) for sins is not necessary or available in any wise.

Item, thou hast milked and reproved the Religion and Ecclesiastical Service, as it is now used in this

Realm, and hath allowed the Religion and Service used in the later years of King Edward the sixth to much as in these hath layn, hath by word, writing, and deed, set forwards, taught, and preached the same openly, and in sundry places affirmed, that the said English Service and Doctrine therein contained, is agreeable in all points to Gods Word, and unto the truth, condemning utterly the Latin Service now used in the Queens Reign, and inducing others by this example to do the like.

Item, thou hast in sundry places within this Realm commended and approved the Opinion and Doctrine of The Cranmer, late Archbishop of Canterbury, Nicholas Ridley and Hugh Latimer, concerning the Sacrament of the Altar, affirming that in the Sacrament there remaineth, after the words of Consecration, material Bread, and material Wine, without any Transubstantiation.

Item, that thou hast in sundry places of this Realm, since the Queens Reign, ministered and received the Communion as it was used in the late days of King Edward the 6. and thou knowest, or creditably hast heard of divers, that yet do keep Books of the said Communion and used the same in private Houses out of the Church and are of Opinion against the Sacrament of the Altar.

Item, that thou in sundry places of this Realm hast spoken against the Pope of Rome, and his Apostolic See, and hast plainly contemned and defied the Authority of the same, milked and not allowing the Faith and Doctrine thereof, but directly speaking against it, and by thine example hast induced other Subjects of this Realm, to speak and do the like.

Item, thou dost know, and hast been conversant with all, or a great part of such English Men as have fled out of this Realm for Religion, and hast confuted and agreed with them in their Opinions, and hast flogged, maintained, and helped them, and hast been a conveyer of their Seditious Letters, and Books into this Realm.

Item, that thou hast said, that thou hast been at Rome, and tarried there about thirty days or more, and that thou hast seen little good or none there, but very much evil. Amongst the which thou wastest one great Abomination, that is to say, a Man (or the Pope) that should go on the ground, to be carried upon the Shoulders of four Men, as though he had been God and so. Moreover, a Cardinal to have his Harlot riding openly behind him: And thirdly, a Pope Bull, that gave express licence to have and use the Stews, and to keep open Bawdry by the Popes approbation and authority.

Item, that thou, since thy last coming into England out of the parts beyond the Sea, hast perniciously allured and comforted divers of the Subjects of this Realm, both young men, old men and women, to have and use the Book of Communion, set forth in this Realm, in the later days of King Edward the sixth, and hast also thyself read and let forth the same, causing others to do the like, and to leave their coming to the Parish Churches to hear the Latin Service now used.

Item, that thou on the third Sunday of Advent the 12. day of this December 1557. wast apprehended at the Saracens Head at Illington, in the County of Middlesex, and Diocese of London, by the Queens Vicechamberlain, with one Cuthbert a Taylor, Hugh a Hoiser, and divers other there assembled, under the colour of hearing a play, to have read the Communion Book, and to have used the accustomed fashion, as was in the later days of King Edward the sixth.

The Answer of John Rough, to the fore said Articles.

To the first he said and confessed, that he had spoken against the number of the said Sacraments, being fully persuaded that there be but only two Sacraments, to wit, Baptism, and the Supper of the Lord; and as for the other five, he denied them to be Sacraments; and therefore hath spoken against them. And as touching the Sacrament of the Altar (which he had called the Supper of the Lord) he confessed that he had spoken and taught, that in the said Sacrament there is not really and substantially the very Body & Blood of Christ, but that the substance of Bread and Wine doth remain in the

ferently handled among them. Whereupon to one of her Friends in a heart, the threatened to remove them all. But the Providence of God was otherwise. For the Sunday after, Mr. *Rough* being taken by the Information of one *Roger Sergeant* to the Bishop of London (as hereafter thou shalt hear) was laid Prisoner in the Gatehouse at Westminster, where none of his Friends could come to visit him. Then this said *Margaret*, hearing thereof, got her a Basket, and a clean Shirt in it, and went to Westminster, where she, resigning her self to be his Sisters grief to the Prison to him, and did there to her power not a little comfort him.

Then coming abroad again, the understanding that the Congregation suspected the said *Sergeant* to be his Promoter, went to his House, and asked whether *Judas* dwelt no such. No, said he? Dwelleth not *Judas* here that betrayed Christ? his name is *Sergeant*. When the law could not speak with him, he went her way. So the Friday after, the hanging at *Mark-lane* end in London, with another Woman, a Friend of hers, *Clancy*, *Boner*, Sumner, coming in the Street towards her House. Whom when the law, the said to the other Woman standing with her, Whither goeth yonder fine Fellow, said he? I think surely he goeth to my House; and in viewing him fully, at the last the law him enter in at her door. So immediately she went home, and asked him whom he sought. Whence *Clancy* made answer and said, for you; you must go with me. *Mary* (quoth the law I am; I will go with you; and coming to the Bishop, the was laid in Prison, and the Wednesday

after burnt with Mr. *Rough* in Smithfield, as ye have heard.

Anno 1578.

The suffering and cruel Torments of Cutbert Symfon, Deacon of the Christian Congregation in London, in Queen Maryes days, wait patiently awaiting the cruel rage of the Papist for Christs sake.

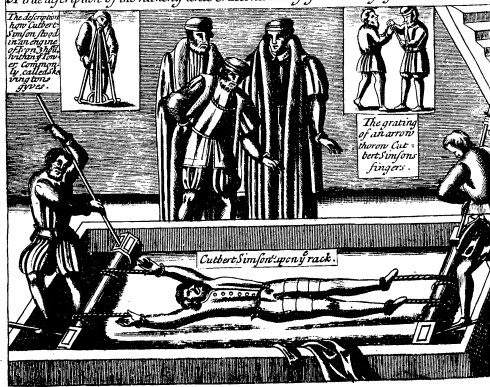
Next after the Martyrdom of Mr. *Rough* Minister of the Congregation above mentioned, succeeded in like Martyrdom the Deacon also of that godly Congregation, being committed to the fire, the Year of our Lord 1578, the 28. day of March.

This *Cutbert Symfon* was a man of a faithful and zealous heart to Christ and his true Flock, of whom he never ceased labouring, and studying most carefully, not only how to preserve them without corruption of the Popish Religion, but also his care was very vigilant, how to keep them together without peril or danger of persecution. The pains, travel, zeal, patience, and fidelity of this man, in caring and providing for this Congregation, as it is not lightly to be expressed; so is it wonderful to behold the Providence of the Lord by visions, concerning the troubles of this faithful Minister and godly Deacon, as in this here following may appear.

The Friday at night before Mr. *Rough* Minister of the Congregation (of whom mention is made before) taken, being in his Bed he dreamed, that he saw two of

The vision seen by Mr. *Rough* before his death.

A true description of the racking and cruell handling of Cutbert Symfon in the Tower.



the Guard leading *Cutbert Symfon* Deacon of the said Congregation, and that he had the Book about him, wherein were written the names of all them which were of the Congregation. Whereupon being fore troubled, he awaked, and called his Wife, saying, *Kate*, strike a light, for I am much troubled with my Brother *Cutbert* this night. When she had so done, he gave himself to read in his Book a while, and there feeling sleep to come upon him, he put out the Candle, and so gave himself again to rest. Being asleep, he dreamed a like dream again; and, awaked therewith, he said, Oh *Kate*, my Brother *Cutbert* is gone. So they lighted a Candle again, and rose. And as the said Mr. *Rough* was making him ready to go to *Cutbert* to see how he did, in the mean time the said *Cutbert* came in with the Book containing

the names and accounts of the Congregation. Whom when Mr. *Rough* had seen, he said, Brother *Cutbert*, ye are welcome: for I have been fore troubled with you this night, and so told him his dream. After he had so done, he willed him to lay the Book away from him, and to carry it no more about him. Unto which *Cutbert* answered, he would not so do: for dreams, he said, were but phantasies, and not to be credited. Then Mr. *Rough* strictly charged him in the name of the Lord to do it. Whereupon the said *Cutbert* took such Notes out of the Book, as he had willed him to do, and immediately left the Book with Mr. *Rough*'s Wife.

The next day following, in the night, the said Mr. *Rough* had another dream in his sleep concerning his

The vision seen by Mr. *Rough* before his death.

Anno anno trouble. The matter whereof was this. He thought in his dream that he was carried himself forcibly to the Bishop, and that the Bishop plucked off his Beard, and cast it into the fire, saying these words, Now I may lay I have had a piece of an Heretic burned in my House; and so accordingly it came to pass.

Now to return to *Cutbert* again; as we have touched something concerning these visions, for now remaineth to story also of his pains and sufferings upon the Rack, and otherwise, like a good *Lawrence* for the Congregations sake, as he wrote it with his own hand.

A true Report how he was used in the Tower of London, being first thrust by the Council, the thirtieth day of December.

ON the Thursday after, I was called into the Wardrobe, before the Constable of the Tower, and the Recorder of London Mr. *Cholmley*; they commanded me to tell, whom I did will come to the English Service. I answered, I would declare nothing. Whereupon I was fet in a Rack of Iron, the space of three hours as I judged.

Then they asked me if I would tell them. I answered as before. Then was I locked, and carried to my lodging again. On the Sunday after I was brought into the same place again before the Lieutenant and the Recorder of London, and they examined me. As before I had said, I answered. Then the Lieutenant did swear by God I should tell. Then did they bind my two fore-fingers together, and put a small Arrow betwixt them, and drew it through to fast that the blood followed, and the Arrow brake.

Then they racked me twice. Then was I carried to my Lodging again, and ten days after the Lieutenant asked me if I would not confess, which before they had asked me. I said, I had said as much as I would. Then five weeks after he sent me unto the High Priest, where I was greatly afflicted, and at whose hand I received the Popes Curse; for bearing witness of the Resurrection of Jesus Christ. And thus I commend you unto God, and to the Word of his Grace, with all them that unspiciouly upon the Name of Jesus, desiring God of his endless mercy, through the Merits of his dear Son Jesus Christ, to bring us all to his everlasting Kingdom, Amen. I praise God for his great mercy shewed upon us. Sing *Glory* unto the Highest with me *Cutbert Symfon*. God forgive me my sins. I ask all the World forgiveness, and I do forgive all the World, and thus I leave this World, in hope of a joyful Resurrection.

A note of Cutbert Symfons patience.

NOW as touching this *Cutbert Symfon*, this further is to be noted, that *Boner* in his Confessory speaking of *Cutbert Symfon*, gave this testimony of him there to the People, saying, Ye see this man, faith he, what a personable man he is; and after he had thus commended his person, added moreover; And furthermore concerning his patience, I lay unto you, that if he were not an Heretic, he is a man of the greatest patience that yet ever came before me: For I tell you, he hath been thrice racked upon one day in the Tower. Also in my House he hath felt some sorrow, and yet I never saw his patience broken, &c.

It is thought and said of some, that that Arrow which was grated betwixt his fingers, being tied together, was not in the Tower, but in the Bishops house.

The day before the blessed Deacon and Martyr of God, *Cutbert Symfon*, after his painful racking, should go to his Condemnation before *Boner*, to be burned, being in the Bishops Colchouse there in the Stocks, he had a certain Vision or Apparition very strange, which he himself with his own mouth declared to the godly learned man Mr. *Aspley*, to his own Wife, and *Thomas Symfon*, and to others besides, in the Prison of *Newgate* a little before his death. The relation whereof I stand in no little doubt whether to report abroad or not.

considering with my self the great diversity of mens judgments by the reading of Histories, and variety of Affections. Some I see will not believe it, some will desire the fame, some also will be offended with feting forth things of that sort incertain, esteeming all things to be incertain and incredible, whatsoever is strange from the common order of Nature.

Others will be perchance agrieved, thinking with themselves; or else thus reasoning with me, that although the matter were as is reported, yet forsooth as the common error of believing such Miracles, Phantasies, Visions, Dreams, and Apparitions thereby may be confirmed, more expedient it were the same to be unfettered.

These, and such like, will be, I know, the sayings of many. Whereunto briefly I answer, granting first, and admitting with the words of *Basil*, *it is not expedient to dispute*. That is, not every Dream is freighway a Prophecy. Again, neither am I ignorant that the Papists in their Books and Legends of Saints have their prodigious Visions and Apparitions of Angels, of our Lady, of Christ, and other Saints: which as I will not admit to be believed for true; so will they ask me again why should then more require these to be credited of them, than theirs of us.

First, I write not this, binding any man precisely to believe the same, so as they do theirs, but only report it as it hath been heard of persons known, naming also the Parties who were the hearers thereof, leaving the judgment thereof notwithstanding free unto the Argument of the Reader. Albeit, it is no good Argument proceeding from the singular or particular, to the Universal, to say that Visions be not true: *Ergo*, they are true in none. And if any shall muse, or object again, Why should such Visions be given to him, or a few other singular persons, more than to all the reflecting the other were in the same cause and quarrel, and died also Martyrs as well as he? To this, I say, concerning the Lords times and doings I have not to meddle, nor make, who may work where and when it pleaseth him. And what if the Lord thought chiefly above the other with singular consolation to respect him, who chiefly above the other, and singularly did suffer most exquisite Torments for his fakes? What great marvel herein? But, as I said, of the Lords secret times I have not to reason. This only which hath out of the man's own mouth been received, so as I received it of the Parties, I thought here to communicate to the Reader, for him to judge thereof as God shall rule his mind. The matter is this.

The day before this *Symfon* was condemned, he being in the Stocks, *Clancy* his Keeper cometh in with the Keys about nine of the Clock at night (after his usual manner) to view his Prison, and see whether all were present, who when he espied the said *Cutbert* to be there, departed again, locking the doors after him. Within two hours after, about eleven of the Clock toward midnight, the said *Cutbert* (whether being in a slumber, or being awake I cannot say) heard one coming in, first opening the outward door, then the second, after the third door, and so looking in to the said *Cutbert*, having no Candle or Torch that he could see, but giving a brightness and light most comfortable and joyful to his heart, saying, Ha, unto him, and departed again. Who it was he could not tell, neither I dare define. This that he saw, he himself declared four or five times to the said Mr. *Aspley*, and to others. At the sight whereof he received such joyful comfort, that he also expressed no little faith in telling and declaring the same.

Articles severally mixed to Cutbert Symfon the nineteenth day of March, with his Answers also to the same annexed.

If, That thou *Cutbert Symfon* art at this present abiding within the City and Diocess of London, and verily my self of the Jurisdiction of the Bishop of Rome.

Item, That thou within the City and Diocess of London, hast uttered many times, and spoken blasphemously words and Sentences following, *viz*, that thou thy Parents, Ancestors, Kinfolks, and Friends, yea, and also thy self, before the time of the late Schism here

here

Margaret
receiving
Mr. Rough
in Prison.

The taking
of Margaret
Martyr.

William Seaman, Thomas Cranmer, and Thomas Hudson, Martyrs. Q. Mary.

This said *William Seaman* left behind him when he died a Wife and three Children very young: and with the said young Children his Wife was persecuted out of the said Town also of *Mendleham*, because that she would not go to hear Mass, and all her Corn and Goods seized and taken away by *Maister Christopher Cates* officers, he being Lord of the said Town.

Thomas Cranmer (who, as is said, pledged *Richard Cressfield* at his burning, and thereupon was apprehended) being Prisoner in *Norwich*, was about one time with the rest examined and brought before the said Bishop, who answered no less in his *Matters* cause than the other had; and therefore had the like reward that the other had, which was the Bishops Bloody blessing of Condemnation, and delivered also to the Secular Power, who kept him, with the other until the day of slaughter, which halted on, and was not long after.

Thomas Hudson was of *Aileham* in *Norfolk*, by his occupation a Glover, a very honest poor Man, having a Wife and three Children, labouring always truly and di-

ligently in his vocation, being of thirty years of age. Anno 1558. he was called to the Gospel, that he in the days of King *Edward* the sixth, ten years before, was *Queen Marys* Reign, learned to read English of *Anthony and Thomas Norgate* of the same Town, wherein he greatly profited about the time of alteration of Religion. For when *Queen Mary* came to Reign, and had changed the service in the Church, putting in for Wheat, chaff and darnel, and for good Preaching, Blasphemous and heretical, he then avoiding all their Ceremonies of Superstition, shunned the Gospel, and went into *Suffolk* a long time, and there remained travelling from one place to another, as occasion was offered. At the last he returned back again to *Norfolk* to his House at *Aileham*, to comfort his Wife and Children, being heavy, and in trouble with his absence.

Now when he came home, and perceived his countenance there would be dangerous, he and his Wife devised to make him a place among his fagots to die him-

The burning of 3 godly Martyrs at Norwich, viz. William Seaman, Thomas Cranmer, and Thomas Hudson Anno 1558. May 6.



self in, where he remained all the day (instead of his chamber) reading and praying continually, for the space of half a year, and his Wife like an honest Woman being careful for him, used her self faithfully and diligently towards him.

In the mean time came the Vicar of the Town, named *Berry* (who was one of the Bishops Commissaries, a very evil Man) and inquired of this said *Thomas Hudsons* Wife for her Husband. Unto whom she answered, as not knowing where he was. Then the said *Berry* rated her and threatened to burn her, for that she would not bewray her Husband where he was. After that when *Hudson* understood it, he waxed every day more zealous than other, and continually read and sang Psalms to the wonder of many, the people openly reporting to him, to hear his exhortations and vehement Prayers.

At the last he walked abroad for certain days openly in the Town, crying out continually against the Mass and all their trumpery, and in the end coming home in his House he fete him down upon his Knees, having his Book by him, reading and singing Psalms continually without ceasing for three days and three nights together, refusing meat and other talk, to the great wonder of many.

Then one *John Crouch* his next neighbour went to the Constable, *Robert Marham* and *Robert Lawes* in the night, to certify them thereof: for *Berry* com-

manded openly to watch for him, and the Constables understanding the same, went cruelly to catch him in the break of the day, the two and twentieth of the Month of *April*, Anno 1558.

Now when *Hudson* saw them come in, he said: Now the taking of me is come. Welcome friends, welcome. You be they that shall lead me to life in Christ. I thank God therefore, and the Lord enable me thereto for his mercies sake. For his desire was, and ever he prayed (if it were the Lords will) that he might suffer for the Gospel of Christ. When they took him, and led him to *Berry* the Commissary, which was Vicar of the Town, and the said *Berry* asked him first, where he kept his Church for four years before. To which the said *Hudson* answered thus, whereforever he was, there was the Church.

Dost thou not believe, said *Berry*, in the Sacrament of the Altar? What he answered, it is worms meat; my belief (saith he) is in Christ Crucified.

Berry. Dost thou not believe the Mass to put away thy Sins?

Hudson. No, God forbid; it is a patched Monster, and a disguised Puppet, more longer a piece than ever was *Salomons* Temple. At which words *Berry* stamped, fumed, and flew himself as a madman and said, Well, thou villain, thou I will write to the Bishop my good Lord, and trust unto it, that thou shalt be handled according

Q. Mary. Three Martyrs burnt at Norwich. Berries and Dunnings miserable end, &c. 731

ding to thy defects. Oh Sir, said *Hudson*, there is no Lord but God, though there be many Lords and many Gods. With that *Berry* thrust him back with his hand. And one *Richard Cliflar* standing by, said I pray you Sir, be good to the poor Man. At which words *Berry* was more mad than before, and would have had *Cliflar* bound in the scuttrage of forty pounds for his good bearing both in word and deed; which his desire took no effect. Then he asked the said *Hudson* whether he would recant, or no. Unto the which words *Hudson* said, the Lord forbid; I had rather dye many deaths than to do so.

Then after long talk, the said *Berry*, which he booted not to perforce with ink, took his pen in ink, and wrote Letters to the Bishop, and sent this *Hudson* to *Norwich* bound like a thief to him, which was eight miles from thence, who with joy and singing came thither, as merry as ever he was at any time before. In Prison he was a Month, where he did continually read, and invoke the Name of God.

These three Christians and constant Martyrs, *William Seaman*, *Thomas Cranmer*, and *Thomas Hudson*, after they were (as ye have heard) condemned the 19. day of May, Anno 1558. were carried out of Prison to the place where they should suffer, which was without *Bishopsgate* at *Norwich*, called *Lollards* Pit. And being all thereby made their humble Petitions unto the Lord. That being done, they rofe and went to the Stake, and standing all there with their Chains about them, immediately this said *Thomas Hudson* cometh forth from them under the Chain, to the great wonder of many; whereby divers feared and greatly doubted of him. For some thought he would have recanted, other judged rather that he went to ask further day, and to desire conference; and some thought he came forth to ask of his Parents Blessing. Some thought one thing, and some another; but his two companions at the Stake cried out to comfort him what they could, exhorting him in the Bowels of Christ to be of good cheer, &c. But this sweet *Hudson* felt more in his Heart and Conscience than they could conceive to him. For as good Soul, he was comforted (God knoweth) with great boldness and grief of mind, not for his death, but for lack of feeling of his Christ: and therefore being very careful he humbly fell down upon his Knees, and prayed vehemently and earnestly unto the Lord, who at the last (according to his old merces) sent him comfort, and then rofe to his great joy, as a Man new changed even from death to life again, said:

Now I thank God I am strong, and pass not what Man can do unto me. So going to the Stake to his fellows again, in the end they all suffered most joyfully, constantly, and manfully, and died together, and were consumed in Fire, to the terror of the wicked, the comfort of Gods Children, and the magnifying of the Lords Name, who be praised therefore for ever, Amen.

After this, the foresaid Commissary *Berry* made great stir about other which were suspected within the said Town of *Aileham*, and caused two hundred to creep to the Gods and *Penitents*, besides other punishments which they fulfilled.

On a time this *Berry* gave poor Man of his Parish of *Mantham* a blow, with the wing of a flail, for a word speaking, that presently thereon he died, and the said *Berry*, as is said, held up his hand at the Bar therefore.

Then after that in his Parish of *Aileham* also, Anno 1557. there was one *Alice Oses* came to his House, and going into the Hall he meeting her, being before moved, smote her with his fist, whereby she was fain to be carried home; the next day was found dead in her Chamber.

To write how many Concubines and Whores he had, none would believe it; but such as knew him in the Country where he dwelt, were rich of great Authority, and great Swearers, altogether given to Women, and persecuting the Gospel, and compelling Men to Idolatry.

One *John Norgate*, a Man learned, Godly, and zealous, who would not go to their tithes, but rather dye, being fore hunted by the said *Berry* preyed heartily to God, and the Lord shortly after in a contemptible delivered him. Notwithstanding the rage of this wicked Man waxed fiercer and fiercer. He troubled sundry Men, burnt many of all good Books that he could get, and divorced many Men and Women for Religion.

When he heard say that *Queen Mary* was dead, and the glory of their triumph quailed, the *Sunday* after, *Berry* made the nineteenth of *November*, Anno 1558. he made a great feast; and had one of his Concubines there, with whom one of his was in his Chamber after dinner, until Even song. Then went he to Church, where he had minified Baptism in going forth from Church homeward after Evening, between the Church-yard and his House, being but a little space (as it were a Church-yard breadth) where he fell down suddenly to the ground with a heavy groan, and never stirred after, neither showed any one token of repentance.

This happened his neighbours being by, to the example of all others. The Lord grant we may through his judgments. And those that had his great riches, since his death have so comforted with them, that they becomer now than they were before they had his goods; fish judgment hath the Lord executed to the eyes of all Men.

At that time one *Dunning* Chancellor of *Lincoln* (which in some part of *Queen Marys* days was Chancellor of *Norwich*, and a very merciful Tyrant as well as good) died in *Lincshire* of as sudden a warning as the said *Berry* died.

Thus have I shewed thee (good Reader) the constancy, boldness, and glorious victory of these happy Martyrs, as also the tyrannical cruelty of that unfortunate Commissary, and his terrible end. The Lord grant we may all effectually honour the Judgments of God, and far to displease his holy Majesty. Amen.

The Persecution of Master Seaman.

About this time, or somewhat before, was one *Joan Seaman*, Mother to the foresaid *William Seaman*, being of the Age of three score and fix years, persecuted of the said Sir *John Tyrrel* also, out of the Town of *Mendleham* aforesaid, because the would not go to Mass and receive against her Conscience. Which good old Woman being from her House, was placed sometimes in Bushes, Groves, and Fields, and sometime in her Neighbours House, when she could. And her Husband being at home about the age of eighty years, fell sick and hearing thereof, with speed returned home to her House again, not regarding her life, but considering her duty, and showed her diligence to her husband most faithfully, until God took him away by death. Then by Gods providence the fell sick also, and departed this life within her own House shortly after.

And when one *Maister Symonds* the Commissary heard of it, dwelling thereby in a Town called *Thorndon*, he comended tragically that the should be buried in no Christian burial (as they call it) where through her friends were compelled to lay her in a pit under a Motes side. Her Husband and the kept a good House, and had a good report amongst their neighbours, willing always to receive strangers, and to comfort the poor and sick, and lived together in the Holy estate of Matrimony verily above 40. years, and she departed this Life willingly and joyfully, with a steadfast Faith and a good remembrance of Gods promise in Christ Jesus.

The persecution of Master Benet.

In the said time of *Queen Mary*, there dwelt in the Town of *Wetherley* by *Mendleham* aforesaid, a very honest Woman called *Master Benet*, a Widow, which was persecuted out of the same Town, because the would not go to Mass, and other their beggarly Ceremonies; but at the last she returned home again secretly to her House, and there departed this Life joyfully. But Sir *John Tyrrel* and *Maister Symonds* the Commissary would not let her be buried in the Church-yard. So was the laid in a grave by the high-way side.

The same good old Woman *Master Benet*, in the time of persecution, met one of the said *Master Seamans* Neighbours, and asked her how the said *Master Seaman* did, and she answered, that he did very well; God be thanked. Oh, said the *Master Seaman*, hath slept a great sleep before me, for he was never covetous that I could perceive.

Her Husband in his mirth would say unto her, O Woman, if thou wert sparing, thou mightest have loved me

The Charitable Alms of Mother Benet to be noted.

an hundred Marks more than thou halt. To the which the would answer again gently, and say: O man, be content, and let us be thankful; for God hath given us enough, if we can see it. Alas, good husband, would the lady, I tell you truth, I cannot fiken up my butter, and keep my cheese in the Chamber, and with a great price, and let the poor want, and to displease God. But husband, let us be rich, in good works, and so shall we please the Lord, and have all good things given us, &c. This good Woman, of that vice of covetousness, of all that knew her, was adjudged leat to be spotted, of any infirmity she had. The Lord root it out of the hearts of them that be infected therewith, Amen.

The Martyrdom of three constant and Godly persons burnt at Colchester for the defence and testimony of Christ's Gospel.

May 16. Two Men and one Woman, Mar. 17th.

THOU hast heard (good Reader) of the forenamed three that were burnt at Norwich, whose Blood quenched not the persecuting thirst of the Papists. For immediately after, even the same Month, upon the twenty sixth day, was seen the like murder also at Colchester in Effix of two Men and a Woman, lying there in Prison appointed ready to the slaughter: who were brought forth the same day unto a place prepared for them to suffer, and accordingly gave their lives for the testimony of the truth, whose names likewise hereafter follow.

William Harris.
Richard Day. } Martyrs.
Christian George. }

These three good Souls were brought unto the Stake, and there joyfully and fervently had made their Prayers unto the Lord.

The Martyrdom of William Harris, Richard Day, and Christian George, &c.

At the last, being fetled in their places, and chained unto their posts, with the Fire flaming freely round about them, they like constant Christians triumphantly praised God within the flames, and offered up their bodies a lively Sacrifice unto his holy Majesty; in whose habitation they have now their everlasting Tabernacles: his Name therefore be praised for evermore, Amen.

They said Christian George's Husband had Agnes Wife burnt before this Christian, whose Name was Agnes George, which suffered, as you have heard, with the thirteen at Stratford the Bow. And after the death of the said Christian, he married an honest good Woman again, and so they both (I mean the said Richard George and his last Wife) in the end were taken also and laid in Prison, where they remained till the death of Queen Mary, and at last were delivered by our most gracious Sovereign Lady Queen Elizabeth, whom the Lord grant reign to Reign among us, for his mercies sake, Amen.

In the Month of June came out a certain Proclamation, short but sharp, from the King and the Queen, against whollom and Godly Books, which under the false Title of Heresie and Sedition, here in the said Proclamations were wrongfully condemned.

By the King and Queen.

A Proclamation by the King and Queen.

Whereas divers Books, filled both with Heresie, Sedition, and Treason, have of late been daily brought into this Realm out of foreign Countries and places beyond the Seas, and some also covertly printed within this Realm, and call abroad in sundry parts thereof, whereby not only God is dishonoured, but also an incouragement given to disobey lawful Princes and Governors: The King and Queen's Majesties, for redress hereof, do by this their present Proclamation declare and publish to all their Subjects, that whoever shall after the proclaiming hereof, be found to have any of the said wicked and Seditious Books, or finding them, do not forthwith burn the same, without shewing or reading the same to any other person, shall in that case be reputed and taken for a Rebel, and shall without delay be executed for that offence, according to the order of martial Law.

Given at our Manor of Saint James's, the sixth day of June.
John Cawood Printer.

The order and occasion of taking certain Godly Men and Women praying together in the street of Ilington, of whom thirteen were condemned by Boner, and of their suffering in the Fire for the truth's sake, as in the Story here following may appear.

Anno 1558.

Secretly in a back close in the Field by the Town of Ilington, were collected and assembled together of a certain company of Godly and innocent persons, to the number of 40. Men and Women. Who there listing together at prayer, and virtuously occupied in the meditation of Gods holy Word, first cometh a certain Man to them unknown, who looking over unto them, so stayed and falsed them, saying, that they looked like Men that meant no hurt. Then one of the said company asked the Man, if he could tell whose close that was, and whether they might be so bold there to sit. Yea, said he, for that ye seem unto me such persons as intend no harm, and do departed. Within a quarter of an hour after, cometh the Constable of Ilington, named King, warded with six or seven others, accompanying him in the said business, gone with above another with abill and other with their Weapons likewise. The which six or seven persons the said Constable left a little behind him in a close place, there to be ready if need should be, while he with one them should go view them before. Who so doing, came through them looking and viewing what they were doing, and what Books they had, so going a little forward, and returning back again, he desired them deliver their Books. They understanding that he was Constable, refused not to do. With that cometh forth the residue of his fellows above touched, who bade them stand, and not depart. They answered again, they would be obedient and ready to go whithersoever they would have them, and so were they first carried to a Brewhouse but a little way off, while that some of the said Soldiers ran to the Justice next at hand. But the Justice was not at home; whereupon they were had to Sir Roger Cholmely. In the mean time some of the Women, being of the same number of the fore said forty persons, escaped away from them, some in the close, some before they came to the Brewhouse. For so they were carried, ten with one Man, eight with another, and with some more, with some less, in such sort as it was not hard for them to escape that would. In fine, they that were carried to Sir Roger Cholmely, were twenty seven, which Sir Roger Cholmely and the Recorder taking their Names in a Bill, and calling them one by one, so many as answered to their Names, he sent to Newgate. In the which number of them that answered, and that were sent to Newgate, were twenty and two.

These two and twenty were in the said Prison of Newgate seven weeks before they were examined, to whom Newgate was sent by Alexander the Keeper, that if they would yield, their heads should be delivered. Of these fore said two and twenty were burned thirteen: In Smithfield eleven, at Braintree six.

In Prison two dyed in Whitsun-week, the Names of Castilian, whom were, Matthew Whyche, T. Taylor. Seven of them which remained escaped with their lives hardly, although not without much trouble, yet (as God would) without burning. Whose Names were these:

John Willes. Thomey Hinchwar. R. Baily Woolpacker. Robert Willes.

Hudley. T. Croft, Haberdasher. Roger Sandy.

Perfected Christian.

The first seven were brought forth to examination before Boner, and so having their condemnation, were burnt (as is said) in Smithfield. The other six followed not long after, and suffered at Braintree, whereof specially here followeth now in order of Story to be seen.

The

The Examination and Condemnation of Seven godly and faithful Martyrs of Christ, burnt in Smithfield.

Concerning the Examination and Condemnation of these above named, which were apprehended and taken before Ilington, seven first were produced before Boner the 14th of June, to make Answer to such Articles and Interrogatories, as by the said Bishop should be miniftrd unto them. The names of these seven were:

Henry Pond. John Floyd. John Holiday. Roger Holland. Matthew Ricardy.

To these seven constant and godly Martyrs, produced before Boner, certain Articles were miniftrd in this effect as followeth.

Articles.

First, That ye being within the City and Diocesis of London have not, according to the common custom of the Catholic Church of this Realm of England, come to your own Parish Church, nor yet to the Cathedral Church of this City and Diocesis of London, to hear your own, and christenly the Matins, the Mass, the Evensong, sung or said there in the Latin Tongue, after the common usage and manner of the Church of this Realm.

Secondly, That ye have not come to any of the said Churches to pray, to go in Procession, or to exercise your lives there in godly and laudable exercises.

Thirdly, That you have not conformed your selves duly to all the laudable Customs, Rites, and Ceremonies of any the said Churches.

Fourthly, Ye have not been confessed at due times and places to your own Curate, of your sins.

Fifthly, Ye have not received at your said Curates hands (as of the Minister of Christ) absolution of your sins.

Sixthly, You have not at due times and places of your Curate received reverently and duly the Sacrament of the Altar.

Seventhly, Ye have not faithfully and truly believed, that in the said Sacrament of the Altar, there is really and truly the very Body and Blood of Christ.

Eighthly, Ye have not by your mouth, nor otherwise by your deed exprest or declared in any wit, that ye without wavering or doubting do think and believe, that the Faith and Religion now observed in the Church of England, is a true Faith and Religion in all points.

Ninthly, Ye have not made any signification that you do in deed approve, or allow in any while the common Service in Latin, here observed and kept in the Church of this Realm of England.

Tenthly, Ye have not believed, nor do believe to this present, that the Service in Latin, commonly used and observed in the Church of this Realm, is good and lawful, and not against the Word of God.

Eleventhly, Ye have in times past liked, allowed, approved as good and godly, and so do like, allow, and approve at this present, the Service in English, the Books of Common Prayer, the Books of Communion, the Religion set forth and used in the time of King Edward the sixth, especially as it was set forth and used in the latter days of the said King Edward.

Twelfthly, Ye have in times past been very desirous, and so are at this present, that the said English Service, the said Book of Common Prayer, the said Book of Communion, and the said Religion and Faith so set forth and used in King Edwards time, might now again be reformed, set forth and used, and your self free, as at your liberty, without any restraint or lets to use it, and also in all points and things to do therein, as ye do, especially in the latter days of the said King Edwards time.

Thirteenthly, Ye have of late been charitably sent to me the Bishop of London, and also by mouth

exhorted, that where of late you did leave your Churches, and went in the time of Divine Service into the fields and prophane places, to read English Psalms, and certain English Books, ye would leave off that, and being out of Prison, and at your liberty, come into your own Parish Churches, there to hear Matins, Mass, and Evensong, after the common order of the Churches of this Realm, and to make due confession of your sins to your own Curate, and receive at his hands (as of the Minister of Christ, having therein sufficient Authority) absolution of your sins, hear Mass, receive the Sacrament of the Altar with a true Faith, according to the Belief of the Catholic Church, and observe all other the Rites and Customs of the said Catholic Church used in this Realm of England, as well in going in Procession after the Cross, as also otherwise generally.

Fourteenthly, Ye being so required, have refused, and do refuse to do, saying, amongst other vain and light words, that forsooth as ye were imprisoned by the space of six weeks, not knowing wherewith ye were charged, your Petition should be sent, and was that ye might first answer to your former cause, and then ye would be ready to answer me the said Bishop to all that by me should be laid to your charge.

Unto the which Articles all the forenamed seven (only Reinold England excepted) made answer in effect as hereafter followeth.

The Answers of the forenamed persons to the Articles aforesaid.

To the first Article they answered affirmatively, Their Answer to the first Article.

Robert Holland adding, that he came not to the said Latin Service these two years before.

Matthew Ricardy added, That he came not to Church, since Latin Service was renewed, because it is against the Word of God, and Idolatry is committed in creeping to the Cross.

Henry Pond added, if he had licence then to go to Church, he would go of your sins.

To the second Article they all answered affirmatively, Henry Pond adding as in the first Article. John Floyd added, That the Latin Service then used, was set up by man, and not by God, and this he learned (he said) in King Edwards days, which he believed to be true.

Robert Southam added, That he refused to come to Church, because it is furnished with idols, and because the Sacrament of the Altar he believed to be an Idol.

To the third Article they all answered affirmatively: For they said, That the Customs, Rites, and Ceremonies of the Church then used, are not agreeable to Gods Word.

To the fourth and fifth Articles, they all answered affirmatively, adding that they believed no Priest hath power to remit sin.

To the sixth Article John Holiday, Henry Pond, and Robert Southam answered, That since the Queens Majesties reign; but Robert Southam added, that not for ten years before had he received the Sacrament of the Altar, either at their Curates hands, or any other Priest.

John Floyd, Matthew Ricardy and Roger Holland answered affirmatively, adding in effect that the Sacrament of the Altar is no Sacrament approved by the Word of God, &c.

To the seventh Article they all confessed the Contents thereof to be true in every part; Henry Pond adding, That he knoweth not nor believeth any such Sacrament, called the Sacrament of the Altar, but confesseth the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, and believeth that to be approved. John Floyd added, That those that kneel to and worship the Sacrament of the Altar, commit Idolatry, &c.

To the eighth, ninth, and tenth Articles, they all confessed the contents of those Articles to be true. But John Holiday, Henry Pond, and John Floyd added, That they do allow the Latin Service for them that understand the same, so far as it agreeth with Gods Word. For some part thereof is not agreeable to Gods Word (they said:) but to such as do not understand the said Service in Latin, they do not allow it, for it doth not profit them. Robert Southam added and said, That it was a fond question to

ask a simple man, whether the Latin Service be good and lawful. *Matthew Ricarby* and *Roger Holland* denied the Service in Latin to be good.

11. To the eleventh Article, they all confessed the same to be true in every part; saving *Henry Pond*, and *Matthew Ricarby*, who answered in effect that they could not judge thereof, but leave them to be tried by the Word of God.

12. To the twelfth Article, they granted and confessed the same to be true, and desired of God that the Service were in the English again.

13. To the thirteenth Article they all granted and confessed the same to be true.

14. To the fourteenth Article they all granted and confessed the same to be true in every part.

An Oath to
ask a simple
man to be
lawful but
to begin a
little is
unlawful.

The Con-
demnation
of *Ricarby*
and *Holland*.

Thus have ye the Answers of these men to the fore said Articles, save that *Reinald Eastland* required to answer thereunto, refused to do, alleging that he knoweth that to end a strife an Oath is lawful; but to begin a strife to take his Oath in the beginning of this matter is unlawful. Whereupon being charged by the Bishop, he said for his not answering to the Articles, he was content to stand unto the order of the Law for his punishment, whatsoever it should be.

The 17th day after of the said Month of June, the said *Eastland* appeared again before the Bishop, who finding him in that he had said before, denied to make any Answer in that case, &c. whereupon the said *Eastland*, with the other six his fellow Prisoners, were assigned by the Bishop to repair again to the same place at After-

noon, who being there present in the foresaid Confraternity as they were commanded, and standing all together before the said Bishop, he beginning thus with them, asked them, if he had committed them to Prison. They said, No; but Mr. *Chadsey* and the Recorder of London committed them to *Newgate*.

Then being demanded further by the Bishop, if he had done any thing or act to keep them in Prison, or to hinder their Liberty from Prison, to this they answered they could not tell. Then the fore said Articles being again recited to them, all they answered and acknowledged them to be the Articles, and that they would stand to their Answers made to the same. Whereupon the Bishop did severing them apart one from another, proceeded with them severally, first beginning with *Reinald Eastland*, who there declared that he had been uncharitably handled and talked withal since his first imprisonment in that behalf. Then being required to reconcile himself again to the Catholic Faith, and go from his Opinions; he said, that he knew nothing why he should recant, and that he therefore would not conform himself in that behalf, &c. by the word of the Sentence was read against him, and he given time to the Secular Power, &c.

After him was called in *John Holiday*, who likewise being advertised to renounce his Heresies (as they called them) and to return to the Unity of their Church, said, That he was no Heretic, nor did hold any Heresie, nor held any Opinion contrary to the Catholic Faith, and so would offer himself to be judged therein. Whereupon he likewise persisting in the same, the Sentence was pronounced against him, condemning him to be burnt.

Next to him was condemned, with the like Sentence,

The Martyrdom of *Henry Pond*, *Reinald Eastland*, *Robert Southam*, *Matthew Ricarby*, *John Poynt*, *Richard Holland* in Smithfield Aug. 25. 1558.



The Con-
demnation
of *Holland*
and *Ricarby*.

Henry Pond, because he would not submit himself to the Romish Church, saying to *Boner*, That he had done or spoken nothing whereof he was or would be sorry, but that he did hold the Truth of God, and no Heresie, &c.

The Con-
demnation
of *J. Pond*,
R. Southam,
M. Ricarby
and *Roger*
Holland.

After whom next followed *John Floyd*, who likewise denied to be of the Popes Church, and said his mind of the Latin Service, that the Service in Latin is profitable to none, but only to such as understand the Latin. More- over, being charged by *Boner* of Heresie, and saying that whatsoever he and such other now-a-days doall is Heresie, for this he was condemned with the same butcherly Sentence, and so by the Secular Power was sent away. Then *Robert Southam*, after him *Matthew Ricarby*, and last of all *Roger Holland* were severally produced.

Thus *Roger Holland* with his Fellows (as ye heard) standing to their Answers, and refusing to acknowledge the Doctrine of the Romish Church, were altogether condemned, the Sentence being read against them, and so all seven by Secular Magistrates being sent away to *Newgate* the seventeenth of June, not long after all had the seven and twentieth day of the said Month in the glorie to *Smithfield*, and there ended their lives in the glorious cause of Christs Gospel. Whole particular Examinations came not to our hands; saving only the Examinations of *R. Holland*, which here follow in order and manner as we received them by the information of certain, who were present at the same.

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Anno
1558.

The Examination and Condemnation of Roger Holland.

The
Examination
of
Roger
Holland.

THIS *Roger Holland*, a Merchant-Taylor of London, was first an Apprentice with one Mr. *Kempster* at the Black Boy in *Waring-street*, where he served his Apprenticeship with much trouble unto his Master in breaking him from his licentious liberty which he had before been trained and brought up in, giving himself to riot, as dancing, fencing, gaming, banqueting and wanton company; and besides all this, being a flibbom and an obdurate Papist, far unlike to come to any such end as God called him unto; which was as followeth:

His Master, notwithstanding this his lewdness, putting him in trust with his Accompt, he had received for him certain money, to the sum of thirty pounds, and falling into ill Company, lost the said money every Great at Dice, being paid all hope which way to answer it, and therefore he purposed to convey himself away beyond the Seas, either into *France* or into *Flan- ders*.

Now having determined with himself thus to do, he did betimes in the Morning to a Servant in the House, an ancient and discreet Maid, whose name was *Elizabeth*, which professed the Gospel, with a life agreeing unto the same, and at all times much rebuking the wilful and obdurate Papistry, as also the licentious living of this *Roger Holland*. To whom he said, *Elizabeth*, I would I followed thy gentle persuasions and friendly rebukes, which if I had done, I had never come to this shame and misery which I am now fallen into; for this Night have I lost thirty pounds of my Masters money, which to pay him, and to make up mine Accompt, I am not able. But this much I pray you desire my Mistress, that she would intreat my Master to take this Bill of my hand, that I am thus much indebted unto him; and at the same time, I will see him paid, desiring him that the matter may pass with silence, and that none of my Kindred nor Friends may ever understand this my lewd part: For if it should come unto my Fathers ears, it would bring his grey hairs overtop unto his Grave; and so I am departing.

The Maid considering that it might be his utter undoing, Stay, said she; and having a piece of money lying by her, given unto her by the death of a Kinsman of hers, who (as it was thought, was Dr. *Redman*) she brought unto him thirty pounds, saying, *Roger*, here is thus much money; I will let thee have it, and I will keep this Bill. But since I do thus much for thee, to help thee, and to save thee honestly, thou shalt promise me to refuse all lewd and wild Company, all swearing and ribaldry talk; and if ever I know thee to play one Twelve-pence at either Dice or Cards, then will I shew this thy Bill unto my Master. And furthermore, thou shalt promise me to reform every day to the Lecture at *Abchurch-lane*, and the Sermon at *Pauls* every Sunday, and to cast away all thy Books of Papistry and vain Ballads, and get thee the Testament and Book of Service, and read the Scriptures with reverence and fear, calling unto God still for his Grace to direct thee in his Truth. And pray unto God fervently, desiring him to pardon thy former offences, and not to remember the sins of thy youth; and ever be afraid to break his Laws, or offend his Majesty. Then shall God keep thee, and send thee thy hearts desire.

After this time, within one half year God had wrought such change in this man, that he became an earnest Professor of the Truth, and desired all Papistry and evil Company; so that he was in admiration to all them that had known him and seen his former life and wickedness.

Then he repaired into *Lancashire* unto his Father, and brought divers good Books with him, and bestowed them upon his Friends, so that his Father and others began to taste of the Gospel, and to detest the Mass, Idolatry, and Superstition; and in the end his Father gave him a flock of money to begin the world withal, to the sum of fifty pounds.

Then he repaired to *London* again, and came to the Maid that lent him the money to pay his Master with-

al, and said unto her, *Elizabeth*, here is thy money I borrowed of thee, and for the friendship, good will, and the good counsel I have received at thy hands, to recompence thee I am not able; otherwise than to make thee my wife; and soon after they were married, which was in the first year of Queen *Mary*. And having a Child by her, he called Mr. *Rog*, so baptize his said Child in his own House. Notwithstanding, he was bewayed unto the Enemies, and he being gone into the Country to convey the Child away, that the Papists should not have it in their annoying hands, *Boner* caused his Goods to be seized upon, and most cruelly used his wife.

After this he remained still in the City, and in the last year of Queen *Mary*. Then he with the six other afore said; were taken in, or not far from *S. Johns Wood*, and so brought to *Newgate* upon *May-day* in the Morning, Anno 1558.

Then being called before the Bishop, Dr. *Chadsey*; both the *Harpfields*, and certain others, after many other fair and crafty persuasions of Dr. *Chadsey*, to allure him to their Babylonical Church; thus the Bishop began with him.

Holland. I for my part do will unto thee, and the more for thy Friends sake. And as Dr. *Sandwich* telleth me, you and he were both born in one Parish, and he knoweth your Father to be a very honest Catholic Gentleman. And Mr. Doctor told me that he talked with you a year ago; and divers of you very willingly addict to your own conceit. Founders of the City all have shewed me of you, that you have been a great Procurer of men Servants to be of your Religion, and to come to your Congregations; but since you be now in the danger of the Law, I would with you to play a wife mans part: So shall you not want any favour I can do or procure for you, both for our own sakes, and also for yours, which be men of worship and credit, and with you well, and by my truth, *Roger*, so do I.

Then said Mr. *Eglestone*, a Gentleman of *Lancashire*, and near Kinsman to *Roger*, being there present; I thank your good Lordship, your Honour meaneth good unto my Cousin, I beseech God he have the Grace to follow your counsel.

Holland. Sir, you crave of God you know not what. I beseech God to open your eyes to see the light of his Word.

Eglestone. *Roger*, hold your peace, lest you fare the worse at my Lords hands.

Holland. No, I shall fare as it pleaseth God; for man can do no more than God doth permit him.

Then the Bishop and the Doctors, with *John*, *Holland* and *Johnson*, *Roger*, how fittest thou? wilt thou submit thyself unto my Lord, before thou be entered into the Book of Contempt?

Holland. I never meant but to submit my self unto the Magistrate, as I learn of *S. Paul* to the *Romans*, Chap. 13; and so he recited the Text.

Chadsey. Then I see you are no Anabaptist.

Holland. I mean not yet to be a Papist; for they and the Anabaptists agree in this point, not to submit themselves to any other Prince or Magistrate, than those that must first be sworn to maintain them and their doctrines.

Chadsey. *Roger*, remember what I have said, and also what my Lord hath promised he will perform with further friendship. Take heed, *Roger*, for your ripeness of Wit hath brought you into their Errors.

Holland. My Doctors, I have yet your words in memory, though they are of no such force to prevail with me. Then they whispered together again, and at the last said *Boner*, *Roger*, I perceive thou wilt be ruled by no good counsel, for any thing that either I, or your Friends or any other can say.

Holland. I may say to you, my Lord, as *Paul* said to *Peter*, and unto the Jews, as doth appear in the two and twentieth of the *Acts*, and in the fifteenth of the first Epistle to the *Corinthians*. It is not unknown unto my Master whom I was Apprentice withal, that I was of this your blind Religion that now I stand, and therein did obstinately and wilfully remain, until the later end

Holland
Child christ-
ened in his
house.

Rog. Holland
brought to
Newgate.

Rog. Holland
willed to
submit him-
self to the
Bishop.

Rog. Holland
as *Paul* said
to *Peter* and
the Jews.

The day they suffered, a Proclamation was made, That none should be bold to speak or talk any word unto them, or receive any thing of them, or to touch them upon pain of Imprisonment, without either Bail or Mainprize: with divers other cruel threatening words, contained in the same Proclamation. Notwithstanding the People cried out, desiring God to strengthen them: and they likewise still prayed for the People, and the retorting of his Word. At length Roger embracing the flukes, and the Reeds, said these words.

Lord I must humbly thank thy Majesty, that thou hast called me from the state of death, unto the light of thy heavenly Word, and now unto the fellowship of thy Saints, that I may sing and say, Holy, holy, holy, Lord God of Hosts. And Lord into thy hands I commit my Spirit. And so he ended his life, looking up into Heaven, praying and praising God, with the rest of his Fellow Saints. For whose joyful confessions the Lord be praised.

The Martyrdom of six, which suffered at Brainford for the true testimony of Jesus Christ.

Not long after the death of the forenamed seven godly Martyrs that suffered in *Smiffeld*, there were other faithful Witnesses of the Lords true Testament, martyred at *Brainford* seven miles from *London*, the 14th day of *July*, 1558. which said six were of that Company that were apprehended in a Close hard by *Uffington* (as is above specified) and sent to Prison. Whose Names and Articles proposed to them, with their Answers unto the same, hereafter follow.

Robert Mills,
Stephen Cotton,
Robert Dymis,
Stephen Wight,
John Slade,
William Pikes, or
Pikes a Tanner.

Martyrs.

These six forenamed Martyrs (gentle Reader) had their Articles ministered to them by *Thomas Darbyshire*, Bowers Chancellor, at sundry times; as *Robert Wiles* the 20th day of *June*, *Stephen Wight* the 21th day of the said Month. *Stephen Cotton* and *John Slade* the 22th day, and *Robert Dymis* and *William Pikes* the 23th day. At which said times, though they were feverally examined, yet had they all one manner of Articles ministered to them; yea and the self same Articles that were ministered to *John Holiday*, *Henry Pond*, and their Company aforesaid. Which said Articles leave the Reader to look for above in their story, and think it not necessary any more to rehearse them, but only to proceed with their Answers to the same, which briefly and in sum hereafter followeth.

The Answers of the forenamed Persons to the Articles aforesaid.

To the first Article they all granted the same; and added thereto for going to Church, that *R. Mills* and *Stephen Wight* came not there for three quarters of a year before, and *John Slade* and *William Pikes* came since the Queens Reign, *Stephen Cotton* not for a Twelve-month before, and *Robert Dymis* not for two years before.

The second, third, fourth, fifth, and sixth Articles they all answered in effect, as the forenamed *John Holiday*, *Henry Pond*, and their Company did, saying they added, that as their likes, Customs, and Ceremonies are no part of the same. *Stephen Wight* added further, That he received not their Sacrament of the Altar for two years before, nor *John Slade* and *William Pikes* since Queens Mariage Reign, nor *Stephen Cotton* for a Twelve-month before, nor *Robert Dymis* for three years before.

To the seventh Article, They all granted the same in every part like unto the aforesaid *Henry Pond* and his Company; saying that *Robert Dymis* added, that it was no part of his Belief.

To the eighth Article they all granted the same in every part, as the forenamed *William Holiday* and his Company; but *Robert Mills* added thereto, that he will not come to Church, nor allow their Religion, so long as the Cross is set up, and worshipped, and Images are in the Church. *John Slade* affirmed in effect as *Robert Mills* did, adding further, that there be not seven Sacraments, but two Sacraments, which is Baptism and the Supper of the Lord. *Stephen Cotton* would no further allow the Popish Religion, than it agreeth with Gods Word: and *Robert Dymis* affirmed in effect the like to *Stephen Cotton* also.

To the ninth and tenth Articles, *Robert Mills*, *John Slade*, and *Stephen Cotton* answered, that they do not allow the Popish Service then set forth, because it is against the Truth, and in a strange Language which the Common People understand not. *Robert Dymis* and *William Pikes* will neither allow nor disallow the Latin Service, because they understand it not. And *Stephen Wight* would make no direct Answer to the Articles at all, and to the eleventh, twelfth, thirteenth, and fourteenth Articles we find no Answers recorded of the said *Stephen Wight*. But of the rest of his fellow Prisoners we find answers to these Articles which hereafter follow.

To the eleventh Article, *Robert Mills*, *John Slade*, and *Stephen Cotton* answered, That concerning the Books, Faith, and Religion specified in this Article, they dook to them so far forth, as they agree with Gods Word; *Robert Dymis* would make no Answer thereto, because he thought himself unmet to judge thereof: and *William Pikes* doth not remember that he hath misliked the Service, and the Faith, and Religion set forth in *K. Edward* the sixth time.

To the twelfth they grant, That if they might receive the Sacrament as they did in *King Edward* the sixth days, they would with all their heart so do.

To the thirteenth and fourteenth Articles, they confess and grant the Contents of them to be true in every part.

When at the days before specified, these good men were produced before *Bona's* Chancellor, *Thomas Darbyshire* had the forenamed Articles ministered unto them, and they (as ye have heard) had made answer unto the same; in the end the Chancellor commanded them to appear before him again the eleventh day of *July* after in the said place at *Pauls*. Where when they came, he required of them, that they would turn from their Opinions to the Mother holy Church; and if not, that then, whether there were any cause to the contrary, but that he might proceed with the Sentence of Condemnation. Whereunto they all answered, That they would not go from the Truth, nor relent from any part of the same while they lived. Then he charged them to appear before him again the next day in the Afternoon, between one and two of the Clock, to hear the definitive Sentence read against them, according to the Ecclesiastical Laws then in force. At which time, he sitting in judgment, talking with these godly and virtuous men, at last *Robert Mills* came into the said place. *Sir Edward Hastings*, and *Sir Thomas Cornwallis*, Knights, two of Queens Mariage Officers of her House, and being there, they fastidied them down over against the Chancellor, in whose presence the said Chancellor condemned those good poor Lambs, and delivered them over to the Secular Power, who received and carried them to Prison immediately, and there kept them in safety, till the day of their death.

In the mean time this naughty Chancellor slept not, I warrant you, but that day in which they were condemned, he made certificate into the Lord Chancellors Office, from whence the next day after was sent a Wit to burn them at *Brainford* aforesaid, which according was accomplished in the same place, the said fourteenth day of *July*. Whereunto they being brought, made their humble Prayers unto the Lord Jesus, undressed themselves, went joyfully to the stake, whereunto they yielded their Souls, Bodies, and Lives into the hands of the Omnipotent Lord, for whose cause they did suffer, and to whose protection I commend the gentle Reader, Amen.

Among

In Bonerum.

Among these six was one *William Pikes* (as ye have heard) who sometime dwelt in *Uffwich* in *Suffolk*, by his occupation a Tanner a very honest Godly Man, and of a virtuous disposition, a good Keeper of Hospitality, and beneficial to the persecuted in *Queen Marias* days. This said *William Pikes*, in the third year of Queens *Mariage* Reign, a little after *Middlemarch*, being then at liberty, went into his Garden, and took with him a Bible of Rogers translation, where he sitting with his face towards the South, reading on the said Bible, suddenly fell down upon his book, between eleven and twelve a clock of the day, four drops of fresh Blood and he knew not from whence it came. Then he feeling the same, was sore astonished, and could by no means learn (as I said) from whence it should fall: and wiping out one of the drops with his finger, he called his Wife, and said, In the virtue of God Wile, what meaneth this? Will the Lord have four Sacrifices? I see well enough the Lord will have Blood: his will be done, and give me Grace to abide the trial. Wife, let us pray (said he) for I fear the day draweth nigh. Afterward he daily looked to be apprehended of the Papists, and it came to pass accordingly as ye have heard. Thus much thought I good to write thereof, to stir up our dull senses in considering the Lords works, and reverently to honour the same: his name therefore be praised for evermore, Amen.

Moreover, concerning the said *William Pikes*, as he was in *Newgate* fore sick, and at the point of death, so that no Man looked he should live six hours, he declared to them that stood by, that he had been twice in persecution before, and that now he defied the Lord, if it were his will, that he might glorify his Name at the Stake, and so as he prayed it came to pass at *Brainford*.

Ye heard before, that of those two and twenty taken at *Uffington*, thirteen were burned, and six escaped, albeit very hardly and some of them not without scourging by the hands of the Bishop. In the which number was *Thomas Hinchaw* and *John Wiles*, according to the express picture hereafter purposed.

Ex Epigrammate Ennii apud Ciceroem allusio.

Si fas cadendo caelestia scandere cuiquam esset.
Boneri caele maxima porta patet.

In effigiem Boneri carmen.

Que nova forma viri, quid virga, quid ora, quid alvum,
Pondera quid ventri, crassitiesque velli?
Corpus amasacum, diffente infemum pigrum
Rides anis fupis, tellor amos, magis?
Vasa quid ista voluit si melius pondera, dicam:
Nam nihil hic mirum venter obfus habet.
Carnibus humanis & sanguine vestitur arva,
Ductus annis basilaris ille tribus.
Ergo quid hoc monstris efferebat vultu homine dicam?
Nomen nec Patrique peris ille Marius.
Qui patre Savago natus, falsoque Bonerus
Dicitur: bane melius dixeris Orbilius.

The same in English.

Use not so much that natures work
Is thus deformed now:
With belly blown, and head so swollen,
For I shall tell you how:
Carnibal in three years space
Two hundred Martyrs did devour
They were his food, he lov'd so Blood,
He spared none he knew.

It should appear that Blood feeds fast,
If Men be will and self.
For Boneri belly was not so full,
Though he seem'd to fast off.
O Bloody Beast, bewail the death
Of those that thou hast slain:
In time repent, since thou canst not
Their lives restore again.

G. G.

*Carmen nomen debetur jure Bonero,
Qui sine Christificalis crimine malet oves.
Certe carnisque immittis nomine gaudet,
Sine ipsi pejus nomine nocet, amas.
Carnificum quovis? ridet. Craditio fatis
Narrat? rem gratam non facit ipse magis.
Det Deus at lapas meliora Bonerus, cedis?
Te feriant meritis munera digna precor.*

The scourging of *Thomas Hinchaw*.

In the Godly number above mentioned, which were apprehended at *Uffington*, three congregated together, for their exercise of prayer and reading, was this *Thomas Hinchaw* above named, a young Man of the age of 19, or 20 years, presently in *Pauls* Churchyard with one *M. Pugin*. Who with the rest was carried to the Confinables of *Uffington*, and there every one of them searched, and it came to pass accordingly as ye have heard. Which time being overpassed, he was taken for again before the said Bishop, the day being *Saturday*, and with him had much talk to little purpose. The next day after also, which was *Sunday*, they portrayed with him very much in like manner, and perceiving they could not bend him unto their bow, in the afternoon the Bishop going after his coming, he was set in the Stocks remaining there all the first night with Bread and Water.

The next morning the Bishop came and examined him himself, and perceiving no yielding to his mind, he sent *M. Harpfield* to talk with him, who, after long talk in the end fell to raging words, calling the said *Thomas Hinchaw* peevish boy, and asked him whether he thought he went about to damn his Soul, or no. &c. Unto which the said *Thomas* answered, that he was persecuted that they laboured to maintain their dark and devilish Kingdom, and not for any love to truth. Then *Harpfield*, being a mighty rage, told the Bishop thereof. Whereat the Bishop fumed and fretted, that he feared for anger being able to speak the said *Dok* unto any Archdeacon so, thou naughty boy? I shall handle thee well enough, he affirmed: so he sent for a couple of Rods, and caused him to kneel against a long Bench in an Arbor in his Garden, where the said *Thomas*, without any enforcement of his party, offered himself to the beating, and did abide the fury of the said *Boner*, so long as the pit punched Bishop could endure with breath, and till for weariness he was faine to cease, and give place to his shameful act. He had two willow Rods, but he waded but one, and so left off.

Now after this scourging, the said *Thomas Hinchaw* notwithstanding did sustain divers conflicts, and examinations in Prison. As last being brought before the said Bishop in the Chapel at *Edinham*, there he had procured witnesses, and gathered Articles against him, which the young Man denied, and would not affirm, or consent to any interrogatory there and then ministered, so what they could.

The Articles were these.

Concerning Palms, Althes, holy Bread, holy Water, Articles obli
Easter, hearing divine service then set forth, &c.
Whether he had received all these, or whether he would receive them or no.
Item, what he thought of the Service set forth in King *Edward's* time, in his latter days, and in especial, what he thought of the verity of Christs Body in the Sacrament.

In

Yeoman and
John Dale
were taken
to the
Goal.

Wherefore whatsoever their confessions were, yet (if they would escape danger) they must needs be the Popish Bishops slaves and vassals. So they took *Richard Yeoman* and *John Dale* pinioned, and bound their Legs under the Hoofs Belles, and so carried them to the Goal at *Bury*, where they were tied in Irons; and for that they continually rebuked Popery, they were thrown into the lowest Dungeon, where *Jo. Dale* through sickness of the Prison and evil keeping, dyed in Prison, whose Body, when he was dead, was thrown out and buried in the Fields. He was a Man of 46. years of Age, a Weaver by his occupation, well learned in the holy Scriptures, faithful and honest in all his conversation, steadfast in confession of the true Doctrine of Christ for forth in King *Edward's* time; for which he joyfully suffered Prison and Chains and from this Worldly Dungeon he departed in Christ to eternal Glory, and the Blessed Pangs of everlasting felicity.

After that *John Dale* was dead, *Richard Yeoman* was

The burning of Richard Yeoman, Minister at Norwich 1558 July 10



The Martyrdom of Thomas Benbridge, Anno 1558 July 20



The Story of John Alcock.

The story of
John Alcock.

There was also in *Hadley* a young Man, named *John Alcock*, which came to *Hadley* seeking work, for he was a *Sherman* by his occupation. This young Man after the Martyrdom of *Doctor Taylor* and taking of *Richard Yeoman*, fled first in the Church of *Hadley* to read the Service in English, as partly is above touched. At length, after the coming of *Parson Newall*, he being in *Hadley* Church upon a Sunday when the *Parson* came by with procession, would not once more his *Cap* nor show any sign of reverence but stood behind the Font. *Newall* perceiving this, when he was almost out of the Church door, ran back again, and caught him, and called for the Constable.

Then came *Rob. Rolfe*, with whom this young Man wrought, and asked *M. Parson* what hath he done, that ye are in such a rage with him?

He is an Heretic and a Traitor (quoth the *Parson*) and despite the Queens proceedings. Wherefore I command you in the Queens Name, have him to the Stocks, and see he be forth coming.

Well, quoth *Rolfe*, he shall be forth coming, proceed you in your business, and be quiet. Have him to the Stocks, quoth the *Parson*.

I am Constable, quoth *Rolfe*, and may bail him, and will bail him; he shall not come in the Stocks, but he shall be forth coming: So went the good *Parson* forth

with his holy procession, and so to Mass.

At afternoon *Rolfe* said to this young Man, I am Cery for thee, for truly the *Parson* will seek thy destruction, if thou take not good heed what thou answerest him.

The young Man answered, Sir, I am sorry that it is my hap to be a trouble to you. As for my self, I am not sorry, but I do commit my self into Gods hands, and I trust he will give me Mouth and Willom to answer according to right.

Well, quoth *Rolfe*, yet beware of him. For he is malicious and a blood-fucker, and breathen an old hatred against me, and he will handle you the more cruelly, because of displeasure against me.

I fear not, quoth the young Man. He shall do no more to me, than God will give him leave; and happy shall I be if God will call me to dye for his truths sake.

After this talk, they then went to the *Parson*, who at the first asked him, Yellow, what fault thou to the Sacrament of the Altar?

I say, quoth he, ye use the matter, yemake a shameful Idol of it, and yeare false Idolaters Priests all the sort of you.

I told you (quoth the *Parson*) he was a stout Heretic.

So after long talk, the *Parson* committed him to *Ward*, where he lay until the next day rode he up to *London*, and carried with him the young Man with him, and so came the young Man

removed to *Norwich* Prison, where after frait and evil Anno

keeping, he was examined of his Faith and Religion. Then he boldly and constantly confessed himself to be of the Faith and Confession that was set forth by the late King of Blessed Memory, holy King *Edward* the sixth, and from that he would in no wise vary. Being required to submit himself to the holy Father the Pope: I defy him (quoth he) and all his detestable Abominations: I will in no wise have to do with him, nor any thing that appertaineth to him. The chief Articles objected to him, were his marriage, and the Mass Sacrifice. Wherefore when he continued steadfast in confession of the truth, he was condemned, degraded, and not only burnt, but most cruelly tormented in the Fire. So ended he his poor and miserable life, and entered into the blessed Bosom of *Abraham*, enjoying with *Lazarus* the comfortable quietness that God hath prepared for his elect Saints.

Anno
1558.

John Alcock
died in
Dunwich
Prison
Anno
1558.

no more again to *Hadley*, but after long Imprisonment in *Newgate*, where after many Examinations and troubles, for that he would not submit himself to ask forgiveness of the Pope, and to be reconciled to the Romish Religion, he was cast into the lower Dungeon, where with evil keeping and scantiness of the House, he dyed in Prison. Thus dyed he a Martyr for Christs verity, which he heartily loved and constantly confessed, and received the garland of a well foughten battel at the hand of the Lord. His Body was cast out, and buried in a dunghill. For the Papist would in all things be like themselves: Therefore would they not so much as suffer the dead Bodies to have honest and convenient sepulture.

Thomas Benbridge Gentleman and Martyr, wrongfully condemned and put to death by the cruel Papists for the defence of the Gospel of Christ Jesus.

July 20
1558
Thomas
Benbridge
died.

Thomas Benbridge a Gentleman, single and unmarried in the Diocese of *Windsor*, although he might have lived a pleasant and a Gentlemans life in the worldly possitions of this World; yet to follow Christ had rather enter into the frait gate of persecution, to the Heavenly possition of life in the Lords Kingdom, than here to enjoy pleasures present with unquietness of Conscience. Wherefore, manfully standing against the Papists for the defence of the sincere Doctrine of Christs Gospel, he feared not himself to confirm the Doctrine of the Gospel. For the which cause he being apprehended for an adversary of the Romish Religion, was forthwith had to examination before *Doctor* *Windsor*, where he sustained fiery conflicts for the truth against the said Bishop and his Colleges. The Articles of the Bishop ministred to him, with his answers to the same annexed, be here following.

Articles ministred to M. Benbridge, with his answers following the same.

Articles
opposed
to
M.
Benbridge.
Answer.

First, we articulate against you, that the Church of God ministred rightly according to the Rite Apostolical.

To this he answered, That Baptism is not administered at this present, so as it was in the Apostles time, for that it is not ministred in the English Tongue.

The
real
protest.

2. Item, we articulate, that the Church of God doth believe, and hold, that in the Sacrament of thanksgiving, after the words of Consecration pronounced of the Priest, the true and natural Body of Christ is present really.

Answer.

He answered, that he believeth not that in the Sacrament is contained the Body and Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ, saying this is the mark that ye shew at.

Confession
to
Answer.

3. Item, we articulate, that the Church holdeth and believeth, that confirmation is a Sacrament in the Church, and that by imposition of hands of a Bishop, cometh Grace.

He answered, that he knoweth not whether that confirmation be a Sacrament or not, and whether the Bishop giveth Grace or not; he knoweth not the order and fashion of ministrature.

Answer.
Protest
no
Sacrament.

4. Item, we articulate, that Penance is a Sacrament in the Church, and that by Auricular Confession and Absolution, pronounced by the priest, sins be forgiven.

He answered negatively, denying first to be forgiven by absolution pronounced of a Priest, and that it is not necessary for a Man to receive all his sins to a Priest.

Answer.

5. Item, we articulate against thee, that the Church doth believe and hold the same Authority to be now in the Church which Christ gave to his Apostles.

He answered negatively, for that the Church hath not the same power and strength to work.

Answer.

6. Item, we articulate, that the Church believeth and holdeth, that the Order of Ministers, now being in the Church of Christ, is instituted of Christ himself.

Answer.

He answered, he believed not the Bishops to be the Successors of the Apostles, for that they be not called as they were, nor have that Grace.

Head
of
the
Church.

7. Item, we articulate that the Church believeth and holdeth the Pope to be Supreme Head in the Church, and the Vicar of Christ in Earth.

He answered, that it is not the Pope, but it is the Devil that is Supreme Head of the Church which you speak Answer.

8. Item, we articulate, that the Church doth hold and believe that it is necessary to be Baptized.

He denied not the same.

9. Item, we articulate, that the Church doth hold and believe, that there is Purgatory, and that the Souls Purgatory of the dead be relieved with the alms and Prayers of the living.

He answered and faith, as touching Purgatory, he will not believe as their Church doth believe.

10. Item, we articulate, that the Church holdeth and believeth that Matrimony is a Sacrament of the Church.

He answered, that he will not say that Matrimony is a Sacrament, but to be a sacred Order and sign of an honest holy thing, &c.

Moreover hapning into the mention of *Martin Luther*, he said that the said *Martin Luther* died a good Christian Man, whose Doctrine and Life he did approve and allow.

Thus have ye the Articles ministred by the Bishop and also the Answers of the said *M. Benbridge* unto the same, demanded, for the which he was then condemned, and after brought to the place of Martyrdom by the Sheriff, called *Sir Richard Cook*. Where he standing at the Stake, began to utter these points, and to prepare himself; then he gave his Gown to the Keeper, being belike his tunic. His Jerkin was laid on with Gold Lace fair and brave which he gave to *Sir Rich. Cook* the High Sheriff. His cap of Velvet brought to him he took off from his head and threw it away. Then lifting his mind to the Lord, he made his Prayers.

That done, being now fastened to the Stake, *D. Seaton* would him to recant, and he should have his pardon: but when he saw it prevailed not to speak the said dreaming and foolish Doctor willed the people not to pray for him unless he would recant, no more than they would pray for a dog.

M. Benbridge standing at the Stake with his hands together in such manner as the Priest holdeth his hands in his memento, the said *D. Seaton* came to him again, and exhorted him to recant: unto whom he said, *Away Babylonians*, away.

Then said one that stood by, *Sir*, cut out his Tongue, and another being a temporal Man, talked on him worse than *D. Seaton* did a great deal, who (as is thought) was set on by some other.

Then when they saw he would not yield, they bade the tormentors to set to Fire, and yet he was nothing like covered with faggots. First, the Fire took away a piece of his beard, whereat he nothing thrunk at all. Then it came on the other side and took his Legs, and the neither Stockings of his Hoofe being Leather, made the Fire to pierce the tharper, so that the intolerable heat thereof made him to cry, I recant: and suddenly therewith he thrust the Fire from him. And having two or three of his friends by, that willed his life they flew to the Fire and help to take it from him also; who for their labour were sent to *Sir Richard Cook*.

The Sheriff also of his own Authority took him from the Stake and sent him to Prison again, for the which he was sent unto the Fleet, and there lay a certain time. But before he was taken from the Stake, the said *Seaton* wrote Articles to have him to subscribe unto as touching the Pope, the Sacrament, and the like.

The said *M. Benbridge* made much ado ere he would subscribe them, in much that *Doctor Seaton* willed them to set to Fire again. Then with much pain and grief of Heart he subscribed to them upon a Mans Back. That being done, he had his Gown given him again, and so was led to Prison. Being in Prison he wrote a Letter to *Doctor Seaton*, and recanted those words he spake at the Stake, unto which he had subscribed, for he was grievous that ever he did subscribe unto them. Whereupon expressing his Conscience, he was the same day seven night after burnt indeed, where the vile tormentors did rather broil him than burn him. The Lord give his enemies repentance.

Master Benbridge recanted and set to the Stake.

Sir Richard Cook.

M. Benbridge repented.

and carried to *Newgate*, and shortly after he was brought before the Lord Chancellor, denying the Sacrament of the Altar to be the Body and Blood of Christ, and faith it was an Idol, and therefore was condemned to be burned by the said *Dally*. He was burnt the seventh of May 1557, and died godly, patiently, and constantly, confiding the Articles of our Faith.

Thomas Hale, Martyr.

The Thursday in the night before *Easter*, Anno 1557, came one *Mr. David Herri Alderman*, and *John Stone*, to the House of one *Thomas Hale*, a Shoemaker of *Brighthelm*, and caused him to rise out of his Bed, and brought him forth of his door. To whom the said *Thomas Hale* said, You have fought my Blood these two years, and now much good do you wish it. Who being committed to the Watchmen, was carried to *Newgate* the twenty fourth of *April*, the year aforesaid, was brought before *Mr. Dally* the Chancellor, committed by him to Prison, and after by him condemned to be burnt, for lying the Sacrament of the Altar to be

an Idol. He was burned the seventh of May with the afore said *Richard Sharp*, and godly, patiently, and constantly embraced the Fire with his arms.

Richard Sharp and Thomas Hale were burned both together in one fire, and bound back to back.

Thomas Benion.

Thomas Benion a Weaver, at the Commandment *The Bishop* of the Commissioners, was brought by a Constable, the thirteenth day of *August* Anno, 1557, before *Master Dally* Chancellor of *Brighthelm*, who committed him to Prison for lying there was nothing but Bread in the Sacrament, as they used it. Wherefore, the twentieth day of the said *August* he was condemned to be burnt by the said *Dally*, for denying 5. of their Sacraments, and affirming two, that is, the Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Christ, and the Sacrament of Baptism. He was burnt the 27. of the said month and year, and died godly, Constantly, and patiently, with confiding the Articles of our Christian Faith.

Thomas Benion burnt at Brighthelm Aug. 27. 1557.



The Martyrdom of five constant Christians, which suffered the last of all order in the time of Queen Mary.

November: *The* last that suffered in *Queen Mary's* time, were five at *Canterbury* burnt about six days before the death of *Queen Mary*, whose names follow here under written.

John Cornford, of *Worham*.

Christopher Brown, of *Maidstone*.

John Herf, of *Alford*.

Alice Smith.

Katherine Knight, otherwise called *Katherine Tynley*, an aged Woman.

These five, to close up the final Rage of *Queen Mary's* Persecution, for the testimony of that Word, for which so many had died before, gave up their lives meekly and patiently, suffering the violent malice of the Papists. Which Papists, although they then might have either well spared them, or else deferred their death, knowing of the sickness of *Queen Mary*; yet fuch were the implacable despite of that Generation, that some there be that say, the Archdeacon of *Canterbury* was the same time being at *London*, and understanding the dan-

ger of the Queen, incontinently made all post-hast home to dispatch these, whom before he had then in his cruel custody.

The matter why they were judged to be the Fire, was for their not believing the Body not to be in the Sacrament of the Altar, unless it be received; saying moreover, that we conceive another thing also besides Christ's Body, which we see, and is a temporal thing, according to *St. Paul*, *The things that be seen, be temporal*, &c.

Item, for confessing that an evil man doth not receive Christ's Body, *Because no man hath the Son*, except he give him of the Father.

Item, that it is Idolatry to creep to the Cross, and *St. John* forbidding *Idolatry*, *Beasts of Images*.

Item, for confessing that we should not pray to our Lady, and other Saints, because they be not Omnipotent.

For these and other such Articles of Christian Doctrine, were these five committed to the Fire. Against which whom when the Sentence should be read, and they excommunicate, after the manner of the Papists, one of them, *John Cornford* by Name, stirred with a vehement spirit of the Zeal of God, proceeding in a more true Excommunication against the Papists, in the name of them all, pronounced Sentence against them, in these words as follow:

In the Name of our Lord Jesus Christ, the Son of the most mighty God, and by the power of his Holy Spirit, and the authority of his Holy Catholic and Apostolic Church, we do here give into the Hands of Satan to be destroyed, the Bodies of all those Blasphemers and Heretics, that do maintain any error against his most holy Word, or do condemn his most holy Truth for Heresy, to the maintenance of any false Church or feigned Religion, so that by this thy just judgment, O most mighty God, against thy Adversaries, thy True Religion may be known to thy great glory and our comfort, and to the edifying of all our Nation. God Lord be it, Amen.

This Sentence of Excommunication being the same time openly pronounced and registred, proceeding so, as it seemeth from an inward Faith and hearty zeal to Gods Truth and Religion, took such effect against the enemy, that within six days after *Queen Mary* dyed, and the Tyranny of all English Papists with her, albeit notwithstanding the Sickness and Death of that Queen, whereof they were not ignorant; yet the Archdeacon, with other of *Canterbury*, thought to dispatch the Martyrdom of these Men before.

In the which fact, the tyranny of this Archdeacon seemeth to exceed the cruelty of *Boner*; who notwithstanding he had certain the same time under his custody, yet he was not so importune in haling them to the fire, as appeareth by *Father Loring* and his Wife, and divers other, who being the same time under the custody and danger of *Boner*, were delivered by the death of *Queen Mary*, and remain yet some of them alive.

These godly Martyrs in their prayers which they made before their Martyrdom, desired God that their Blood might be the last that should be shed, and so it was. This *Katherine Tynley* was the Mother of one *Robert Tynley*, now dwelling in *Maidstone*, which *Robert* was in trouble all *Queen Mary's* time. To whom his Mother, coming to visit him, asked him how he took this place of Scripture which he had seen, not by reading of the Scripture (for the had yet in manner no taste of Religion,) but had found it by chance in a Book of prayers, *I will pour out my Spirit upon all Flesh, and your Sons and your Daughters shall prophesy: your Old Men shall dream dreams, and your Young Men shall see Visions. And also upon the Servants, and upon the Maids in those days will I pour my Spirit, &c.* Which place after that he had expounded to her, she began to take hold on the Gospel, growing more and more in zeal and love thereof, and so continued unto her Martyrdom.

Among such young Women as were burnt at *Canterbury*, it is recorded of a certain maid, and supposed to be this *Alice Smith* here in this story mentioned, or else to be *Agness Smith* above storied, (for they were both burned) that when she was brought to be executed, she being at the Stake, called for her Godfather and Godmothers. The Justice, hearing her, sent for them, but they durst not come. Nevertheless the Justice will ed the messenger to go again, and to tell them that they should incur no danger thereof.

Then, they hearing that, came to know the matter of their fending for. When the maid saw them, she asked them what they had promised for her, and to the immediately released her Faith, and the commandments of God, and required of them, if there were any more that they had promised in her behalf, and they said, No.

Then, said she, I die a Christian Woman, bear witness of mee, and so cruelly in fire was the consumed, and gave joyfully her life up for the Testimony of Christ's Gospel, to the terror of the wicked, and comfort of the godly, and also to the flogging of the slanderous mouths of such, as falsely do quarrel against the faithful Martyrs, for going from that Religion wherein by their Godfathers and Godmothers they were first Baptized.

The Story and Condemnation of *John Hunt*, and *Richard White*, ready to be burnt, but by the Death of *Q. Mary* escaped the fire.

Else these Martyrs above named, divers there were in divers other places of the Realm imprisoned,

whereof time were but newly taken and not yet examined, some begun to be examined, but were not yet condemned, certain were both examined and condemned, but for lack of the Wit escaped.

Other there were also both condemned, and the Wit also was brought down for their burning, and yet by the death of the Chancellor, the Bishop, and of *Queen Mary* happening together about one time, they most happily and marvellously were preserved, and lived many years after. In the number of whom was one *John Hunt* and *Richard White*, imprisoned at *Salisbury*. Touching which history following here to be shewed.

First, these two good Men and faithful Servants of the Lord above named, to wit, *John Hunt*, and *Richard White*, had remained long time in Prison at *Salisbury* and other places thereabout, the space of two years and more. During which time, oft times they were called to examination, and manifold ways were impugned by the Bishops and the Priests. All whose examinations, as I thought not much needful here to prosecute or to search out, for the length of the Volume; so neither again did I think it good to leave no Memory at all of the same, but some part to express, namely of the Examination of *Richard White* before the B. of *Salisbury*, the B. of *Glocester*, with the Chancellor and other Priests, not unworthy perchance to be rehearsed.

The Examination of *Richard White*, before the Bishop of *Salisbury* in his Chamber at *Salisbury* the 26. day of *April*, Anno 1557.

The Bishop of *Salisbury* at that time was *Doctor Examination* of *White*. *Capon*. The Bishop of *Glocester* was *Doctor White*. These with *Doctor Gifford* the Chancellor of *Salisbury*, and a great number of Priests sitting in judgment, *Richard White* was brought before them. With whom first the Bishop of *Glocester*, which had the examination of him, beginneth thus.

Bishop Brookes. Is this the prisoner?

White. Yes, my Lord, I am.

Brookes. Friend, wherfore comest thou hither?

White. My Lord, I trust to know the cause: for the Law faith;

In the Mouth of two or three witnesseth things must stand.

Didur Capon. Did not I examine thee of thy Faith when thou comest hither?

White. No, my Lord, you did not examine me, but commanded me to the *Lollards Tower*, and that no man should speak with me. And now I do require mine accusation.

Then the Register said; The Maier of *Mariborough* did apprehend you for words that you spake there, and for that I commanded you to be conveyed hither to Prison.

White. You had the examination of me in *Mariborough*. Say what I have said. And I will answer you.

Gifford. Thus faith confideth thy Faith ere you depart; and therefore say thy mind freely, and be not ashamed to do so.

White. I am not ashamed of the Gospel of Christ, because it is the power of God to Salvation unto all that believe; and *St. Peter* faith; *If any man do wish to be a part of the hope that is in us, make him a direct enjurer and that with meekness*; Who shall have the examination of me?

Chanc. My Lord of *Glocester* shall have the examination of thee.

White. My Lord, will you take the pains to wet your coat in my Blood? be not guilty thereof; I warn you before hand.

Brookes. I will do nothing contrary to our Law.

White. My Lord, what is it that you do request at my hands?

Brookes. I will appose thee upon certain Articles, and principally upon the Sacrament of the Altar: How dost thou believe of the blessed Sacrament of the Altar? Believest thou not the real, carnal, and corporal presence of Christ in the same, even the very same Christ that was born of the Virgin *Mary*, that was hanged on the Cross and that suffered for our sins? (and at these words they all put off their caps, and bowed their Bodies.)

White.

A Chaplain of the Bilhops standing by turned the Poor Man about, and thinking to deface him, laid in mucking wife; What have we here? A player? Willst thou say I was flandering in the Bilhops Chamber, he epiaid hanging about the Bilhops. Bled a great pair of Black Boads; whereupon he said; My Lord, I thinke the Hangman is not far off; for the Halter (pointing to the Boads) is here already. At which words the Bilhop was in a marvelous rage.

Then immediately after he epiaid also flandering in the said Bilhops Chamber in the Window alittle Crucifix; (before which belike *Boner* used to kneel in the time of his hypocritical prayers.) Then he asked the Bilhop what it was; and he answered that it was Christ. Was he handled so cruelly as he is here pictured, quoth *Ferry*?

Yea, that he was, said the Bilhop. And even so cruelly will you handle such as come before you. For you are unto Gods People as *Capitans* was unto Christ.

The Bilhop being in a great fury, said; Thou art a vile Heretick, and I will burne thee, or else I will fane all that I have unto my gown.

Nay, my Lord, said *Ferry*, ye were better to give it a Poor Body, that he may pray for you. But yet *Boner* bestidking in himself of the danger that the Child was in by their whippings, and what peril might ensue thereupon, thought better to discharge him; which thing was accomplished.

Whereupon, after this such like talk, the Bilhop at last discharged him, willing him to go home, and carry his Child with him; which he did; and that with a heavy heart to see his Poor Boy in such extreme pain and grief. But within fourteen days after the Child died, whether through his cruel flogging, or any other infection, I know not; and therefore I enter the truth thereof, a Child four of the said Countie, who knoweth all forces, and as to the direct judgment of the wise Reader. But howsoever it was, the Lord yet used their cruel and detestable fact, as a means of his providence for the delivery of this good Poor Man and faithful Christian, his name be ever prayed for them, *Amen*.

The cruel handling and burning of Nicholas Burton, Englishman and Merchant in Spain.

As much as in our former Book of Acts and Monuments mention was made of the Martyrdom of *Nicholas Burton*, I thought here also not to omit the factury, being such as is not unworthy to be known, as well for the profitable example of his singular constancy, as also for the noting of the extreme danger and cruel revenging of those Catholic Inquisitors of Spain, who under the pretence of Religion, do nothing but seek their own private gain and commodity with crafty riling and spoiling of other Mens goods, as by the noting of this story may appear.

The fifth day of the Month of November, about the year of our Lord God, 1560, this *Nicholas Burton*, Citizen sometime of London and Merchant, dwelling in the Parish of little Saint Bartholomew, peaceably and quietly following his traffique in the trade of Merchandises, and being in the City of Cadix, in the party of *Andalusia* in Spain, there came into his lodging a *Judas* (or as they term them) a Familiar of the Fathers of the Inquisition. Who asking for the said *Nicholas Burton*, fained that he had a letter to deliver to his own hands; by which means he faine with him immediately, and having no Letter to deliver to him, then the said Promoter or Familiar, at the motion of the Devil his Master, whose mischief he was invented another lie, and said, that he would take lading for London in such ships as the said *Nicholas Burton* had fraited to lade; if he would let any, which was partly to know whether he laded his goods, that they might attach them, and chiefly to detract the time until the *Inquisitor* or Sergeant of the said Inquisition might come and apprehend the Body of the said *Nicholas Burton*; which they did incontinently.

Who then, well perceiving that they were not able to burden nor charge him that he had written, spoken, or done any thing there in that Country against the Ecclesiastical or Temporal Laws of the same Realm, boldly

asked them what they had to lay to his charge that they did to arrest him and bade them to declare the cause, and he would answer them. Nowwithstanding they answered nothing, but commanded him with cruel threatening words to hold his peace, and not to speak one word to them.

And so they carried him to the cruel and filthy common Prison of the Town of Cadix, where he remained in irons fourteen days amongst thieves. All which time he instructed the poor Prisoners in the Word of God, according to the good tale which God had given him in that behalf, and also in the Spanish Tongue to utter the same, that in short space he had well retained sundry of those Superstitious and ignorant Spaniards to embrace the Word of God, and to reject their Popish Traditions.

Which being known unto the Officers of the Inquisition, they conveyed him laden with Irons from thence to a City called *Sevil*, into a more cruel and stricter Prison called *Triana*, where the said Fathers of the Inquisition proceeded against him fiercely according to their accustomable cruel tyranny, that never after he could be suffered to write or to speak to any of his nation; so that to this day it is unknown who was his accuser.

Afterward, the 20. day of December, in the foresaid year, they brought the said *Nicholas Burton*, with a great number of other prisoners, for professing the true Christian Religion, into the City of *Sevil*, to a place, where the said Inquisitors fate in judgment, which they called *Aras*, with a Canvas Coat, whereupon in divers parts was painted the figure of a huge Devil, tormenting a Soul in a flame of fire, and on his head a copping tank of the same work.

His tongue was forced out of his mouth with a cloven sick fallen upon it, that he should not utter his Conscience and Faith to the People, and so he was fit with another condemned Man for Religion, as well French with the said Inquisitors, where their Sentences and Judgments were read and pronounced against them.

And immediately after the said Sentences given, they were carried from thence to the place of execution without the City, where they most cruelly burned him, for whose constant Faith, God be praised.

This *Nicholas Burton* by the way, and the flames of the fire made so cheerful a Countenance, embracing Death with all patience and gladness, that the tormentors and enemies which flood by, said that the Devil had his Soul before he came to the fire; and therefore they said his senses of feeling were past him.

It happened that after the arrest of this *Nicholas Burton* at Cadix, immediately all the goods and merchandise which he brought with him into Spain by the way of traffique, were (according to their common usage) seized, and taken into the Sequeiter; among the which they also rolled up much that appertained to another English Merchant, wherewith he was credited as Factor. Whereof as soon as news was brought to the Merchant as well of the imprisonment of his Factor, as of the arrest made upon his goods, he sent his Attorney into Spain with Authority from him, to make claim to his goods, and to demand them; whose name was *John Fronton*, Citizen of *Brussels*.

When his Attorney was landed at *Sevil*, and had shewed all his Letters and writings to the Holy House, requiring them that such goods might be delivered into his possession, and was made him that he must sue by Bill, and retain an Advocate (but he was all doubleless to delay him) and they forbore of courteously assigned him one to frame his Supplication for him, and other such Bills of petition, as he had to exhibit into the Holy Court, demanding for each Bill 8. Rials, albeit they stood him in no more Rial, than if he had put up more at all. And for the space of three or four Months this fellow moved not twice a day, attending every morning and after-noon at the Inquisitors Palace, suing unto them upon his knees for his dispatch, but especially to the Bilhops of *Terreana*, who was at that very time chief in the Inquisition at *Sevil*, that he of his absolute Authority would command restitution to be made thereof; but

The manner of the Popish Spaniards in carrying Nicholas Burton a blessed Martyr of Christ after most pitiful sort to the burning.



but the Boy was to good and so great, that it was very hard to come by it again.

At the length, after he had spent whole four Months in suits and requests, and also to no purpose, he received this Answer from them, that he must then better evidence, and bring more sufficient Certificates out of England for proof of this matter, than those which he had already presented to the Court. Whereupon the party forthwith posted to London, and with all speed returned with such Answers greater and more weighty Affairs, and with such Certificates, according to their requests, and exhibited them to the Court.

Notwithstanding the Inquisitors still shifted him off, excusing themselves by lack of leisure, and for that they were occupied in more weighty Affairs, and with such Answers delayed him other four Months after.

At the last, when the party had well-nigh spent all his Money, and therefore sued the more earnestly for his dispatch, they referred the matter wholly to the Bilhop. Of whom, when he repaired unto him, he made this Answer, That for himself, he knew what he had to do; howbeit he was but one man, and the determination of the matter appertained unto the other Commissioners as well as unto him; and thus by plying and passing it from one to another, the party could obtain no end of his Suit. Yet, for his importunity sake, they were resolved to dispatch him, it was on this sort: One of the Inquisitors called *Gasco*, a man very well experienced in these practices, willed the party to resort unto him after Dinner.

The Fellow being glad to hear these News, and supposing that his goods should be restored unto him, and that he was called in for that purpose to talk with the other that was in Prison, to confer with him about their Accounts, the rather through a little misunderstanding, he therupon more than half persuaded, that at the length they meant good Faith, did so, and repaired thither about the Evening. Immediately upon his coming, the *Gasco* was forthwith charged with him, to flue him up close in such a certain Prison, where they appointed him.

The party hoping at the first that he had been called for about some other matter, and seeing himself contrary to his expectation call into a dark Dungeon, perceived at the length that the world went with him far otherwise than he supposed it would have done.

But within two, or three days after, he was brought forth into the Court, where he began to demand his goods; and because it was a device that well served their turn, without any more circumstance they bade him say his *Ave Maria*. The party began and said it after this manner; *Ave Maria gratia plena, Dominus tecum, benedicta tu in mulieribus, & benedictus fructus ventris tui Jesus Amen.*

The fame was written word by word as he spake it, *J. P. 1560* judged not as heretick, for not adding to *Ave Maria*, more than the Scripture heads. The fame was written word by word as he spake it, *J. P. 1560* judged not as heretick, for not adding to *Ave Maria*, more than the Scripture heads.

Thus they picked a quarrel to detain him in Prison a longer season, and afterwards brought him forth into their Stage disguised after their manner: where Sentence was given, that he should lose all the goods which he used for his traffique, were not his own, and besides this suffer a years imprisonment.

The Martyrdom of another Englishman in Spain.

At what time this blessed Martyr of Christ suffered, which was the year of our Lord 1560, December 22. there suffered also another Englishman, with other thirteen, one of them being a Nun, another a Friar, both confite in the Lord, of which thirteen read before.

John Baker, and William BURGATE, Martyrs.

John Baker and *William BURGATE*, both Englishmen in *Cales*, in the Country of *Spain*, were apprehended, and in the City of *Sevil* burned the second day of November.

Mark BURGES, and William HOKER, Martyrs.

Mark BURGES an Englishman, Master of an English Ship called the *Almon*, was burned in *Lisbon*, in a City in *Portingall*, Anno 1560.

William

and Sir Anthony Browne, but that they had deferred death, and that they should have the Law.

At length through intreaties, he granted them this much favour, that they should not die as they had deserved, but should be tied to a Carr Tail, and be whipped three Market days thorough the City. Thus they came home that day, and went another day, and the Mayor and the Wardens of the Company kneeling before them to have this open punishment released, forasmuch as they were Servants of a worlshipful Company, and that they might be punished in their own Hall before the Warden and certain of the Company. At length it was granted with condition, as some said, as shall be hereafter declared.

Then were they sent before the Masters the next day to the Hall, both their Masters being also present, and there were laid to their charge the heinous offences by them committed, how they were both Heretics and Traitors, and had deserved death for the same, and this was declared with a long procees by the Master of the Company, whose name was Master Brookes, declaring what great labour and toil the Mayor and the Warden had done for them, to save them from death, which they (as he said) had deferred, and from open shame which they should have had, being judged by the Council to have been whipped three days thorough the City at a Carrs Tail, and from these two dangers had they laboured to deliver them, but not without great pain and also charge. For (saith he) the Company hath promised unto the Council for this their mercy and favour shewed towards them, being of such a worlshipful Company, a hundred pounds, notwithstanding we must fee them punished in our Hall within our selves for their offences. After this and many other words he commanded them to address themselves to receive their punishment.

Then were they put asunder, and stripped from the Hall, wait upward one after another, and had into the Hall, and in the middle of the Hall, where they lay to meet their fire, there was a great ring of iron, to the which there was a rope tied fast, and one of their Feet thereof fast tied.

Then came two men down, disguised in Mummer's Apparel, with Vipers on their Faces, and they beat them with great Rods untill the Blood did follow in their Bodies. As concerning this Wilmot, he could not lye in his Bed six nights after, for Brookes played the Tyrant with him. So it was, that with the beating and fright and fear, they were never in health fairs as the said Wilmot with his own mouth hath credibly affirmed us, and we can not but believe the same.

Thus have we briefly rehearsed this little tragedy, wherein we may note the malice of the enemies at all times to those which profess Christ, and take his part, of what estate or degree forever they be, according to the Apostles saying, *It is given unto you not only to be hated, but also to suffer with him.* To whom be honour and glory, Amen.

Next after these two above specified, followeth the beating of one Thomas Green; who, in the time of Queen Mary, was caused likewise to be scourged and beaten by Dr. Story. What the cause was here followeth in Storys Examination to be seen, which he penned with his own hand, as the thing it self will declare to the Reader. The Copy and words of the same, as he wrote them, here follow. Wherein as thou mayst note (gentle Reader) the implicity of the one I pray thee, mark the cruelty of the other part.

The Scourging of Thomas Green.

In the Reign of Queen Mary, I Thomas Green being brought before Doctor Story by my Masters, whose name is John Wayland a Printer, for a Book called *Antichrist*, the which had been distributed to certain honest men; He asked me where I had the Book, and I said I was a Traitor. I told him I had the Book of a French Man. Then he asked me more questions, but I told him I would tell him no more, nor could not. Then he said it was no Heretic, but Treason, and that I should be hanged, drawn, and quartered, and so he called for

Cluny, the Keeper of the *Lollards-Tower*, and bade him let me fall in the Stocks.

I was not in the *Lollards-Tower* two hours; but Cluny came and took me out, and carried me to the Cole-house, and there I found a French man lying in the Stocks, and he took him out, and put on my right leg a Bolt and a Fetter, and on my left hand another, and so he fit me cross-legged in the Stocks, and took the French man away with him, and there I lay a day and a night. On the morning after, he came and said, let us shift your hand and your leg, because you shall not be lame; and he made as though he pitted me, and said, tell me the Truth and I will be your Friend.

And I said, I had told the Truth, and would tell no other. Then he put no more by me in the Stocks, and so went his way, and there I lay six days, and could come to no answer.

Then Doctor Story sent for me, and asked whether I would tell him the Truth, where I had the Book. I would tell him the Truth, where I had the Book. He asked me where I came acquainted with the French man, where he dwelt, and where he delivered me the Book. I said, I came acquainted with him in *Neugate*, I coming to my Friends which were put in for Gods Word and Truths sake, and the French man coming to his Friends also, there we did talk together, and became acquainted one with another, and did eat and drink together with our Friends in the fear of God.

Then Story scoffed at me and said, then there was, I say, his Brother in Christ, and Brother in Christ, and reviled me, and called me an Heretic, and asked me if I had the Book of him in *Neugate*. I said no, and I told him, as I went on my business in the Street I met him, and he asked me how I did, and I him also; so falling in communication, he shewed me that Book, and I desired him that he would let me have it.

In this Examination Story said, it was a great Book, and asked me whether I bought it or had it given me. I told him I bought it. Then said he, I was a Thief, and had stolen my Masters money. And I said, a little money served, for I gave him but four pence, but I promised him, that at our next meeting I would give twelve pence more. And he said, that was boldly done, for such a Book as spoke both Treason and Heresie.

Then Story required me to bring him two Sureties, and watch for him that I had the Book of, and I should have no harm. I made him answer, I would bring no Sureties, nor could I tell where to find them. Then said he, this is but a lye, and so called for Cluny, and bade him lay me fast in the Cole-house, saying, he would make me tell another Tale at my next coming; and so I lay in the Stocks day and night, but only when I eat my meat, and there remained ten days before I was called for again.

Then Dr. Story sent for me again, and asked if I would yet sell him the Truth. I said, I could tell him no other Truth than I had, nor would. And while I was there, standing, there were two brought which I took to be Prisoners.

Then Mrs. Story fell in a rage, and swore a great Oath, that it were a good deed, to put a hundred or two hundred of such Heretics Knives in an hour, and I my self (said he) would be in on fire. So I was committed to Prison again, where I remained fourteen days, and came to no answer.

Then Story sent for me again, and called me into the Garden, and there I found with him the Lord of *Windfords*, for his Chaplains and two Gentlemen more, and he told them what they had said and done. They said, the Book was a wondrous evil Book, and had both Treason and Heresie in it. Then they asked me what I said by the Book. And I said, I know no more by it.

As which word Story chafed, and said he would hang me up by the hands with a rope, and said also he would cut out my Tongue, and mine ears also from my head. After this they alleged two or three things unto me out of the Book. And I answered, I had not read the Book thorough, and therefore I could give no judgment of the Book.

Then my Lord of *Windfords* Chaplain and the other two Gentlemen took me aside, and intreated me very gently, saying, tell us where you had the Book, and of whom

whom, and we will save you harmless. I made them answer, I had told all that I could to Doctor Story, and began to tell it them again; but they said, they knew that already; so they left that talk, and went again to Story with me.

Then Story burdened me with my Faith, and said I was an Heretic. Whereupon the Chaplain asked me how I did believe. Then I began to rehearse the Articles of my Belief, but he bade me let that alone. Then he asked me how I believed in Christ. I made him answer, that I believed in Christ which did and rose again the third day, and sitteth on the right hand, of God the Father.

Whereupon Story asked me mockingly, what is the *Angels* right hand of God? I made him answer, I thought it was his glory. Then said he, for they say all. And he asked me when he would be weary of sitting there. Then I answered my Lord of *Windfords* Chaplain, asking me what I said by the Mass. I said, I never knew what it was, nor what it meant, for I understood it not, because I never learned any Latin, and since the time that I had any knowledge, I had been brought up in nothing but in reading of English, and with such means I have taught the same; with many more questions, which I cannot rehearse.

Moreover he asked me if there were not the very Body of Christ, Flesh, Blood and Bone in the Mass, after the Priest had consecrated it. And I made him answer; as for the Mass I cannot understand it; but in the New Testament I read, that as the Apostles stood looking after the Lord when he ascended up into Heaven, an Angel said to them, *Even as you see him ascend up, so shall he come again.* And I told them another Sentence, where Christ said, *The poor shall you have always with you, but my flesh shall you have not.*

Then Mr. Chaplain put to me many questions more, to the which I could make him no answer. Among all other, he brought *Chrysostom* and *Saint Hierome* for his purpose. To whom I answered, that I neither minded nor was able to answer their Doctors, neither knew whether they said them right, or no, but as to that which is written in the New Testament I would answer. Here they laughed me to scorn, and called me Fool and knave, they would reason no more with me.

Then Doctor Story called for Cluny, and bade him take me away, and fet me fast, and let no man speak with me. So was I sent to the *Cole-house*; where I had not been a week, but there came in 14 Prisoners; but I was kept still alone without company, in a Prison called *Salt-house*, having upon my Leg a Bolt and a Fetter, and my hands manacled together with Irons, and there continued ten days, having nothing to lye on, but bare floors or a Board.

On a time while I lay there in Prison, the Bishop of London coming down a pair of Stairs on the backside untill, in his hose and Dublet, looked in at the Grate, and asked wherefore I was put in, and whom put in.

I made him answer, that I was put in for a Book called *Antichrist*, by Dr. Story. And he said, you are not ashamed to declare wherefore you were put in, and said it was a very wicked Book, and bade me confess the Truth to Story. I said, I had told the Truth to him already, and he said, I would be bound unto him, and help me out of Prison, for they had kept me there long. And he said, he could not meddle with it; Story hath begun it, and he must end it.

Then I was removed out of the *Salt-house* to give place to two women, and carried to the *Lollards-Tower*, and put in the Stocks; and there I found two Prisoners, one called *Lion* a Frenchman, and another with him, and so I was kept in the Stocks more than a month both day and night, and no man to come to me, or to speak with me, but only my Keeper which brought me meat.

Thus the three being together, *Lion* the Frenchman, and I, and the other I found two Prisoners, one called *Lion* a Frenchman, and another with him, and so I was kept in the Stocks more than a month both day and night, and no man to come to me, or to speak with me, but only my Keeper which brought me meat.

After this, I being in the *Lollards-Tower* 7 days, at

my last being with Story, he swore a great Oath, that he would rack me, and make me tell the Truth. Then Story said for me, commanded me to be brought to *Walsby* and the *Commisioners* desired; and by the *Commisioners* the way my Keeper told me that I should go to the *Tower* and be racked. So there they had dined, Story called for me in, and so there I stood before them, and some said I was worthy to be hanged for having such Heretical Books. After I had said a little while before them, Story called for the Keeper, and commanded him to carry me to the *Lollards-Tower* again, and said; I have other matters of the Queens to do with the *Commisioners*, this Week I will find another time for him. Whilst I lay yet in the *Lollards-Tower*, the Woman which brought the Books over, being taken, and her Books was put in the *Linkin-Southwork* by Hufley, one of the *Arches*; and *Thomas Green* before God, now, that I neither desired the man nor the Woman, the which I had the Books of.

Then I lying in the *Lollards-Tower*, being sent for by *Thomas Green*, he required of me, wherefore I was put into the *Lollards-Tower*, and by whom. To whom I made answer, that I was put there by Doctor Story for a Book called *Antichrist*. Then he made as though he would be my Friend, and said he knew my Friends, and my Father and Mother, and bade me tell him of whom I had the Book, and said, Come on, tell me the Truth. I told him as I had told Dr. Story before.

Then he was very angry and said, I love thee well, and therefore I sent for thee, and looked for a further Truth; but I would tell him no other; whereupon he sent me again to the *Lollards-Tower*. At my going away he called me back again, and said that *Dixon* gave me the Books being an old man, dwelling in *Birch Lane*; and I said he knew the matter better than I. So he sent me away to the *Lollards-Tower*, where I remained seven days and more.

Then Mr. Hufley sent for me again, and required of me to tell him the Truth. I told him I could tell him no more Truth than I had told Dr. Story before.

Then he began to tell me how *Dixon* had the Books, the which had made the matter manifest afore, and he told me of all things touching *Dixon* and the Books, more then I could myself, inasmuch that he told me how many I had, and that he had a full fall of the Books in his hood, and knew where the Woman lay, better then I myself. Then I saw the matter so open and manifest before my face, that it profited not me to stand in the matter. He asked me where I had done the Books, and I told him I had but one, and that Dr. Story had. He said, I did, for I had three at one time, and he required me to tell him of one.

Then I told him of one that *John Beane* had of me before Mr. Hufley sent for me. So he promised me to be fore and after, and as he should be faved before God, that he should have no harm. And I kneeling down upon my knees, desired him to take my Blood, and not to hurt the young man. Then he said, because you have been so stubborn, the matter being made manifest by other and not by you, being so long in Prison, tell me if you will stand by my judgment. I said, yea, take my Blood, and hurt not the young man.

Then he made me answer, I should be whipped like a Thief and a Vagabond; 3 and so I thanked him, and went my way with my Keeper to the *Lollards-Tower*. There I remained two or three days, and so was brought by the Keeper Cluny, by the commandment of the *Commisioners*, to *St. Dunstons*, sometime the *Gray-Friers*. There and accordingly had there for the time the correction of the Thieves and Vagabonds, and so was delivered to *Thomas Porter*, and put into a stinking Dungeon.

And after a few days, I finding friendship, was let out of the Dungeon, and lay in a bed in the night, and walked in a yard by the Dungeon in the day time, and so remained Prisoner a month and more.

Whither at length Dr. Story came and two Gentlemen came with him, and called for me, and so I was brought into the Counting-house before them. Then he said to the Gentlemen, here cometh this Heretic of whom I had the Book called *Antichrist*, and began to utter how many times I had been before him, and said, I have

entreated him very gently, and he would never tell me the Truth till that was found out by other. Then said he, it was a good deed to cut out thy Tongue, and thy ears off thy head, to make thee an example to all other Heretic Knaves. And the Gentlemen said nay, that were pity. Then he asked if I would not become an honest man; and I said yes, for I have offended God many ways. Whereupon he banded me with my Faith. I told him that I had made him answer of my Faith before my Lord Windfars Chaplain as much as I could.

So in the end he commanded me to be whipped, he standing by me, and called for two of the Beadles came with a Cord, and bound my hands together, and the one end of the Cord to a Stone Pillar. Then one of my Friends, called Nicholas Priestman, hearing them call for Whips, hurried in a bundle of Rods, which felled for Whips, pulled the mind of his cruelty; and they scourged me with Rods. But as they were whipping me, I said my Lord, if I would go into my Master again, and I said nay. And he said, I perceive now he will be worse than ever he was before, but let me alone (quoth he) I will find him out if he be in England. And so with many other things which I cannot rehearse, when they had done whipping me, they bade me pay my fees, and go my ways.

Doctor Story commanded that he should have an hundred thrills, but the Gentlemen so interested, that he had not so many. Story saying, if I might have my will, I would turn out out his Tongue.

Of the Scourging of Mr. Barlett Green, also of John Wiles, and of Thomas Hinfshaw, ye heard before. Like manner was ordered Stephen Bower, buried before at Bramford, who testified himself to be twice beaten by Bower, in a Letter of his written to his Brothers, as by the face here following for the more evidence may appear.

The Copy of Stephen Cotten Letter, written to his Brother, declaring how he was beaten of Bishop Bower.

But, in the Name of the Lord Jesus. I commend me unto you, and do hereby thank you, for your goodly exhortation and Counsel in your last Letter declared to me. And albeit I do perceive by your Letter, you are informed, that as we are divers persons in number, so we are of contrary Sedit, Conditions, and Opinions, contrary to the good Opinion you have of us at year last being with us in Newcastle, by you most assured, good Brother, in the Lord Jesus, we are all of one Mind, one Faith, one assured Hope in the Lord Jesus, whom I trust we all together with one Spirit, one Brethrenly love, do daily call upon for mercy and forgiveness of our sins, with earnest repentance of our former lives, and by whose precious Blood-shedding we trust to be saved only, and by no other means. Wherefore, good Brother, in the name of the Lord, seeing these impudent People, whose minds are altogether bent to wickedness, envy, uncharitableness, evil speaking, dog abouts slander, in with outwards, believe them not, neither let their wicked sayings once enter into your mind. And I trust one day to see you again, although now I am in Gods Prison, which is a joyful School to them that love their Lord God, and to me being a simple Scholar most joyful of all.

Good Brother, once again I do in the Name of our Lord Jesus, exhort you to pray for me, that I may fight bravely in the Lords Battle, to be a good Soldier to my Captain Jesus Christ our Lord, and desire my Sister also to do the same, and do ye mourn or lament for me, but be ye glad and joyful of this my trouble. For I trust to be loosed out of this Dungeon shortly, and to go to ever-lasting life, which never shall have end. I heard how ye were with the Commissioners. I pray you no more for me, good Brother. But one thing I shall desire you, as on my departing out of this life, that you may bear up as a Christian, and (I hope) all my Companions in the Lord our God: and therefore believe not these evil disposed People, who are the Authors of all untruths.

I pray you provide me a long furl against the day of

our deliverance: for the first you gave me self, I have Anno given to one of my Companions, who had more need 1558. than I; and as for the money and what you sent me, I have delivered it to my Brother, there is none of them you had forgot to trust in. Brother, there is none of them to trust to, for quail Magister, tells Servus. I have been so, twice beaten, and threatened to be beaten again by the Bishop himself. I suppose you shall go the Country to him. Fulham, to the Bishop house, and there be arraigned. I would have you to bearken as much as you can. For when you shall go, it shall be judiciously done. Thus fare you well. From the Cole-houte this present Friday.

Your Brother, Stephen Cotten,

The Scourging of James Harris.

In this Society of the Scourged Professors of Christ, I was also one James Harris of Billerica in Essex, a Scourged, a freeling of the age of 17, years: who being apprehended and sent up to Bower in the Company of Margaret Edin, by Sir John Mordant Knight, and Edmund Tyrrel Justices of Peace (as appeared by their own Letters before mentioned) was by Bower divers times chastely examined. In the which Examination he was charged not to have come to his Parish Church by the space of one year or more. Whereunto he granted, confessing therewithal, that once, for fear, he had been at the Church, and there had received the Puritan Sacrament of the Altar, for the which he was heartily sorry, and detesting the same with all his heart.

After this and such like answers, Bower (the better to try him) persuaded him to go to thrill. The Lad, somewhat to fulfill his request, contented to go, and did. But when he came to the Priest, he stood still, and said nothing. Why (quoth the Priest) why do you stand thus? what shall I say, said Harris: I Thou must confess thy sins, said the Priest. My sins, faith he, be so many, scoring that they cannot be numbered. Where that the Priest told Bower what he had said, and he of his accustomed devotion, took the poor Lad into his arms, and there with a Rod gathered out of a Chery-Tree, did most cruelly whip him.

The Scourging of Robert Williams, a Smith.

Over and besides the above mentioned, was one Robert Williams, who, being apprehended in the same Company, was so tormented after the like manner with Rods in his Arbour, who there subscribing and yielding himself by promise to obey the Law, after being let go, refused to do so: whereupon he was earnestly sought for, but could not be found, for that he kept himself close, and went not abroad but by stealth: and now in the mean time of this persecution, this Robert Williams departed this life, and so escaped the hands of his enemies. The Lord therefore be honoured for ever, Amen.

And forasmuch as I have begun to write of Bowers Scourging, by the occasion thereof come to mind to infer by the way, his beating of other Boys and Children, then and drawing them naked through the Nettles, in his journeying toward Fulham. The Bory although it toucheth the matter of Religion, yet because it toucheth the nature and disposition of that man, and may refresh the Reader, wearied percase with other doleful Stories, I thought not to omit.

Boner causeth certain Boys to be beaten.

Once passing from London to Fulham by Barge, we had with us John Wiles and Thomas Hinfshaw about the year 1558. mentioned with him, both Prisoners for Religion, by the way as he went by Waters, was voying Evesham, with Harpsfield his Chaplain in the Barge, and being about the middle of their devout Orison, they espied forth of a young Boys swimming and washing themselves into the Thames over against Lambeth, or a little above unto whom he went and gave very gentle language, and said unto him, when he had let his morsel down. That done, his men ran after the Boys to get them, as the Bilpo commanded them

them before beating, some with Nettles, drawing some through bushes of Nettles naked, and some they made leap into the Thames to save themselves, that it was marvel they were not drowned.

Now as the Children for fear did cry, and as this skirmishing was between them, immediately came a greater Lad thither, to know what the matter meant that the Boys made such a noise. Whom when the Bilpo espied, he asked him whether he would maintain them in their doing or no. Unto whom the young Fellow made answer stoutly, Yes. Then the Bilpo commanded him to be taken also; but he ran away with speed, and there avoided the Bilpos blessing. Now when the Bilpo saw him to flee away, and another man fitting upon a Rail in the way where he ran, he willed him likewise to stop the Boy: and because he would not, he commanded him to men to fetch that man to him also; but he hearing that, ran away as fast as he could, and by leaping over the Ditch, escaped the Bilpo in like manner.

Then the Bilpo, seeing the success of his battel to prove no better, cried to a couple of Ferry-Boys to run and hold him that last ran away. And for that they said they could not (as indeed it was true) therefore he caused his men by and by to take and beat them. The Boys hearing that, leaped into the Water to save themselves, notwithstanding they were caught, and in the Water by the Bilpos men holden and beaten.

Now, after the end of this great skirmish, the Bilpos men returned to their Master again into the Barge, and he and Harpsfield his Chaplain went to their Evening stroll where they left, and so forsook the rest of their Service, as clean without malice, as an egg without meane. The Lord give him repentance (if it be his will) and grace to become a new man, Amen.

The Whipping of a Beggar at Salisbury.

Unto those above specified, is also to be added the miserable whipping of a certain poor starved Beggar, who, because he would not receive the Sacrament at the Bishops house, was brought to Salisbury by Bills and givings to the Chancellor Dr. Esler, who call him into the Dungeon, and after caused him miserably to be whipped of two Catch-poles. The fight whereof made all godly hearts to rue it, to see such tyranny to be showed upon such a simple and silly Wretch: for they which saw him have reported, that they never saw a more simple Creature, but what play can move the hearts of merciful Papists?

Besides these abovementioned, divers others also suffered the like Scourgings and Whippings in their bodies for their faithful standing in the Truth. Of whom it may be said, as it is written of the Apostles in the Acts. Which departed from the Council, rejoicing that they were counted worthy to suffer for the Name of Jesus.

Another Treatise of such as being pursued in Queen Maries time, were in great danger, and yet through the good Providence of God, mercifully were preserved.

Although the secret purpose of Almighty God, which disposeth all things suffered a great number of faithful Servants both Men and Women, and that of all ages and degrees, to fall into the enemies hands, and to abide the brunt of this persecution, to be tried with Rods, with Whips, with Racks, with Petters, Famine, with burning of Hands, with plucking off Beards, with burning also both Hand, Beard, and Body, &c.

Yet notwithstanding some there were again, and that a great number, who miraculously by the merciful provision of God, against all mans expectation, in safety were delivered out of the fiery rage of this persecution, either by voyding the Realm, or shifting of place, or the Lord so blinding the eyes of the Persecutors, or diffusing the opportunity of time, or working some such means or other for his Servants, as not only ought to fit them up to perpetual thanks, but also may move all men both to behold and magnifie the wondrous works of the Almighty.

About what time it began to be known that Queen Mary was sick, divers good men were in hold in divers quarters of the Realm, some at Bury, some at Salisbury, as John Hunt, and Richard Whitts, of whom we have heard before, and some at London, amongst whom was William Living with his Wife, and John Lital, of whom something remains now compendiously to be touched.

The Trouble and deliverance of William Living with his Wife, and of John Lital, Ministers.

About the time of the latter end of Queen Mary, when they being sick, came one Cox a Promoter, to the house of William Living, about fix of the Clock, accompanied with one John Lauce of the Gray-Hood, and they being not ready, they demanded for Barntons, saying, they should be as well paid for them, as ever was any; and he would come about three hours after again for them.

In the mean while he had gotten the Constable called Mr. Dean, and George Hamock the Beadle of that Ward, and searching his Books, found a Book of Astronomy, called the work of Jaumes de Sacrobosco de Sphaera, with figures home round, some triangle, some quadrangle: which Book because it was gilly, fanned to him: the Constable took there, and that he carried open in the street, saying I have found him at length. It is no marvel the Queen be sick, seeing there be such Conjurers in privy corners; but now, I trust he shall conjure no more, and so brought him and his Wife from Spha-Lace thence Fleet-Street into Pauls Church-yard, with the Constable, the Beadle, and two other following them, till they were entered into Darbyshires house, who was Bishop Bowers Chancellor: And after the Constable and they had talked with Darbyshire, he came forth and walked in his Yard saying these words.

Darbyshire. What is your Name?

Living. William Living.

Darb. What are you a Priest?

Living. Yes.

Darb. Is this your Wife that is come with you?

Living. That she is.

Darb. Where were you made Priest?

Living. At Osborne.

Darb. In what Bishops days?

Living. By the Bishop of Lincoln, that was King Henrys Godly Father in Cardinal Wolsey time.

Darb. You are a Schismatick, and a Traitor.

Living. I would be sorry that were true. I am certain I never was Traitor, but always have taught obedience according to the tenour of Gods Word; and when Tumults and Schisms have been stirred, I have preached Gods Word, and thrust them as in the time of King Edward.

Darb. What, you are a Schismatick. You are not in the unity of the Catholic Church: for you pray not as the Church of Rome doth: you pray in English.

Living. We are certain we may be in the true Church.

Darb. There be that doubt thereof, forasmuch as there is but one true Church.

Well, you will learn again I talk with you again, to know the Church of Rome, and to be a Member thereof.

Living. If the Church of Rome be of that Church whereof Christ is the Head, then am I a Member thereof: for I know no other Church but that.

Darb. Well, Cluny, take him with thee to the Cole-house.

Then called he Cluny again, and spake secretly to him, what I know not.

Then said Cluny, wilt thou not come? and so plucked away violently, and brought me to his own House in the Pater-Noster-Road, where he robbed me of my Purse, three my Girdle, and my Flatters, and a New Testament of Geneva, and then brought me to the Cole-house to put me in the Stocks, saying, put in both your Legs and your Hands also, and except you give me my, I will put a Collar about your Neck. What is the fine, quoth I? Forty shillings, quoth he: I am never able to pay it, said I.

Then, said he, you have Friends that beable. I denied it, and so he put both my Legs into the Stocks till Supper time, which was fix of the Clock, and then a Confin of my Wives brought me Meat, who seeing me to sit there, said, I will give you forty Pence and let him go at liberty; and he took her money, and presently let me forth in her light, to eat my Supper. And at seven of the Clock, he put me into the Stocks again, and so I remained till two of the Clock the next day, and so he let me forth till Night. This Woman above-mentioned, was *Griffins* first Wife, a Brother dwelling then in *Alldersmanbury*, and yet alive in *Chenfeld*.

The Thursday following at Afternoon was I called to the *Lollards-Tower*, and there put in the Stocks, having the favour to put my Leg in that Hole that *Mr. John Philpott* Leg was in, and so lay all that Night, no Body coming to me either with Meat or Drink.

At 11. of the Clock on the Friday, *Clany* came to me with Meat, and let me forth, and about one of the Clock he brought me to *Darbyshire* House, who drew forth a scroll of Names and asked me if I knew none of them: I said, I know none of them but *Piffers*. And so I knelt down upon my knees, and prayed him that he would not enquire thereof any farther. And with that came forth two goodly Women, which said, *Mr. Darbyshire*, it is enough, and so became Sureties for me and paid to *Clany* 15 s. for my Fees, and bade me go with them.

And thus concerning *William Living*. After this came his Wife to Examination, whose Affairs to *Darbyshire* the Chancellor, here likewise followeth.

The Examination of Julian Living, Wife to William Living.

Darbyshire. Ah Sirrah; I fee by your going you be one of the Sisters.

Julian. I wear not my Gown for Sisterhood, neither for Nunnerly, but to keep me warm.

Darbyshire. No? No, I dare say you be none: Is that Man your Husband?

Julian. Yes.

Darbyshire. He is a Priest.

Julian. No, he faith no Maf.

Darbyshire. What then? he is a Priest. How darest thou marry him?

Then he shewed me a Roll of certain Names of Citizens.

To whom I answered, I knew none of them.

Then said he, you shall be made to know them.

Then said I, Do no other but justice and right, for the Law shall come, that you shall answer for it.

Now. Why Woman, thinkest thou not that I have a Soul?

Julian. Yes, I know you have a Soul: but whether it be to salvation or damnation, I cannot tell.

Darbyshire. Ho *Clany*, have her to the *Lollards-Tower*. And so he took me, and carried me to his house, where was a goodly Maid a Promoter, which said to me, Alas good Woman, wherefore be you here?

What is that to you, said I.

You be not ashamed, quoth *Darbyshire* to tell wherefore you came hither.

No, quoth I, that I am not: for it is for Christs Testament.

Christs Testament, quoth he? it is the Devils Testament.

O Lord, quoth I, God forbid that any man should speak any such word.

Well well, quoth he, you shall be ordered well enough. You are not set for burnings, quoth he. Good blood, there must be some other means found for you.

What, quoth I, will you find any work there you have found?

Well, quoth he, you hope, and you hope; but your hope shall be hope. For though the Queen faith, the that you hope for shall never come at it: For there is my Lord Cardinals Grace, and many more between her and it.

Then, quoth I, my hope is in none but God.

Then said *Clany*, Come with me, and so went I to the *Lollards-Tower*. On the next day *Darbyshire* sent for me again, and enquired again of those Citizens that he enquired of before.

I answered, I knew them not.

Where were you, quoth he, at the Communion on Sunday was forgotten?

And I said, in no place.

Then the Constable of *St. Brides* being there, made suit for me.

And *Darbyshire* demanded of him, if he would be bound for me.

He answered, Yea. And so he was bound for my Appearance betwixt that and *Christmas*.

Then *Darbyshire* said, you be Confitable, and should give her good counsel.

So do I, quoth he. For I bid her go to Maf, and to say as you say. For by the Maf, if you say the Crow is white, I will say so too.

And thus much concerning the Examination of *William Living* and his Wife, whom although thou feelst his Wife delivered through the request of *William*, his Sun: by the deus. yet it was no doing, but that the deadly sickness of *William* Queen Mary abated and bridled then the cruelty of those Popish, which otherwise would never have let him go.

The Trouble and Deliverance of John Lithall.

At the taking of *William Living*, it happened that *John Lithall* certain of his Books were in the custody of one *John Lithall*, which known, the Constable of the Ward as by *Southwark*, with other of the Queens Servants, were sent to his house, who breaking up his Doors and Chests, took away not only the Books of the said *William Living*, but also all his own Books, Writings, and Bills of Deeds, which he never had again. All this while *Lithall* was not at home.

The next Saturday after, as he was returned, and known to be at home, *John Avels* and certain of the Queens Servants left his house all the night, with such a great Watch, that as he in the Morning lifted out of doors, thinking to escape their hands, *John Avels* burlesque upon him, cried, Stop the Traytor, Stop the Traytor. Whereat *Lithall* being amazed, looked back.

And so *John Avels* came running to him with other that were with him, saying, Ah Sirrah, you are a pretty traitor! I would indeed, we have had somewhat to do to get you.

To whom he answered, that he was a true man to the Queens Majesty than he. For you (said he) are commanded by God to keep holy the Sabbath-days, and you seek to feed your Neighbours Blood on the Sabbath-day. Remember that you must answer therefore to God. But he said, Come on you Villain, you must go before the Council. So was *Lithall* brought into *Pauls-Churchyard* to the Bishops Chancellor, by *John Avels*, saying, that he had there caught the Captain of these Fellows, and so counsel him to be called to Examination before *Dr. Darbyshire*, who entered talk with him in this wise:

Chen. What Countryman are you?

Lith. I am an Englishman, born in *Staffordshire*.

Chen. Where were you brought up?

Lith. In this our Country of *England*.

Chen. In what University?

Lith. In no University, but in a Free-School.

Chen. We had certain Books from your House, and Writings, wherein is both Treason and Heresie.

Lith. Sir, there is neither Treason nor Heresie in them.

Chen. Then he asked for certain other men that I knew.

Lith. If you have ought to lay to my charges, I will answer it: but I will have no other mans Blood upon my head.

Chen. Why come you not to the Church? Of what Church be you, that you come not to your own Parish Church?

Lith. I am of the Church of Christ, the Fountain of all goodness.

Chen. Have you no Ministers of your Church, but Christ?

Lith. We have others.

Chen. Where be they?

Lith. Where they are.

Chen. Where be they?

Lith. Where they are.

Chen. Where be they?

Lith. Where they are.

Chen. Where be they?

Lith. Where they are.

Chen. Where be they?

Lith. Where they are.

Lith. In the whole world, dispersed, preaching and professing the Gospel and Faith only in our Saviour Jesus, as he commanded them.

Chen. You boast much every one of you of your Faith and Belief: let me here therefore the effect how you believe.

Lith. I believe to be justified really by Christ Jesus, according to the saying of *St. Paul* to the *Corinthians*, without either deeds or works, or any thing that may be invented by man.

Chen. Faith cannot save without Works.

Lith. That is contrary to the Doctrine of the Apostles.

Chen. *John Avels*, you and the Keeper have this Fellow to Prison.

Clany and *John Avels*. Then *John Avels* and *Clany* the Keeper had me into *Pauls*, and would have had me fenn the Apostles Maf.

Lith. I know none the Apostles had, and therefore I will see none.

Clany and *John Avels*. Come and kneel down before the Rood, and say a *Paternoster*, and an *Ave* in the worship of the five wounds.

Lith. I am forbidden by Gods own mouth to kneel to any Idol or Image: therefore I will not.

Then they pulled me with great extremity, the one having me by one Arm, and the other by the other; but God gave me at that present time more strength than both theirs, his Name be praised for it.

Then when they could not make me to kneel before the Rood, neither to see the Maf, there gathered a great Company about us, and all against me. Some spit on me, and said, Fie on thee Heretic; and others said, it was play I was not burned already.

Then they carried me to the *Lollards-Tower*, and hanged me in a great pair of Stocks, in which I lay three days and three nights till I was so lame that I could neither stir nor move.

Then I offered the Keeper, certain Money and Gold that I had about me, to release me out of the Stocks: and he said, I would not be ruled by him, either to see Maf, or to kneel before the Rood, and therefore I would lyte there still. But I said, I would never do the thing that would be against my Conscience: and though you have lamed my Body, yet my Conscience is whole, I praise God for it. So shortly after he let me out of the Stocks, more for the love of my Money (as it may be thought) than for any other affection, and within four or five days my Wife got leave of Mr. Chancellor to come to me, to bring me such things as were needful for me, and there I lay five weeks and odd days. In the which time divers of my Neighbours and Friends made suit to the Chancellor for my deliverance: the Bishop, as they said, at that time being at *Fulham* sick. So my Neighbours being there, about twenty of them, the Chancellor sent for me out of the *Lollards-Tower* to his own house, and said as followeth:

Chen. *Lithall*, here be of thy Neighbours which have been with me to instruct thee, and they have informed me, that thou hast been a very honest and upright Neighbour among them, and I think it be Gods will that I should deliver thee before my Lord come home. For if he come, and thou go home again, I will be burned for thee, for I know his mind already in that matter.

Lith. I give you hearty thanks for your gentleness, and my Neighbours for their good report.

Chen. *Lithall*, if thy Neighbours will be bound for thy forth-coming whensoever thou shalt be called for; and also if thou wilt be an obedient Subject, I shall be content to deliver thee.

Neigh. If it please your Worship, we will be bound for him in Body and Goods.

Chen. I will require no such Bond of you, but that two of you will be bound in twenty Pound a piece, that he shall come to answer when he shall be called.

Lith. Where said you, Mr. Chancellor, in all the Scriptures, that the Church of God did bind any man for the profession of his Faith? which Profession you have heard of me, that all our Justification, Righteousness, and Salvation cometh only by Gods freely by the merits

of our Saviour Jesus Christ, and all the inventions and works of men, be they never so glorious, be altogether vain, as the Wile man faith.

Chen. Lo, where he is now. I put no such matter to you; for in that I believe as you do: but yet *St. James* faith, That a man is justified by works.

Lith. *St. James* spake to them that boasted themselves in the Works of Faith, and shewed no works of Faith: But *St. James* faith, That a man is justified by works.

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Edward Grew.

Moreover, there was one *Edward Grew* Priest, and *Applins*, his Wife, compelled to fly from their dwelling at a Town called *Broke*; and the man being very aged, travelled abroad to keep a good Confidence. At the last he was taken and laid in *Godeheger Castle*, where he remained till *Q. Elizabeth* came to her Regal Seat, and by the alteration of Religion he was delivered. His Wife, good Woman, was great care for him, and to her power did what she could to succour him.

William Browne.

William Browne, Parson of little *Stranham*, in the County of *Suffolk*, made a Sermon in the said Town, incontinently after the burial of our good King *Edward*, and in his Sermon he said, There groweth a report that our good King is buried with a Maf; by the Bishop of *Winchester*, he having a Mitre upon his head. But if it were so, faith he, they are all Traytors that do so, because it is both against the Truth, and the Blessings of this Realm, and it is great Idolatry and Blasphemy, and against the glory of God; and they are no Friends either to God, the King, or yet unto the Realm, that do so. For this his preaching one *Robert Blomfield*, an Adversary to the Truth, being then Constable of the Town, and Bayliff unto Sir *John Trenchingham* Knight, the Chief Lord of the Town, immediately rode forth, and brought home with him one *Edward Gilding*, which was then under-theriff, Sir *Thomas Cornwallis* being then high Sherif.

So the said *Gilding* and *Blomfield* sent for certain men of the said Town, and examined them for the Sermon. Whereunto they made but a small answer. Then the Sherif made a bill, and so feared the men, that two or three of them fed to their hands, and one of them never joyed after but was a grief to him till the day.

Then did they take with them unto the Parsons house, and in the night they took him with *Watches* men kept him until it was day. Then should he have been carried the next day to the Council; but the said *Robert Blomfield* was fow sick, that he was like to die: so that he could not carry him for his life.

Then the said Sherif sent him to *Spyns* again and there he was for a time. Then he was sent to *Bury* Prison, and from thence to the Council, and then to the Fleet: and so he lay in Prison from the beginning of harvest till it was high *Christmas*, and said, God gave him such answers to make when he was examined, that he was delivered with quietness of Conscience. And having his liberty, he came again unto the fore-said Town; and because he would not go to *Maf*, his living was taken away, and he and his Wife were constrained to fly here and there for his life and Confidence. In the last year of Queen *Mary* Reign God did take him out of this life in peace.

Where moreover is to be noted, that this *Robert Blomfield* above-said, immediately after he had apprehended the said *Brown*, fell very sick: And although at that time he was weakly Man, and of great sickness (beside his hand which was better than twenty pound a year) after this time, God so plagued his household, that his eldest Son died, and his Wife had a pining sickness till she departed this life also.

Then married he another, a Rich Widow; but all would not help, and nothing would prosper: For he had a fore pining sickness, being full of Bitches and Sores, whereby he wasted away both Body and Goods, till he died.

So when he died, he was above nine-score pounds in debt, and it was never heard of any repentance he had. But a little before his death he bragged, and threated a good Man, one *Simon Harlow*, to put him forth to the officers, because he did wear no Surplus when he said Service.

Wherefore it is pity such Baits of Popery are left to the enemies to take Children in. God take them away, or save for once I knew thee to be a mischief-maker, and doing the Queens Highness will be good to thee (for she hath forgiven greater things than this) and thou shalt find

Furthermore, out of the said Town were constrained to *Anna* by *Robert Bole* and *John Trappe*, because they would not go to *Maf* and receive their Sacrament of the Altar.

Elizabeth Young.

YE heard before in the treatise of the scourging of *The Greene*, how he was troubled and beaten by *Dr. Story*, for a certain Book called *Antichrist*, which he received of a Woman, because in no case he would detect her.

This Woman was one *Elizabeth Young*, who coming from *Wenden* to *England*, brought with her divers Books, and parted them abroad in *London*; for the which she, being at length cuffed and laid fast, was brought to examination, 13. times before the Catholic Inquisitors of Heretical pravity. Of the which her examinations, nine have come to our hands.

Wherein how fiercely she was assaulted, how shamefully she was reviled, how miserably handled, and what answers she made unto the Adversaries in her own defence, and finally after this, how she escaped and passed through the Pikes, (being yes, as I hear say, alive) I thought to give the Reader here to see and understand.

The first Examination of Elizabeth Young, before Mr. Hulff.

WHO examined her of many things: First, where she was born, and who was her Father and Mother.

Elizabeth Young. Sir, all this is but vain talk, and very superfluous. It is to fill my head with fantasies, that I should not be able to answer unto such things as I came for. Ye have not (I think) put me in Prison to know who is my Father and Mother. But I pray you go to the matter that I came hither for.

Mr. Hulff. Wherefore wentest thou out of the Realm?

Elizabeth. To keep my Confidence clean.

Hulff. When wast thou at *Maf*?

Elizabeth. Not these three years.

Hulff. Then wast thou not there three years before that?

Elizabeth. No Sir, nor yet three years before that: for it I were I had evil luck.

Hulff. How old art thou?

Elizabeth. Forty and upwards.

Hulff. Twenty of those years thou went to *Maf*.

Elizabeth. Yea and twenty more I may, and yet come home as wife as I went. Whether first, I'll understand it not.

Hulff. Why wilt thou not go to the *Maf*?

Elizabeth. Sir, my Confidence will not suffer me: for I will have rather all the world should accuse me, than mine own Conscience.

Hulff. What if a lout, or a flea stick upon thy skin, and bite thy flesh? thou must make a Conscience in taking her off; is there not a Conscience in it?

Elizabeth. That is but an easy Argument to displace the Scriptures, and especially in such a part as my Salvation depends upon: for it is but an easy Confidence that a Man can make.

Hulff. But why wilt thou not swear upon the Evangelists before a Judge?

Elizabeth. Because I know not what a Book-Oath is.

Hulff. Then he began to teach her the Book-Oath.

Elizabeth. Sir, I do not understand it, and therefore will not learn it.

Hulff. Then said he, thou wilt not understand it, and with that rose up and went his way.

The second Examination before *Dr. Martin*.

WHO said to her, Woman, thou art come from beyond the Sea, and hast brought with thee the

Books of Heresie and Treason, and thou dost tell us, that thou translated them, printed them, and who sent them over for once I knew thee to be a mischief-maker, and doing the Queens Highness will be good to thee (for she hath forgiven greater things than this) and thou shalt find

as much favour as is possible. But if thou be stubborn, and wilt not confess, thou wilt be wondrous evil handled: for we know the Truth already, but this we do, only to fee whether thou wilt be true of thy word or no.

Elizabeth. Sir, ye have my Confession, and more than that I can say.

Mr. T. Thou must fly more, and shalt fly more. Dost thou think that we will be fully answered by this Examination that thou hast made? Thou Rebel Whore and Traitor Heretic, thou dost refuse to swear upon the Evangelists before a Judge, I hear say. Thou shalt be racked inch-meal, thou traitor Whore and Heretic, but thou shalt swear before a Judge before thou go: yea, and thou shalt be made to confess how many bookishness thou hast fold, and to whom.

Elizabeth. Sir, I understand not what an Oath is, and therefore I will take no such thing upon me. And no man hath brought any Books of me as yet, for those Books that I had, your Commissioners have them all.

Martin. Thou traitor Whore, we know that thou hast fold a number of Books, yea, and to whom: and how many times thou hast been here, and where thou layest, and every place that thou hast been in: Dost thou think that thou hast fold in hand?

Elizabeth. No Sir, ye be too wise for me: for I cannot tell how many places I have been in myself, but if I were in *Turky*, I should have meat, and drink and lodging for my money.

Martin. Thou Rebel Whore, thou hast spoken evil words by the Queen, and thou dwellest amongst a fort of Traitors and Rebels that cannot give the Queen a good word.

Elizabeth. I am not able to accuse any man thereof, neither yet is there any man that can prove any such things by me, as ye lay unto my charge. For I know by Gods Word, and Gods Book, hath taught me what is my duty to God, and unto my Queen, and therefore (as I said) I am assured that no man living upon the earth, can prove any such things by me.

Martin. Thou Rebel and traitor Whore, thou shalt be so racked and handled, that thou shalt be an Example to all such traitors. Whores and Heretics: and thou shalt be made to swear by the holy Evangelists, and heretics to whom thou hast fold all and every of these counterfeit Books that thou hast fold: for we know what number thou hast fold, and to whom; but thou shalt be made to confess it in spite of thy Blood.

Elizabeth. Here is my Confession, do with it what you will and more than that you cannot have.

Martin. Here is my Blood.

Then fared he, as though he had been stark mad, and said, *Martin*? Why callest thou me *Martin*?

Elizabeth. Sir, I know well enough, for I have been before you ere now. Ye delivered me once at *Hofmynster*.

Martin. Where didst thou dwell then?

Elizabeth. I dwelled in the *Minories*.

Martin. I delivered thee and thy Husband both; and I thought then that thou wouldst have done otherwise than thou dost now. For if thou hadst been left, ye any Bishop in *England*, and said the words, that thou didst before me, thou hadst fared a Pagot: and though thou didst not burn them, thou art like to burn or hang now.

Elizabeth. Sir, I promised you then, that I would never be fed with an unknown Tongue, and no more will I yet.

Martin. I shall feed thee well enough. Thou shalt be fed with that (I warrant thee) which shall be finally to thine ease.

Elizabeth. Do what God shall suffer you to do: for more ye shall not. And then he arose, and to departed, and went to the Keepers house, and said to the Wife. Whom hath thou suffered to come to this way traitor Whore and Heretic to speak with her? Then said the Keepers Wife, as God receive my Soul, here came neither Man, Woman, nor Child, to ask for her.

Martin. If any Man, Woman, or Child, come to ask for her, I charge thee in pain of death, that they be laid fast, and give her one day Bread and another day Water.

Elizabeth. If ye take away my meat, I trust that God will take away my hunger: and so he departed and said, that was too good further: and then was the shut up under two locks in the *Clink* where he was before.

The third Examination before *Dr. Martin* again.

HEN was the brought before him in his Chamber, the 14. Examination of *Elizabeth Young*. Who asked *Elizabeth*, saying, *Elizabeth*, wilt thou confess these things that thou hast been examined upon? For thou knowest that I have been thy Friend, and in so doing, I will be thy Friend again; giving her many fair words, and then demanding other how many Gentlemen were beyond the Sea.

Elizabeth. It is too much for me to tell you how many are on the other side.

Martin. No, I mean but in *Frankford* and *Emden*, where thou hast been.

Elizabeth. Sir, I did never take account of them, it is a thing that I look not for.

Martin. When shall I have a true word come out of thy mouth?

Elizabeth. I have told you the Truth, but because that it foundeth not to your mind, therefore ye will not credit it.

Martin. Wilt thou yet confess? and if thou wilt, that I promise thee thou shalt go even hence to the Rack, and thence to the Rack.

Elizabeth. I can say no more than I have said.

Martin. Wilt thou yet confess? as the will confess no more, have her away to the Rack, and then the will be married. Then answered a Priest that fate there, and said, Woman, take an Oath, and confess. Wilt thou be hurt for other men?

Elizabeth. I can confess no more than I have. Do with my Carcase what ye will.

Martin. Did ye ever hear the like of this Heretic? What a stout Heretic is this? We have the Truth, and we know the Truth, and yet look whether she will confess. There is no remedy, but the must needs to the Rack, and therefore away with her, and so commanded her out of the Door, and called her Keeper unto him, and said to him: There is no remedy but this Heretic must be racked; and talked with him more, but what it was he heard not.

Then he called her in again, and said, Wilt thou yet confess, and keep thee from the Rack? I advise thee the pain to do: for if thou wilt not, thou knowest not the pain yet, but thou shalt do.

Elizabeth. I can confess no more. Do with my Carcase what ye will.

Martin. Keeper, away with her. Thou knowest what she will do. Let her know the pain of the Rack. And so he departed, thinking no less, but that she should have the Rack, till she saw the Keeper turn towards the *Clink* again. And thus did God alienate their hearts, and diminish their tyrannous power, unto the time of their Examinations: For he was brought before the Bishop, the Dean, and the Chancellors, and other Commissioners, first and last, 13. times.

The fourth Examination was before the Bishop of London, Sir Roger Cholmley, Dr. Cook, the Recorder of London, Dr. Roper of Kent, and Dr. Martin, as concerning her Faith, &c.

FIRST being presented by Dr. Martin, before the Bishop of London, Dr. Martin began to declare unto her, saying, The Lord Chancellor hath sent you a good Woman, which hath brought Books over from *Dr. Martin* against her, where all these Books of Heresie and Treason are printed, and hath therewith filled all the Land with Heresie and Heresie, neither yet will the Council who translated them, nor who printed them, yet who first brought them unto your Lady of London, he to do with her as he shall think good. For the will confess nothing, but that the bought these said Books in *Amsterdam*, and so brought them over to sell for gain.

Dr. Cook. Let her head be truised in a small line, and make her to confess.

Martin. The Book is called *Antichrist*, and so may be well called, for it speaketh against Jesus Christ and the Queen. Besides that, the hath a certain spark of the Anabaptists for the refusal to swear upon the four Evangelists before a Judge: For 1 my self and Mr. Hulff have had her before us four times, but we cannot bring

Eliz. Gods myberies I will not meddle with, but all things that are written, are written for our edification.

Praying for the dead. Chan. What say you by prayer for the dead? is it not meet that if a Mans Friend be dead, his Friend commend his Soul unto God?

Eliz. There is no Christian Man that will commend his Friend nor his wife unto the Devil. And whether it is good for him when he is dead or no, sure I am, that it is good when he is alive.

Oblation for the dead. Chan. Then thou allowest not prayer to be good for them when they be dead, and lying in Purgatory. Is it not meet that prayer be made unto God for them?

Purgatory. Eliz. Sir, I never heard in the Scriptures of Purgatory, but in the Scripture I have heard of Heaven and Hell.

Chan. Why, ye have nothing but the Skimming of the Scriptures. Our ancient Fathers could find out in the bottom of the Scriptures that there is a Purgatory. Yea, they could find it in the New Testament, that a Priest hath take the Sacrament, and go to the Altar, and make an Oblation, and offer it up every day.

Eliz. Sir, that could never be found in the Bible nor Testament, as far as ever I could hear.

The holy communion. Chan. Whom dost thou hear read either the Bible or Testament, but a sort of Schismatics, bawdy Bishops, and hedge-Priests (which have brought into the Church a flinking communion, which was never heard of in any place in the world, but here in England) which have deceived the King and all the Nobility, and all the whole Realm!

Eliz. Sir, it is a vile name that ye give them all.

Chan. Where are all the hedge-knaves become now, that they come not to their Answer?

So many names have been found. Eliz. Answer Sir? why, they have answered both with the Scriptures, and also with their Blood; and then where were you that ye came not forth to answer in their times? I never knew any of you that was troubled, burवान, and that was not for Gods Word, it was for their disobedience.

Chan. No, I pray you? did ye not know that we were killed, hanged, burned, and headed.

Eliz. Sir, I never knew that any of you ever was either hanged, killed, burned, or headed.

Eight Bp. of Rochester. Chan. No? did ye never hear that the Bp. of Rochester lost his head for the Supremacy of the Bishops of Rome?

Eliz. Then he died not for Gods Word.

Nothing to be received. Chan. Well, thou wilt believe nothing but that which is written in Gods Word. Where canst thou find the Sabbath written in the Scripture, by the name of the Sabbath? For the right Sabbath day will I prove to be Saturday. Or where canst thou find the Articles of the Creed in the Scripture by the name of the Articles? Or where canst thou find in the Scriptures, that Christ went down into Hell?

Eliz. What place or part in the Scripture can ye find to disprove any of these things?

But we read here that Christ did draw them in one faith. Chan. What Priest hath thou lien withal that thou hast to much Scripture? Thou art some Priests Woman! I think, for thou wilt take upon thee to reason, and teach the best Doctor in all the land, thou.

Eliz. I was never yet Priests Wife, nor yet Priests Woman.

Chan. Have I touched your Confidence?

Eliz. No Sir, ye have not touched my Confidence, but beware ye hurt not your own.

Chan. Thou shalt read a little in the Bible or Testament and thou thinkest that thou art able to reason with a Dr. that hath gone to School thirty years; and before God, I think if I had talked thus much with a Jew, as I have done with thee, he would have turned ere this time. But I may say by you as Christ said by Jerusalem, saying, O Jerusalem, Jerusalem, how oft would I have gathered thee together, even as a Hen gathereth her chickens, but thou wouldst not. And it would we have gathered thee together in one Faith, and ye will not; and therefore your own Blood be upon your own heads; for I can do no more but teach you. Thou art one of the rankest Heretics that ever I heard; for thou believest nothing but what is in the Scripture: and therefore thou art damned.

Eliz. I do believe all things written in the Scripture, and all things agreeable with the Scripture, given by the Holy Ghost unto the Church of Christ, let forth and taught by the Church of Christ, and shall I be damned because I believe the Truth, and will not believe as untruth?

Then the Chancellor called the Keeper, saying; Chan. take her away, thou knowest what thou hast to do with her. And so the departed, and was brought again to the stock-house, and there they lay certain days, and both her hands manacled in one Iron; and afterwards the was removed into the *Lollards Tower*; and there the remaining with both her feet in the stocks and Iron till the next time of examination.

The seventh Examination before the Chancellor and the Bishop's Scribe.

When she was brought before the said Chancellor the form of the Chancellor said to her; *Stetit* Woman, thou hast been twice before me, but thou and I could not agree, and here be certain Articles that I bid the Bishop of London write down, which thou shouldst make answer unto, which are these: First, how many Sacraments thou dost allow?

Eliz. Sir, as many as Christs Church doth allow, and Two there is that is twain.

Then said the Scribe. Thou wast taught seven before King Edwards dates.

Chan. Which two Sacraments be those that thou dost allow?

Eliz. The Sacrament of the Body and Blood of Jesus Christ, and the Sacrament of Baptism.

Chan. Dost thou not believe that the Pope of Rome is the Supreme Head of the Church, immediately under God in Earth?

Eliz. No Sir, no Man can be the Head of Christs Church; for Christ himself is the Head, and his Word is the Governor of all that be of that Church, wherefore they be scattered abroad.

Chan. Dost thou not believe that the Bishop of Rome can forgive thee all thy sins Heretical, detestable, and damnable, that thou hast done from thine infancy unto this day?

Eliz. Sir, the Bishop of Rome is a sinner as I am, and no Man can forgive me my sins, but he only that is without sin, and that is Jesus Christ which dyed for my sins.

Chan. Dost thou not know that the Pope sent his Jubilee's, that all that ever would fast and pray, and go to the Church, should have their sins forgiven them?

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The Scribe. Why wouldst thou buy Books and know not their Names?

Eliz. I did find *Clamy* the Keeper; Sir, my Lord Bishop did then find her by Name that she should come to Maſs, but she would not.

Chan. Yea, did my Lord fend for her by name, and would she not go to Maſs?

Eliz. No Sir, I will never go to Maſs, till I do understand it, by the leave of God.

Chan. Understand it? Why, who the Devil can make thee to understand Latin, thou being so old?

Then the Scribe commanded her to fet to her hand to all the said things.

Elizabeths ſcribe; Sir, then let me hear it read first.

Then said the Scribe, Maſter Chancellor, shall the hear it read?

Chan. Yea, let the Heretic hear it read.

Then he heard it read, and so theſet to her hand.

The eighth Examination before the Bishop.

When she was brought before the Bishop; he asked the Keeper; is this the Woman that hath the three Children? And the Keeper, said; Yea, my Lord.

Bishop. Woman, here is a supplication put into my hands for thee. In like case there was another supplication put up to me for thee afore this, in the which thou madest as though that I should keep thy Children.

Eliz. My Lord, I did not know of this supplication, nor yet of the other.

Then said the Bishop, Maſter Dean, is this the Woman you have fued for earnestly for?

The Dean. Woman, what remaineth in the Sacrament of the Altar, when and after that the Priest hath spoken the words of Consecration?

Eliz. A piece of Bread. But the Sacrament of Christs Body and Blood, which he did institute and leave amongst his Disciples the night before he was betrayed, ministered according to his word, that Sacrament I do believe.

The Dean. How dost thou believe concerning the Body of Christ? where is his Body, and how many Bodies hath he?

Eliz. Sir, in Heaven, he sitteth on the right hand of God.

The Dean. From whence came his humane Body?

Eliz. He took it of the Virgin Mary.

The Dean. That is Flesh, Blood, and Bones, as mine is. But what shape hath his Spiritual Body? hath it face, hands and feet?

Eliz. I know no other Body that he hath, but that Body wherewith he meant when he said; *This is my Body which is given for you: and this my Blood which shall be shed for you.* Whereby he plainly meaneth that Body and no other, which he took of the Virgin Mary, having the perfect flesh and proportion of a humane Body.

The Dean. Then said Story; Ye have a wife Body: for ye must go to the Stake.

The Dean. Art thou content to believe in the Faith of Christs Church? But to ask of thee what Christs Church is, or where it is, I let it pass.

Eliz. Sir, to that Church I have joynd my Faith, and from it purpose never to turn by Gods help.

The Dean. Wouldst thou not be at home with thy Children with a good will?

Elizabeth. Sir, if it please God to give me leave.

The Dean. Art thou content to confit thy self to be an ignorant and foolish Woman, and to believe as my Holy Father the Pope of Rome doth, and as the Lord Cardinals, Grace doth, and as my Lord the Bishop of London thine Ordinary doth, and as the Kings Grace, and the Queens Grace, and all the Nobility of England do, yea, and the Emperors Grace, and all the Noble Princes of Christendom?

Eliz. Sir, I was never wife, but in few words I shall make you a brief answer how I do believe. I do believe all things that are written in the Scriptures given by the holy Ghost unto the Church of Christ, let forth and taught by the Church of Christ. Hereon I ground my Faith and on Maſs.

Then said Story; And who shall be judge?

Eliz. Sir, the Scripture.

Story. And who shall read it?

Eliz. He unto whom God hath given the understanding.

Bishop. Woman, be reformable; for I would thou wert gone, and Maſter Dean here hath earnestly fued for thee.

Dean. Woman, I have fued for thee indeed, and I promise thee, if thou wilt be reformable, my Lord will be good unto thee.

Eliz. I have been before my Lord Bishop, and before Maſter Chancellor three times, and have declared my Faith.

Dean. And yet I know that Maſter Chancellor will say, that thou art a rank Heretic.

Story. Away with her.

Bishop. Maſter Dean, ye know that I may not tarry, nor you neither. Let her Keeper bring her home to your own Chamber floor at four a Clock at afternoon, and if that ye find her reformable, then let her go, for I would that she were gone.

Then said the Dean; with a good will my Lord; and so he went unto the place from whence she came, until it was four of the Clock at afternoon.

The ninth Examination before the Dean, before whom it pleased God to deliver her.

When it was four of the Clock at afternoon, as the hour was appointed, and the Dean was set, he asked her; Art thou a fool now, as thou wast to day?

Eliz. Sir, I have learned but small wisdom since.

Dean. Dost thou think that I am better learned than thou?

Eliz. Yes Sir, that I do.

Dean. Thinkest thou that I can do thee good?

Eliz. Yea Sir, and if it please God that ye will.

Dean. Then I will do thee good indeed. What dost thou receive when thou receivest the Sacrament which Christ left among his Disciples the night before he was betrayed?

Eliz. Sir, that that his Disciples did receive.

Dean. What did they receive?

Eliz. Sir, that that Christ gave them they received.

Dean. What answer is this? Was Christ there present?

Eliz. Sir, he was there present; for he instituted his own Sacrament.

Dean. He took Bread, and he brake it, and he gave it to his Disciples, and said; *Take, eat, this is my Body which shall be broken for you.* When thou receivest it, dost thou believe that thou receivest his Body?

Eliz. Sir, when I receive, I believe that through Faith I do receive Christ.

Dean. Dost thou believe that Christ is there?

Eliz. Sir, I believe that he is there to me, and by Faith I do receive him.

Dean. He also took the Cup and gave thanks, and gave it to his Disciples and said; *Drink ye all hereof, this is the Cup of the New Testament in my Blood which is shed for many for the remission of sins.* When thou dost receive it after the institution that Christ ordained among his Disciples, the night before he was betrayed, dost thou believe that Christ is there?

Eliz. Sir, by Faith I believe that he is there, and by Faith I do believe that he is there to me.

Dean. Now thou hast answered me. Remember that thou sayest, that when thou dost receive according to the institution of Christ, thou dost receive Christ.

Eliz. Sir, I believe Christ not to be absent from his own Sacrament.

Dean. How long wilt thou continue in that belief?

Eliz. Sir, as long as I do live, by the help of God; for it is, and hath been my belief.

Dean. Wilt thou say this before my Lord?

Eliz. Yea, Sir.

Dean. Then I dare deliver thee. Why, thou Cal'st why wouldst thou not say so to day?

Eliz. Sir, ye asked me no such question.

T t t

Dean

Reformer Wife.

As the Works of the Lord are not to be kept secret, whatever the Persons be in whom it pleases him to work; so cometh to remembrance the Story of one *Reformer Wife*, not unworthy to be considered. This good Woman being at *Richmond* with her Mother, was greatly called upon, and urged to come to Church. At length, through importunate crying and calling upon her, she went, and being in the Church, and gazed upon her Mother in the Pew, contrary to all things, to the daings of the Papists, she behaved her self; to wit, when they knelt, she stood, when they turned forward she turned backward, &c.

This being notorious in the Church, at length the Constable and Churchwarden, named *Sanders*, attached her in the Queens Name, kingling her with her Mother; the next day to appear at *Kinghorn*, who, at their command, so did.

The next day, according as they were assigned, they came to *Kinghorn* to appear before the forefild Officers, who at the same time (as it chanced) were going over the Ferry, and meeting them by the way, falted them by their names, but at that time had no further power to speak unto them. Afterward, as they were in the Boat going over, they knocked their hands, stamp and fared, meaning that they had let them pass their hands. This the Ferryman declared unto them, and what they said in the Boat. Whereupon the good Woman taking her Journey to *London*, escaped their cruelty, through the secret working (no doubt) of the Lord, who in all his works and evermore be praised, Amen.

Lady Kneve in Norfolk.

Among the number of the godly that were kept under the Providence of the Lord in those perillous days, I may not forget an ancient good Lady of much worth, called *Lady Anne Kneve*, who left her death dwelt in *Norfolk*, in a Town named *Wimborne*, six miles from *Norwich*. Which said Lady lived in *Q. Maryes* days being judged by the Common People to be more than an hundred years of Age, and by her own estimation well toward a hundred, kept her self from her Pill Church, or having any Papistical Truth mingled in her House, but only the Service that was used in the last days of *King Edward* the fourth, which daily she had said before her, either by one Mr. *Tolin*, who was then by Gods Providence preferred in her House, or else by one of her Gentewomen or Household Servants, that could serve the place in the said Mr. *Tolin* absence.

Now this worshipful Lady continuing in this manner of true serving of God, the and her Family were many times threatened by Melfengers, that the Bishop would visit her therefore. Unto which Melfengers she would always answer, That if his Lordship sent word before what day he would come, he would thereafter be entertained at her hand. But God, whose Providence ruled the raging Seas, never suffered them all that toiling time to molest her: Although oftentimes when she had Service before her, there were very great Enemies to the Truth, and of much Authority, that came in, and knelted to Prayer among them, and yet had no power to trouble her therefore.

This good Lady (gentle Reader) kept good Hospitality, as any that Country of her living. She also succoured many persecuted that came to her House in the said *Queen Maryes* days. Where they never so temple they were esteemed of her as the Friends of the Gospel, and departed not from her without meat and drink. Bore she was long before *King Edward* the fourth died, and ended her life in the Lord Jesus, about the beginning of the second year of our most Sovereign Lady *Queen Elizabeths* Reign, as one falling into a most sweet sleep.

Unto whom not unworthily may be compared the Lady *Elizabeths* *Vane*, who likewise, being a great Harbinger and Supporter of the afflicted Martyrs and Confessors of Christ, was in great hazards and dangers of the Enemies, and yet notwithstanding, through the merciful

Providence of the Lord, remained still untouched. Of Anno 1588.

John Davis, of the Age of twelve years, and under.

Anno Dom. 1546. and the last year of *K. Henry* the eighth, *John Davis*, a Child of twelve years and under, who dwelling in the House of Mr. *John* in *Apoc*, the City of *Worcester*, his Uncle, being at that time to read of the Testament and other good English Books, was complained of by *Alice* *Johns* his Mistress, which *Alice* being an obdurate person, consulted with *Thomas Parton*, and one *Alice*, Wife to *Nicholas Brook* Organmaker, with certain of the Canons, and Mr. *John* in Chancellor to Dr. *Heath* their Bishop. The means whereby he was entrapped was wrought by the forfild *Alice Brookes*, who procured *Oliver* her Son, Schoolfellow with the said *John Davis*, to feign Friendship with him, and under pretence to be instructed by his English Books, and especially to get functioning of his writing against the six Articles. Which being had, was soon brought to the Canons of the Church, and the Chancellor. Whereupon *Thomas Parton*, whether being feint, or of his own mind, came to apprehend him, and his Uncle was forced against his will, to bind the poor Boys Arms behind him, and he was brought to the Officers of the Town, where he lay from the 14th of August, till the last of September. Then was he commanded to the Freeman Prison, where one *Richard Howbrough*, coming to persuade him from burning, would him to prove first with a Candle: who then holding his finger, and the other a Candle under it a good space, yet (as the party himself me assured) felt no burning thereof, neither would he other that held the Candle believe him a good while till he had looked, and saw no forcing of the Candle at all appeared.

Then was the Child removed from thence to an inner Prison, called *Peepbole*, where the low Bayliff, called *Robert Tauld*, laid upon him a pair of Bolts, so that he could not lift up his small Legs, but leaning on a staff, they then forewore upon the ground the coldest of which Irons he freely yes in his Ankles, and fild so long as he liveth: with these Bolts his lying upon the cold ground, having not one lock of Straw nor Cloth to cover him, fave only two Sheep-skins, neither durst Father or Mother, or any of his Friends come at him. Besides this, many great threats of the Papists, there was a mad man put to him in the Prison, with a Knife about him, where with he oft times in his Frantick rage proffered to thrust him in.

After this came to him one *Togilff* and *N. Years*, two Canons, which had his Writings against the six Articles, and his Ballad, called, *Come down for all year faveen Crown*, to see whether he would stand to that he had written. Which done, with many great raging words, not long after fate Mr. *John* in the Chancellor in the *Gulldhall* upon the poor Lad. Where first were brought forth in his Accusers and sworn, then were frown aloft twenty four men which went on his Quest, and found him guilty, but he never came before the Chancellor. Upon this he was sent to the common Goal among Thieves and Murtherers, there to abide the coming of the Judges, and then to be had forth to Execution. But the mighty mercy of the Lord, who helpeth the desolate and miserable when all other help is lost, so provided for this fild condemned Lad, that the purpose of all his hard-hearted Enemies was disappointed: For before the Judges came, God took away *Henry* the eighth out of this life, so that whereof the force of the Law was then fild, bowbeit he was nevertheless arraigned, being holden up in a mans Arms at the Bar before the Judges, who were *Peirman* and *Mervyn*. Which, when they perceived that they could not burn him, would have him presently whipped. But Mr. *Barnes* Esq. declared to the Judges how he had whipping enough. After that he had lain a week more in Prison, he had him home to his House, his Wife anointed his Legs her self with Ointment, which then were fild with num'd with Irons, till at length when Mr. *Barnes* and his Wife saw they could not win him to the belief of their Sacrament, they put him away, left he should infect their Son *Anthony*, as they thought, with Heretic.

Thus

The Congregation at Stoke in Suffolk.

Thus *John Davis* of the age aforesaid in what danger he was for the Gospel ye fies, and how the Lord preferred him, ye understand. He endured in Prison from the 14th day of August, till within seven days of *Enfer*, who is yet alive, and a profitable Minister this day in the Church of *England*: Blessed be the Lord, qui facit mirabilia in seculis.

Mrs. Roberts.

Furthermore, to both these may be also allocate another Gentewoman, to make the third, named Mrs. *Roberts*, yet living and dwelling (as I understand) in the Town of *Hawkhurst* in *Suffolk*. She being earnestly addicted to the truth of Christs Gospel, and no less constant in that which she had learned therein, he kept her self during all the brunt of *Q. Maryes* time, that the never came to their Popish Service, nor would pollute her Conscience with hearing their Idolatrous Mass. There dwelt the same time not far off a Justice, called Sir *John Gifford*, who being as fervent on the contrary side to set forward the proceedings of *Q. Mary*, thought to prove naderies with this Gentewoman, in forcing her into the Church. And first sending his wife, he attempted her by fair words, and gentle persuasions to conform her self to the Princes Laws, and to come, as other Christian People did to the Church. Notwithstanding, the constantly persisting in the sincerity of the Truth, would by no persuasions be won to do therein against her Conscience; and so kept at home a certain space, till again the second time, Mr. *Gifford* thinking not to give her over, sent his Officers and Servants to her, by force and power to hale her out of her House to the Church, and so did. Where by the way, the for the Gentewoman, and so of necessity was brought home again, and falling into an Ague, was for that time dispensed withal.

The third time, yet the unique spirit of Mr. *Gifford* being not content, after the time that the recovered health again, he would needs come in his own person to compel her, with the mid life, to the Church. But (as the Proverb goes) Who can let that God would have done for *Robert*, who Mr. *Gifford* had purposed as pleased him, the Lord disposed for his Servant, that as the said Mr. *Gifford* was coming up the stairs toward her Chamber, suddenly his old Disfide the Gout took him, and terribly tormented him, that he could go no further: And so he stayed purposed to carry her to the Church against her will, was fain himself to be carried home to his House to his pain; protesting and swearing that he would never from henceforth trouble that Gentewoman more, and no more he did.

Mrs. Anne Lacy.

In the number of good Gentewomen being in trouble and danger for Gods Word, is not to be omitted the memory of one Mrs. *Anne Lacy* widow in *Nottinghamshire*, who was in great danger in *Q. Maryes* time, in which the Process was forth against her, and ready to have been apprehended, being so nearly pursued, that she was driven to hide her Bible and other Books in a Dug-hole. Mrs. *Lacy* her Brother was then Justice of Peace, but to whom (as I have heard) she was but finally beloved. Nevertheless, where Kindred faileth, yet Gods Grace never faileth such as fild to him; for in this mean time, as the Process came out against her, *Q. Mary* died, and so she escaped.

Crosman's Wife.

One *Crosman's* Wife of *Tihann Longrow* in *Norfolk*, in *Q. Maryes* time, for not going to Church, was brought to her House by one *Barber* of the said Town, then Constable of the Hundred, who when he came to her House, the being at home with a Child sucking in her Arms, stepped into a corner on the one side of the Chimney, and they feking the Chambers the Child never cried (although before they came it did) as long as they were there, and so by this means the Lord preferred her.

There was some likewise which avoided the violent rage of the Adversaries by means only of their number, and mutual concord in godliness; wherein they did so hold together, that without much ado none well could be troubled: whereof we have an example in a certain Town of *Suffolk* called *Stoke*. After the three sharp years of *Q. Maryes* Persecution being past, yet notwithstanding the Inhabitants of the Town aforesaid, especially the women, came not to their Church to receive after the Popish manner the Sacrament. Whose they had been but few, they could by no means have escaped Imprisonment. But because there were so many the Papists thought it not best to lay hands upon them. Only they appointed them sixteen days respite after *Enfer*, wherein as many as would, should receive the Sacrament; i where that would not, should land to the peril that would follow. Of this Company, which were many, giving their hands together, the chief doers were these:

Eve, an old woman of 60. years.
Alice Coker her daughter.
Elizabeth Foxe.
Agnes Cutting.
Alice Spence.
Henry Canker.
Joan Euke.
Agnes Spaulding.
John Steyre and his Brother.

Confessors.

These, after the order was taken for their not coming to the Church, took advantage among themselves what was best to be done, and at length concluded by promise one to another, that they would not receive at the Communion of them afterward, being persecuted with fair promises that the Communion should be ministered unto them according to *K. Edwards* Book, gave them unto the Parish Priest (whose name was *Cotes*) and asked him after such, which for he would minister the Sacrament. He answered for such he favoured, that he would give it at the right foot: the rest should have it after the Papistical manner.

To be short, none did communicate so, but only *John Steyre* and *John Foxe*; of which the one gave his Wife and leave to do as she thought best. The other went about with threats to compel his Wife, saying, that otherwise he would divorce himself from her. As for the rest, they did withdraw themselves from Church, resorting to their wonted Company. Only *Foxes* Wife tarried still at home, all in her dumper and heaviness, whose Husband pressed with the Curate in the mean time, that the next day after he should give her the Sacrament, which was the 17 day after *Enfer*. But the very same day, unknowing unto her, he should give her the Sacrament, and of this she was told with tears declared how violently her Husband had dealt with her. The other women bade her notwithstanding to be of a good cheer, and fild that they would make their Prayers, earnest Prayers unto the Lord, both for her and her Husband, and indeed when they had so done, the matter took recovered very good success. For the next day after Goodman *Foxe* again to the Curate, and said unto them, a far other manner than he was before, and bewailed his own head and raft, promising, praying them that they would forgive him, promising ever after to be more frong in faith, to the great rejoicing both of them and his Wife.

About half a year after this, the Bishop of *Norwich* (sendeth forth certain of his Officers or Apparators thither, which gave them warning every one to come to the Church the next Sunday following. If they would not come, they should appear before the Commiffary out of hand, to render account of their absence. But the women having secret knowledge of this before, kept themselves out of the way for the nonce, to avoid the summons or warning. Therefore when they were not at the Church at the day appointed, the Commiffary did first suspend them, according to the Bishop of *Rome* Laws, and within three weeks after did excommunicate them. Therefore when they perceived that an Officer of the Town was fit to take some of them, they conveying themselves privily out of the Town, escaped all danger.

T t t

T t t

Then *Grineus* said unto him, that he was very sorry that a Man of such learning and Authority should openly maintain such errors as were both contumacious against God and almightie be refuted by the manifold testimonies of the Scriptures. *Irenus* writeth (saith he) that *Poly-carpus* was wont to stop his ears whenever he heard any erroneous and wicked Doctrine. With what mind then (think you) would *Poly-carpus* have heeded your-
ghe and reason what it is that the moste earnest your-
then the Consecrated Host? Who would not bewail
such ignorance and blindness of the Church? With this
Faber brake off his talk, as he was about to say more,
and told him this Name was *Grineus*.

This *Faber* (as many well know) was also timorous
and fearful in the company of learned Men. Wherefore
he fearing the learning, eloquence, and fervent zeal of
Grineus, specially in such a matter as this was, feared
as though he had been sent for by the King, and that
he had no leisure now to reason upon this matter. He
understand that he was very delicious of acquaintance and
hearing the King, and that both for his
own private cause and also for the Common Wealth, he
ought to appear the next day upon the Common, and so
he should come, and appointed him an hour when he
should come: *Grineus*, thinking that he had spoken un-
fashionably, promised to do so.

When he was departed from *Faber*, he came straight-
way unto us, and was scarcely let at the table (for it was
supper time) reciting a part of his talk with *Faber* unto me
and others there present, when as I sitting with my
company, was suddenly called out of the Parlour by a cer-
tain ancient Fatherly Man, who heaving a singular
gravity in his countenance, words, and behaviour, spoke
unto me, and said, that the Sergeants would be by and
by come unto our lodging, being sent by the Kings com-
mandment, to carry *Grineus* to Prison, whom *Faber*
had accused to the King; commanding that *Grineus*
should straightways depart out of the Town, and es-
corted me, and said, that we should in no case delay the time and
be bidding me farewell, departed. But what old Man this
was, neither did I know then, nor afterward could I
understand. I returning again unto my company, bade
them rise, and told them what the old Man had said un-
to me.

By and by, we taking *Grineus* in the midst of us, car-
ried him through the Street to the River of *Rhene*, whereas
after we had layed upon the higher bank a while, until
Grineus with his companion were carried over in a small
boat, returning again to our lodging, we under-
stood that the Sergeants had been there, when we were
but a little while gone out of the House. Now in
what great danger *Grineus* should have been, if he
had been carried to Prison, by this cruelty of *Faber* every
Man easily may conjecture: Wherefore we judged, that
that most cruel intent and purpose of him, was disapprov-
ed by Gods merciful providence. And as I cannot say,
what old Man it was that gave me this warning, even
so I likewise the Sergeants made quick flight, that
except *Grineus* had been covered and defended by the An-
gels through the marvellous providence of Gods, he could
never have escaped.

Concerning the truth of this matter, there be many
good Men yet alive, which know both the same and also
were present at the doing thereof. Therefore let us give
thanks unto God, which hath given us his Angels to be
our keepers and defenders, whereby with more quiet minds
we may fulfill and do the Office of our vocation.

With such like examples of Gods mighty and merci-
ful custody, the Church of Christ in all ages doth abound,
as by manifold experiences may appear as well among
the *Germans*, as also in other places and ages: but
in no place more, nor in any time more plentiful, than
in this persecuting time of *Q. Mary*, in this our Realm
of England, as partly hath been already histories and par-
ty yet remaineth (the Lord willing) moreover hereto
to be added.

The Lady Katherine, Dutchesse of Suffolke.

Stephen Gardiner Bishop of Winchester, furnishing the
Lady Katherine Barons of *Wiltshire* and *Exeter*, of the
by, and Dutchesse of *Suffolke*, to be one of the
of his ancient enemies, because he knew he had de-
served no better of her, devised, in the holy time
of the first Lent in Queen *Marys* Reign, a holy practise
of revenge, first by touching her in the person of her
Husband Master *Richard Berry* Esquire, for whom he
sent an attachment (having the great Seal at his Devo-
tion) to the Sheriff of *Lincolnshire*, with a special At-
tacher commanding him faithfully the same Sheriff, to at-
tach the said *Richard* immediately, and without bail
bring him up to London to his great Lordship. *M. Berry*
his Husband being clear in Conscience, and free from
offence toward the *Q.* could not conjecture any cause of this
strange Process, which it were faine quarrel for Religion,
which he thought could not be to fore as the Process
pretended.

The Sheriff, notwithstanding the commandment, *M. Berry*
ventured only to take the bond of *M. Berry* with his
Sureties, a thousand pound for his appearance to be made
before the Bishop on good Friday following, at which
day Master *Berry* appeared, the Bishop then lying
at his House by Saint *Marys* Devise. Of whose pre-
sence when the Bishop understood by a Gentleman of his
Chamber, in a great rage he came out of his Gallery
into his dining Chamber, where he found a priest of *Sore*,
saying he would not that day hear any, but came forth only
for the sake of *M. Berry*, whom he being a Subject, durst fo-
arrogantly let at light two former Process of the
Queen.

M. Berry answered, that albeit my Lords words might
seem to the rest somewhat sharp toward him, yet he re-
ceived great comfort of them. For whereas he before
received it extremely to be attached, having used no obli-
vion, or contumacy, now he gave thanks that the words,
which my Lord meant not otherwise but to have used
some ordinary Process; albeit indeed none came to his
hands.

Yea *Mary*, quoth the Bishop, I have sent you two
Sergeants, to appear immediately, and I am sure you re-
fused them for I committed the truth of them to your
Man but to *M. Solicitor*, and I shall make you an exam-
ple to all *Lincolnshire* for your obduracy.

M. Berry denying the receipt of any, humbly prayed
his Lordship to suspend his displeasure and the punishment
till he had paid trial thereof, and then, if it pleased him
to double the pain for the fault, if any were.

Well, quoth the Bishop, I have appointed my self this
day (according to the holiness of the same) for Devotion,
and I will not further trouble me with you: but enjoya
you in a thousand pound not to depart without leave,
and to be here again to morrow at 7. of the clock. Ma-
ster *Berry* well observed the hour, and no just fault
at which time the Bishop had with him *M. Sergeant*
Stamford, to whom he moved certain questions of the
said Master *Berry*, because Master Sergeant was towards
the Lord *Wintlesheffe*, late Earl of *Southampton*, and
Chancellor of England, with whom the said Master
Berry was brought up. Master Sergeant made very
friendly report of *M. Berry*, of his own knowledge
for the time of their Conversation together. Whereupon
the Bishop caused *M. Berry* to be brought in and first
making a false train (as God would, without fire) before
he would defend to the quarrel of Religion, he assaulted him
in this manner.

Wine. The Queens pleasure is, quoth the Bishop, that
you shall make present payment of 4000. pound due to
her Father by Duke *Charles*, late Husband to the Dut-
chesse your Wife, whose Executor he was.

Ber. Pleadeth if your Lordship, quoth Master *Berry*,
that debt is called, and is according to that assentment
truly delivered.

Wine. Truth (quoth the Bishop) the Queen will not
be bound to entailments in the time of *Rette* Govern-
ment: for so I esteem the late Government.

Ber. The entailment (quoth *M. Berry*) was ap-
pointed by *K. Henry* the eighth: besides, the same was
by

by special Commissioners confirmed in *K. Edwards* time;
and the Lord Treasurer being an Executor also to the Duke
Charles (sleely and wholly) took upon him, before these
Commissioners, to discharge the same.

Wine. If it be true that you say (quoth the *B.*) I will
shew you favour. But of another thing Master *Berry* I
will admonish you, as meaning you well. I hear evil of
your Religion: I hardly can think evil of you, whose
Mother I know to be as Godly and Catholic, as any
within this Land; your self brought up with a Master,
whose education if I should disallow, I might be charged
as Author of his error. Besides, partly I know you my
self, and understand of my friends enough to make me
your friend: wherefore I will not doubt of you, but
I pray you, if I may ask the question of my Lady your
Wife, is the now ready to set up the Mals, as she was
lately to pull it down, when the caused in her progress, a
dog in a Rochet to be carried, and called by my Name? or
doth she think her Lambs now life enough, which fail to
windows in the Tower, that it was merry with the Lambs,
now the Wolve was thus up? Another time my Lord her
Husband, having invited me and divers Ladies to Din-
ner, desired every Lady to choose him whom the loved best,
and so placed themselves: My Lady your Wife taking
by the hand, for that my Lord would not have her
to take himself, said, that forasmuch as she could not sit
down with my Lord whom she loved best, she chose
him whom she loved most.

Of the device of the Dog, quoth Master *Berry*, she
was neither the Author, nor the allower. The worst, though
in that fashion they founded bitter to your Lordship, yet
if it would please you without offence to know the cause,
I am sure the one will purge the other. As touching the
thing up of Mals, which he learned not only by strong
persuasions of divers excellent learned Men, but by
universal consent and order whole six years past, inwardly
to abhor, if she should outwardly allow, she should both
to Christ herself sit a false Christian, and to her
Prince a marquing Subject. You know my Lord, by
Judgment reformers, it is more worth than a thousand
transformed temporers. To force a Confession of Reli-
gion by Mouth, contrary to that in the heart, worketh
damnation where Salvation is pretended.

Yea *Mary* (quoth the Bishop) that deliberation would
do well if the were required to come from a new to an
ancient Religion: Wherein when he made me her Gos-
pils, she was as earnest as any.

For that my Lord (said Master *Berry*) not long since,
the answered a friend of hers using your Lordships speech;
That Religion went not by age, but by truth: and there-
fore she was to be turned by persuasion and not by com-
mandment.

I pray you (quoth the Bishop) think you it possible
to persuade her?

Yea verily (said *M. Berry*) with the truth: for she is
reasonable enough.

The Bishop thereunto replying, said, it would be a mar-
vellous gift to the Prince of *Spain*, and to all the
nobility the shall come with him, when they shall find but
two Noble personages of the Spanish race within this
land, the Queen, and my Lady your Wife, and one of
them gone from the Faith.

Master *Berry* answered, that he trusted they should
find no fruits of infidelity in her.

So the Bishop persuaded *M. Berry* to travel earnest-
ly for the reformation of her opinions, and offering large
pardonance, released him of his bond from further ap-
pearance.

The Dutchesse and her Husband, daily more and more
by their friends understanding that the Bishop meant to
call her to an account of her Faith, whereby ceremony
might follow, devised ways how by the Queens licence
they might pass the Seas. Master *Berry* had a ready
mean: for there refted great Sums of Money due to the
old Duke of *Suffolke* (one of whose Executors the Dut-
chesse was) beyond the Seas; the Emperor himself being one
of those debtors. Master *Berry* communicated this his
purpose first for licence to pass the Seas, and then
cause to the Bishop, adding, that he took this time

most meet to deal with the Emperor, by reason of like-
hood of marriage between the Queen and his Son.

I like your device well (quoth the Bishop) but I think
it better that you tarry the Princes coming, and I will
procure you his Letters also to his Father.

Nay (quoth *M. Berry*) under your Lordships correc-
tion and pardon of so liberal speech, I suppose the time
will then be left convenient: for when the marriage is
consummated, the Emperor hath his desire; but till then
he will refuse nothing to win credit with us.

By Saint *Mary* (quoth the Bishop, smiling) you
guesses thravely. Well, proceed in your fute to the Queen,
and if that will not lack my helping hand.

Master *Berry* found to good success, that he in few *M. Berry*
days obtained the Queens Licence, not only to pass the
Seas, but to pass and repass them so often as to him seem-
ed good; he had finished all his business and causes be-
yond the Seas so he pass. The Seas at Dover about the be-
ginning of June, in the first year of her Reign, leaving
the Dutchesse behind, who, by agreement and content be-
twixt her and her Husband, followed, taking Barge at
Lion Key, very early in the morning, on the first day of
January next ensuing, not without some peril.

There was none of those that went with her, made
privy to her going till the instant, but an old Gentleman,
called *Mr. Robert Crumwell*, whom *M. Berry* had specially
provided for that purpose. She took with her her Daugh-
ter, an Infant of one year, and the maner of her Ser-
vants, for the doubted the best would not adventure that
fortune with her. They were in number four Men, one a
Greck born, which was a rider of Horses, another a
Joyners, the third a Brewer, the fourth a fool, the one a
Kitchen, one Gentlewoman, and a Laundress.

As she departed her House called the Barbican, betwixt
four and five of the clock in the morning, with her com-
pany and baggage, one *Atkins* a Herald, Keeper of
her House, hearing noise about the House, rose and came
out with a torch in his hands as she was yet issuing out
of the gate: where with being amazed, he was forced
to leave a male with her slave for her young Daughter,
and a milk-pot with milk in the same gate-house, command-
ing all her Servants to speed them away before to *Lion*
Key: and taking with her only the two Women and
her Child: to soon as she was forth of her own House
perceiving the Herald to follow, the kept in at
Charterhouse back by the Herald coming out of the
Dutchesse House, and seeing no body stirring nor affraid
(though by the male suspected) that she was departed,
returned in; and while he stayed ransacking parcels left
in the male, the Dutchesse issued into the Streets, and
proceeded in her journey, he knowing the place only
by Name where she should take her boat, but not the
way thither, nor any with her. Likewise her Servants
having divided themselves, none but one knew the way
to the said *Key*.

So she appeared like a mean Merchants Wife, and the
rest like mean Servants, walking in the streets unknown,
the took the way that led to *Finsbury* Field, and
the others walked the City Streets as they lay open
before them, till by chance more than discretion, the
they met all suddenly together a little within *Mor-*
gate, from whence they passed directly to *Lion Key*,
and there took Barge in a morning foggy, that the Steer-
man was loath to launch out, but that they urged him.
So soon as the day permitted, the Council was infor-
med of her departure, and some time came forth
and took an inventory of her goods, besides further order
devised for search and watch to apprehend and stay her.

The fame of her departure reached to *Leigh* Town the Duke
at the Lands end, before her approaching thither. By
Leigh dwelt one *Gillingham*, Merchant of *London* an old ac-
quaintance of *Crumwell*, whether the said *Crumwell*
brought the Dutchesse, naming her Mistress *White*,
the Daughter of Master *Gillingham*, for such a Daughter
he had which never was in that Country. There she re-
ported her, and made new Garments for her Daughter,
having left her own in the male at *Barbican*.

When the time came that she should take ship, being
contrained that night to lie at an Inn in *Leigh* (where
he was again almost bewrayed) yet notwithstanding

Thehard
theDutcheſſe
uponthe
ſea.

ing by Gods good working the eſcaped that hazards at length the tide and wind did ſerve, they were aboard, and being carried twice into Sea, aſtore into the coſt of *Zealand*, by contrary wind were driven to the place from whence they came, and at the laſt recoll, certain perſons came to the ſhore, ſuſpecting he was within that ſhip; yet having examined one of her company, they were aland for freſh Achates, and finding by the ſimplicity of his tale, only the appearance of a mean Merchants Wife to be a ſhipboard, he ceaſed any further to ſearch.

TheDutcheſſe landed
in *Brabant*,
At *Berry*
with the
Dutcheſſe
Wife arrived
at *Santon*, a
there, a
True Town
of *Welf*
in *where* to
ſettle themſelves.

To be tho't, ſo ſoon as the Dutcheſſe had landed in *Brabant*, ſhe and her Women were appeared like the Women of *Netherland* with hooke; and ſo ſhe and her Husband took their journey towards *Cleveland* and being there, they arrived at a Town therein called *Santon*, took a houſe at *Santon*, a there, until they might further deviſe of ſome free place, where to ſettle themſelves.

About five miles from *Santon*, is a free Town called *Welf*, under the ſaid Duke of *Cleves* Dominion, and one of the *Hance* Towns, privileged with the Company of the *ſtreed* in *London*, whether divers *Wallons* were fled for Religion, and had for their Miniſter one *Francis* of *Perſell*, then called *Francis* of *Perſell*, who had received ſome countenance in *England* from the Dutcheſſe hands, being yet at *Santon*, practiſed with him to obtain a protection from the Magiſtrates for his abode and his Wives at *Welf*; which was the ſooner procured, becauſe the ſtate of the Dutcheſſe was not diſcovered, but only to the chief Magiſtrates, earnestly bent to ſhew them pleaſure, whiles this protection was in ſeeking.

In the mean while, at the Town of *Santon* was a muttering that the Dutcheſſe and her Husband were greater perſonages than they gave themſelves forth, and the Magiſtrates not very well inclined to Religion, the Biſhop of *Arras* alſo being Dean of the great Miniſter, order was taken, that the Dutcheſſe and her Husband ſhould be examined of their Condition and Religion upon the ſudden. Which praſtice diſcovered by a Gentleman of that Country to *M. Berry*, he without delay taking more than the Dutcheſſe, her Daughter, and two others with them, as though he meant no more but to take the air, about three of the Clock in the afternoon in *February*, on foot, without hiring of Hore or Wagon for fear of diſcloſing his purpoſe, meant privily that night to get to *Welf*, leaving his other family ſtill at *Santon*.

After the Dutcheſſe and he were one Engliſh mile from the Town, there fell a mighty ſnow of continuance, whereby a long foot and Ice before congealed, was thawed, which doubled more the wearineſſe of thoſe new Lacques. But being now on the way, and overtaken with the night, they lent their two Servants (which only went with them) to villages as they paſt, to hire ſome Carr for their eaſe, but none could be hired. In the mean time *M. Berry* was forced to carry the Child, and the Dutcheſſe his Cloak and Rapier. At laſt, betwixt fix and ſeven of the clock in the dark night, they came to *Welf*, and repairing to the Inns for lodging, and ſome repoſe after ſuch a painful journey, found bad entertainment: for going from Inn to Inn offering large money for ſmall lodging, they were refuſed of all the Inn-holders, ſuſpecting *M. Berry* to be a Launce-knight, and the Dutcheſſe to be his Woman. The Child for cold and ſtill hunger cried pitifully, the Mother wept as ſhe ſaw the Heavens rained as ſat as the Clouds could pour.

M. Berry, deſtitute of all other ſuccour of Hoſpitality, reſolved to bring the Dutcheſſe to the Porch of the great Church in the Town, and to buy ſome victuals, and ſo to draw for their miſerable repoſe there that night, or at leaſt till by Gods help he might provide her better lodging. *M. Berry* at that time underſtood not much Dutch, and by reaſon of evil weather and late reaſon of the night, he could not happen upon any that could ſpeak Engliſh, French, Italian, or Latin, till at laſt, going towards the Church Porch, he heard two ſhipplings talking Latin, to whom he approached, and offered them two Stivers to bring him to ſome *Wallons* Houſe.

By theſe Boys, and Gods good conſent, he came to the firſt upon the Houſe where *M. Berry* ſtayed.

ſupped that night, who had procured them the protection of the Magiſtrates of that Town. At the firſt knock, the Goodman of the Houſe himſelf came to the door, and opening it, asked *M. Berry* what he was. *M. Berry* ſaid, An Engliſhman, that fought for one *M. Perſell* Houſe. The *Wallon* willed *M. Berry* to ſtay a while, who went back, and told *M. Berry* that the ſame Engliſh Gentleman, of whom they had talked the ſame ſupper, had ſent by likelihood his Servant to ſpeak with him. Whereupon *M. Berry* ſaid, ſit come to the door, and beholding *M. Berry*, the Dutcheſſe, and their Child, their faces appeared, and ſhewed bodies ſo far from their old form, deformed with dirt, weather, and heavineſſe, could not ſpeak to them, nor they to him for tears. At length recovering themſelves, they ſaluted one another, and ſo together entered the Houſe, God knoweth full joyfully; *M. Berry* changing his apparel with the good Man, the Dutcheſſe with the good Wife, and their Child with the Child of the Houſe.

Within few days after, by *M. Perſell* means, they hired a very fair Houſe in the Town, and did not let to ſhew themſelves what they were, in ſuch good for as their preſent condition permitted. It was ſoon this time, that the whole Town took diſcountenance the Inholders had ſhewed unto them at their entry, inſomuch as on the Sunday following, a Preacher in the Pulpit openly in ſuch terms rebuked that great incivility toward ſtrangers, by allegation of ſundry places out of holy Scriptures, diſcouraging hereby not only Princes ſometimes are received in the Image of private perſons, but Angels in the ſhape of Men, and that God of his Juſtice would make them ſtrangers one day in another Land, to have more ſenſe of the afflicted heart of a Stranger.

The time thus paſſing forth, as they thought themſelves happily ſettled, ſuddenly a watch-word came from *Sir John Maſon*, then Queen *Maries* Embaſſador in *Netherland*, that my Lord *Pager* had ſigned an errand to the *Baſhes* that ways; and whereas the Duke of *Brabant* was ſtantly with ten Engliſhmen, he ſent by *Welf* for the Service of the Houſe of *Aſſwick* to ſave the Dutcheſſe, the ſaid Dutcheſſe and her Husband ſhould be with the ſame charge and company interceſted.

Wherefore to prevent the cruelty of their enemies, the Dutcheſſe with her Wife and Child departed to a place called *Wintem* in high Dutchland under the *Palgrave* Dominion; where under his protection they continued till their neceſſaries began to fail them, and they, aland of the moſt fainting under ſo heavy a burden, began to fail Lord again inſtead of help.

At what time, in the midſt of their deſpair, there came ſuddenly Letters to them from the Palatine of *Villem*, and the King of *Poles*, being inſtructed of their hard poſſe, wrote ſometime by a Baron, named *Joannes Alſaco*, that was Dutcheſſe of *Selva*, offering them large courtſie the Dutcheſſe. This purſuit unlooked for, greatly revived their hearts, and they conſidered they ſhould remove from many of their Countrymen and Acquaintance, to a place far diſtant, a Country not haunted with the Engliſh and French, ſhould upon their arrival not finding as they looked for the end of their journey ſhould be ſo. When they ſpoken, they deſired thereupon with one *M. Carver* late Biſhop of *Chicheſter*, that if he would vouchſafe of *Villem* to take ſome pains therein, they would make him a ſent, ſuch low of that journey. So finding him prone, they ſent him with his Letters of great thanks to the King and Palatine, and alſo with ſome principal Jewels (which only they had left of many) ſollicite for them, that ſhould be given of vouchſafe under his Seal, to aſſure them of the thing, which he ſo honourably by Letters offered.

That ſute, by the forwardneſſe of the Palatine, was ſoon granted as uttered. Upon which aſſurance, the Dutcheſſe and her Husband, with their family, entered the journey in *April*, 1557, from the *Calſe* of *Wintem*, where they before, towards *Frankford*. In the which their journey, it was long here to deſcribe what dangers fell by the way upon them and their whole company, by reaſon of their *Langraves* Captain, who under a ſecond pretext for a Spaniel of *M. Berry*, ſet upon them in the High-way with his Horſmen,

Anno

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Horſmen, thruſting their Bore-Spears thorow the Wagon, where the Children and Women were, *M. Berry* having but four Horſmen with him. In the which brabble it hapned the Captains Horſe to be flain under him. Whereupon a rumor was ſpread immediately that the Towns and Villages about, that the *Langraves* Captain ſhould be flain by certain *Wallons*, which incited the ire of the Countrymen there more fiercely againſt *M. Berry*, as afterward it proved. For as he was moſt moved by his Wife to ſave himſelf by the ſweetneſſe of his Horſe, and to recover ſome Town there by for his refuge, he ſo doing was in worſe caſe than before for the Townſmen and the Captains Brother, ſuppoſing no leſs but that the Captain had been flain, preſented eagerly upon him, that he had been there taken and murdered among them, had not he (as God would) ſpying a Ladder leaning to a Window, by the fame got up into the Houſe, and ſo gone up into a Garret in the top of the Houſe, where he with his Dagger and Rapier defended himſelf for a ſpace; but at length the *Burg* coming thither with another Magiſtrate which could ſpeak Latin, he was conſented to ſubmit himſelf to the order of the Law. *M. Berry* knowing himſelf clear, and the Captain to be alive, was the more bold to ſubmit himſelf to the judgment of the Law, upon condition that the Magiſtrate would receive him under ſafe conduct, and defend him from the rage of the multitude. Which being promiſed, *M. Berry* put off his ſword, and his Weapon into the Magiſtrates hand, and ſo was committed to ſafe cuſtody, while the truth of his cauſe ſhould be tried.

Then *M. Berry* writing his Letters to the *Langraves*, and to the Earl of *Erbeſbach*, the next day early in the Morning the Earl of *Erbeſbach*, dwelling within eight miles, came to the Town whither the Dutcheſſe was brought with her Wagon, *M. Berry* alſo being in the ſame Town under cuſtody.

The Earl, who had more intelligence of the Dutcheſſe before, after he was come and had ſhewed ſuch courtoſie as he thought to her eſtate was ſeemly, the Townſmen perceiving the Earl to behave himſelf ſo humbly unto her, began to confider more of the matter, and further underſtanding the Captain to be alive, both they, and eſpecially the Authors of the ſide ſtruck away made all the friends they could to *M. Berry* and his Wife, not to report their doings after the world fort.

And thus *M. Berry* and his Wife, eſcaped that danger, proceeded in their journey toward *Poland*, where in conclusion they were quietly entertained of the King, and placed honourably in the Eaſt end of the ſaid King of *Poles* in *Samogitia*, called *Croſſen*, where *M. Berry* with the Dutcheſſe, having the Kings abſolute power of Government over the ſaid Eaſt end, continued both in great quietneſſe and honor, till the death of *Q. Mary*.

Thomas Horton Miniſter.

As ye have heard of the dangerous trouble of the Dutcheſſe of *Suffolk* in the time of her exile for Religion ſake, how notwithstanding the Lords preſent protection ſtill delivered in all diſtreſſes, as well from her enemies in *England*, as in Dutchland from the *Launce knights* there: ſo have we leſt to behold and magnifie the Lords merced goodneſſe in preferring of *Thomas Horton* from the like perils of the ſame Country.

Which *Thomas Horton*, what a profitable influent he was to the Church of *Chriſt* in *Q. Maries* time, and our Engliſhmen alſo, beyond the Seas then, did both know and feel.

This good *Thomas Horton*, as he ſaid oftentimes to travel between *Germany* and *England*, for the behoof and ſufficiency of the poor Engliſh exiles there: ſo he journeying upon a time between *Majſtick* and *Calſen*, and chance to be taken there by certain *Revers*, and ſo being led by them away, was in no little danger: and yet this danger of his was not ſo great, but the preſent help of the Lord was greater to aid and deliver him out of the ſame.

Thomas Sprat of Kent, Tanner.

Unto thee afore rehearſed examples of Gods bleſſed providence towards his Servants, may alſo be added the happy deliverance of *Thomas Sprat* and *William Perrege* his companion, now Miniſter. Whole ſtory ſays briefly to ſcourſe over is this.

This *Thomas Sprat* had been Servant ſometimes to *M. Bred* Miniſter of *Calice*, and a heavy perſecutor, and ſo therefore forſaking his Maſter for Religion ſake, he went to *Calice*, from whence he ſaid often with the ſaid *Welf* *William Perrege*, for their neceſſary affairs, have recourſe into *England*.

It ſo happened about the fourth year of Queen *Maries* Reign, that they landing upon a time at *Dover*, and taking their journey together towards *Sandwich*, ſuddenly upon the way within three miles of *Dover*, met with the foreſaid *M. Bred*, the two *Blackened*, and other Gentlemen more, with their Servants, to the number of ten or twelve Horſes. Of the which two *Blackened*, being both haters and enemies of Gods Word and people, the one had perfect knowledge of *William Perrege*, the other had not ſeen him, but only had heard of his name before.

Thus they being in the way where this Juice with his Maſter ſhould meet them directly in the *Kee*, *Thomas Sprat* firſt ſpying *M. Bred*, was ſo diſmayed, ſaying to his companion, Yonder is *M. Bred* *William Perrege*, God have mercy upon us. Well, quoth the other, ſeeing now there is no remedy, let us go on our way. And ſo thinking to paſſy by them, they kept by themſelves alſo, as it were a ſcore off from them. *Thomas Sprat* alſo ſhadowing his face with his Cloak.

Notwithſtanding one of *M. Bred* Servants advancing him better than his Maſter did, Yonder he ſaid to his Maſter, is *Thomas Sprat*. At which words they all reined their Horſes, and called for *Thomas Sprat* to come to them. They that called *William Perrege* now would not go to them, but were taken, and ſo perſuaded him to go to them being called, for that there was no eſcaping from ſo many Horſemen in thoſe plains and downs, where there was no wood near them by a mile and hedge neither, but only one hedge was a birdſhot ſhot off.

All this notwithstanding, *Sprat* ſtand, and would not go. Then they called againſt him ſtill on horſeback. Ah firrah (quoth the Juſtice) why come ye not hither? And ſtill his companion moved him to go, ſeeing there was no other ſtill to ſee away. Nay (ſaid *Sprat*) I will not go to them, and therewithal took his Leggs, running to the hedge that was next him. They ſeeing that, ſet Spurs to their Horſe, thinking by and to whiſper him, and that it was unpoſſible for him to eſcape their hands, as it was indeed, they being on horſeback, and he on foot, had not the Lord miraculouſly delivered his ſervants from the gipping mouth of the Lion ready to devour him. For as God would, ſo he fell out that he had got over the hedge, ſcrambling through the buſhes, when they were even at his heels, ſtriking at him with their Swords, one of the *Blackened* crying cruelly, cut off one of his Leggs.

Thus *Sprat* had ſcurvily recovered the hedge from his enemies, when one of *M. Bred* Servants, which he had been ſometimes in Houſe with him, followed him in his Boots; and certain rode up at one ſide of the hedge, and ceaſed at the other, to meet him at the upper end.

Now while they were following the *Chaff* after *Thomas Sprat*, only one remained with *William Perrege* who was one of the *Blackened*, not he which knew him, but the other) who began to queſtion with him, not asking what was his name (as God would) for then he had been known and taken: but from whence he came, and how he came into *Sprats* company, and to whither he went? Unto whom he answered and ſaid, From *Calice*, and that *Sprat* came over with him in the paſſage boat, and they two were going to *Sandwich*, and ſo without any more queſtions he let him depart.

In the time of his Sermon one of the Guard lift up
to him into the Pulpit a Mafi Book and a Grail, which
Sir George *Hazard* with certain of the Guard had tak-
ken that night in Master *Harle Jones* Houfe, where *La-*
dy Mary had been a little before, and there had Mafi: The
Duke, with the reft of the Nobility, required Doctor
Sands to put his Sermon in writing, and appointed
Master *Leaver* to go to *London* with it, and to put

it in print. Doctor Sands required one day and a half for writing of it. At the time appointed he had made it ready, and Master Leaver was ready booted to receive it at his hands, and carry it to London. As he was delivering it, one of the Beadles, named M. Adams, came weeping to him, and prayed him to shift for himself, for the Duke was retired, and Queen Mary proclaimed.

Doctor Sands was not troubled here-withal, but gave the Sermon written to Master Layfield. Master Leaver departed home, and he went to dinner to one Master Morris, a Beadle, his great friend. At the dinner Mistress More seeing him merry and pleasant (for he had ever a Mans countenance, and could not be terrified) drank unto him, saying, Master Vicceanellor, I drink unto you, for this is the last time that I shall see you. And to it was; for he was dead before Doctor Sands returned out of Germany. The Duke that night retired to Cambridge, and sent for Doctor Sands to go with him to the Market place to proclaim Queen Mary. The Duke callt up his cap with others, and lo laughed, that the tears ran down his Cheeks for grief. He told Doctor Sands that Queen Mary was a merciful Woman, and that he doubted not of her proof, declaring that he had sent unto her to know her pleasure, and looked for a general pardon. Doctor Sands answered, My Life is not dear unto me, neither have I done or said any thing that might hurt my Conscience. For that which I speak of the State, I have instructions warranted by the subscription of sixteen Counsellors, neither can I speak by Treason, neither yet have I spoken further than the Word of God, and the Laws of the Realm do warrant me, come of me what God will. But be you assured, you shall never escape death; for if he would save you, those that now shall rule, will kill you.

That night the Guard apprehended the Duke, and certain Grooms of the Stable were as he with Doctor Sands, as if they would make a prisoner. But Sir John Gates, who lay then in Doctor Sands his House, sharply rebuked them, and drove them away. Doctor Sands, by the advice of Sir John Gates, walked in the Fields. In the mean time the University, contrary to all orders, had met together in consultation, and ordered that Doctor Mause and Doctor Hatcher should repair to Doctor Sands, and bring with them the Statute Book of the University, the Keys, and such other things that were in his keeping, and to they did; for Doctor Mause being an earnest Protestant the day before, and one whom Doctor Sands had done much for, was now become a Papist, and his great enemy. Certain of the University had appointed a Congregation at afternoon. As the bell rang to it, Doctor Sands cometh out of the Fields, and finding for the Beadles, asketh what the matter meant and required them to wait upon him to the Schools, according to their duty. So they did. And so soon as Doctor Sands, the Beadles going before him, came into the regent House and took his chair. One M. Mutch, with a rabble of unwashed Papists, went into a by-school, and conspired together to pull him out of his chair, and to use violence unto him. Doctor Sands began his Oration, expostulating with the University, charging them with great ingratitude, declaring, that he had said nothing in his Sermon, but that that he was ready to justify and his care was all one with his: For they had not only concealed, but conspired to that which he had spoken.

And thus while he remembered unto how beneficial he had been to the University, and their unthankfulness to him again, in cometh Master Mutch with his conspurators about twenty in number. One layeth hand upon the chair, pull it from him, another told him that that was not his place, and another called him Traitor. Whereat he perceiving how they used violence and being of great courage, groped to his dagger, and had dispatched some of them as Gods enemies, if Doctor Blin and Doctor Blin had not fallen upon him, and prayed him for Gods sake to hold his hands and be quiet, and patiently by them, and after that tumult was ceased, he ended his Oration, and having some money of the Universities in his hand, he there delivered the same every University. He gave up the Books, Reckonings, and Keys pertaining to the University, and withal yielded up his Office, praying

God to give the University: better Officers, and to give Anno them better and more thankful hearts, and to repair it home to his own College. 1558.

On the morrow after, there came unto him one M. Geringham, and one M. Thomas Midmay. Geringham told him that it was the Queens pleasure that two of the Guard should attend upon him, and that he must be carried Prisoner to the Tower of London, with the Duke. M. Midmay said, he marvelled that a learned Man would speak so unadvisedly against so good a Prince, and wilfully run into such danger. Doctor Sands answered, I shall not be ashamed of bonds, but if I could do as M. Midmay can, I needed not to fear bonds. For he came down in parliament against Queen Mary, and armed in the Field, and now he returneth in parliament for Queen Mary; before a Traitor, and now a great friend. I cannot with one Mouth blow hot and cold after this sort.

Upon this, his Stable was robbed of four notable good Geldings, the best of them Master Huddelstone took for his own fiddle, and rode on all his goods by Master Hight. An inventory was taken of all his goods by Master and More Beadle for the University. He was let up on a lame Horse that he palced to the ground; which thing a friend of his perceiving, prayed that he might lend him a Nag. The Yeomen of the Guard were contented. As he departed forth at the towns end, some Papists rebuked thither to jost at him, some of his friends to mourn for him. He came in the rank to London, the people being full of out-cries. And as he came in at Bishopsgate, one like a milk-wife hurled a stone at him, and hit him on the breast, with such a blow, that he was like to fall off his Horse. To whom he mildly said; Woman, God forgive it thee. Truth is, that journey and evil intreating, if mortified him, that he was more ready to dyethan to live.

As he came through Tower-hill-free, one Woman standing in her door cried; Fie on thee thou Knavesthough, Knave, thou Traitor, thou Heretic! Whereat he smiled. Look, the desperate Heretic! (said he) laughed at this jeer. A Woman on the other side of the Street answered, saying: I eye on these neighbours, thou art not worthy to be called a Woman, railing upon this Gentleman whom thou knowest not, neither yet the cause why he is thus intreated. Then she said; Good Gentleman, God be thy comfort, and give thee strength to stand in Gods cause even to the end. And then she passed through Fire and Water into the Tower, the first prisoner that entered that day, which was Saint James day. The Yeomen of the Guard took from him his borrowed Nag, and what else he ever had. His Man, one Quining Swainen, brought after him a Bible, and some shirts, and such like things. The Bible was sent in to him, but the shirts and such like served the Yeomen of the Guard.

After he had been in the Tower three weeks in a bad prison, he was lift up into Nans-Bower a better prison, where was put to him M. John Bradford.

At the day of Queen Maries Coronation their prison door was set open, ever thus before. One Master Mitchell his old acquaintance, which had been prisoner before in the same place, came in to him, and said; Now there is such a stir in the Tower, that neither gates, doors, nor prisoners are looked to this day. Take my cloak, my hat, and my rapier, and get you gone; you may go out of the gates without questioning, have your life, and let me do as I may. A rare friendship, but he refused the offer, saying; I know no just cause why I should be in Prison. And thus to do were to make me self guilty. I will expect Gods good will; yet must I think my self most bounden unto you: and so Master Mitchell departed.

While Doctor Sands and Master Bradford were thus in clofe Prison together 29 weeks, one John Bowler their Keeper, a very perverse Papist, yet by often perfwading of him for his would give ease to his fellow prisoners, if they would be content to make my self guilty, to favour the Gospel, and was so milked in true Religion, that on a Sunday when they had Mass in the Chappell, he bringeth up a Service Book, a Manchett, and a glass of Wine, and there Doctor Sands ministered the Communion to Bradford and to Bowler. Thus Bowler

Anno was their Son begotten in bonds. When Wyatt was in Arms, and the old Duke of Northfolke sent forth with a power of Men to apprehend him; that room might be taken in the Tower for him and other his complices. Dr. Cresspe, Dr. Ridley, and Master Bradford were cast into one Prison, and D. Sands with 9 other Preachers were sent unto the Marshalsey.

The Keeper of the Marshalsey appointed to every Preacher, a Man to lead him in the Street; he caused them to go far before, and he and Doctor Sands came behind, whom he would not lead, but walked privately with him. Yet Doctor Sands was known, and the people everywhere prayed to God to comfort him, and to strengthen him in the truth. By that time the peoples minds were altered, Popery began to be unfavourable. After they passed the Bridge, the Keeper Thomas Way said to Doctor Sands; I perceive the vain people would fet you forward to the Fire. Ye are as vain as they, if you being a young Man will stand in your own conceits, and prefer your own knowledge before the judgment of so many worthy Prelates, ancient, learned, and grave Men as be in this Realm. If you do, you shall find me as straight a Keeper, as any of that utterly milkeith your Religion. Doctor Sands answered; know my years young, and my learning small, it is enough to know Christ Crucified, and he hath learned nothing that feeth not the great Blasphemy that is in Popery. I will yield unto God, and not unto Man: I have read in the Scriptures of many Godly and courteous Keepers. God may make you one. If not, I trust he will give me strength and patience to bear your hard dealing with me. Said Thomas Way; Do ye then mind to stand to your Religion? Yes, said Doctor Sands, by Gods Grace. Truly, faith the Keeper, I love you the better, I did but tempt you, What favour I can shew you ye shall before, and I shall think my self happy, if I may dye at the stake with you. The said Keeper shewed Doctor Sands ever after all friendship; he trusted him to go into the Fields alone, and there met with Master Bradford, who then was removed into the Bench, and there found the like favour of his Keeper. He laid him in the best Chamber in the House, he would not suffer the Knight Marshalls Man to lay fetters on him as others had. And at his request he put M. Sands in to him, to be his Bed-fellow, and sundry times suffered him to walk with Master Bradford, and to see the daughter of his Wife, who was Master Sands daughter, and a Gentlewoman beautiful both in Body and Soul, to resort to him. There was great rest to Doctor Sands, and Master Sanders they had much Money offered them, but they would receive none. They had the Communion there three or four times, and a great sort of Communicants. Doctor Sands gave such exhortation to the people for at that time being young, he was thought very eloquent; that he moved many tears, and made the people abhor the Mass, and despise all Popery.

When Wyatt with his army came into Southwark, he sent two Gentlemen into the Marshalsey to Doctor Sands, saying, that Master Wyatt would be glad of his company and advice, and that the gates should be left open for all the Prisoners. He answered, M. Wyatt, if I were at liberty, I would be of God, if it will take place; if not, it will fall for my part. I was committed hither by order, I will be discharged by like order, or I will never depart hence. So answered M. Sanders, and the rest of the Preachers, being there Prisoners.

After that D. Sands had been 9 weeks Prisoner in the Marshalsey by the mediation of Sir Thomas Holford, then Knight Marshall, he was set at liberty. Sir Thomas Holford earnestly to the Bishop of Winchester, Doctor Gardiner, for his deliverance after many repulses: but he could not prevail, except Doctor Sands would be one of their Sect, and then he could want nothing. He wrung out of him at last, that if the Queen could like of his deliverance, he would not be against it; that was Sir Thomas Holford his last request. In the mean time he had procured two Ladies of the Privy Chamber to move the Queen; who was contented if the Bishop of Winchester followed and had his warrant for D. Sands remission ready, and prayed the two Ladies, when as the Bishop should take his leave, to put the Queen in mind of Doctor Sands.

So they did, and the Queen said; Winchester, what do you say by D. Sands, is he not sufficiently punished? As he pleads your Majesty, faith Winchester. That he pleads, remembering his former promise to Master Holford, that he would not be against D. Sands, if the Queen should like to discharge him. Said the Queen; Then truly, we would that he were set at liberty. Immediately Master Holford offered the Queen the Warrant. Who subscribed the same, and called Winchester to put to his hand, and so he did. The Warrant was given to the Knight Marshall again, Sir Thomas Holford. As the Bishop went forth of the Privy Chamber door, he called M. Holford to him: Commanding him not to fet Doctor Sands at liberty, until he had taken Sureties of two Gentlemen of his Country with him, every one bound in 500. pounds, that D. Sands should not depart out of the Realm without licence. Master Holford immediately after met with two Gentlemen of the Northfolks and Cousins to D. Sands, who offered to be bound in Body, Goods, and Lands for him. After Dinner, the same day, Master Holford sent for Doctor Sands to his lodging at Westminister, requiring the Keeper to company with him. He came accordingly, finding Master Holford alone walking in his Garden. Master Holford imparted his long tale, with the whole proceeding, and what effect it had taken to D. Sands: much rejoicing that it was his good hap to do him good, and to procure his liberty, and that nothing remained, but that he would enter into bonds with his two Sureties, for not departing out of the Realm. Doctor Sands answered; I give God thanks, who hath moved your heart to mind me so well, and I think my self most bound unto you. God shall require, and I shall never be found unthankful. But as you have dealt friendly with me, I will also deal plainly with you. I came a Freeman into Prison, I will not go forth a bondman. As I cannot benefit my friends, so will I not hurt them. And if he set at liberty, I will not tarry fix days in this Realm, if I may get out, I will tarry no more, nor get free forth, send me to the Marshalsey again, and there ye shall be free of me.

This Answer much milked M. Holford: He told Doctor Sands that the time would not long continue, a change would shortly come, the fate was but a cloud, and would soon shake away. And that his cousin Sir Edward Bray would gladly receive him and his Wife into his House, where he should never need to come as Church, and how the Lady Bray was a zealous Gentlewoman, who hated Popery. Adding, that he would not do deal with him to lose all his labour. When Doctor Sands could not be removed from his former saying, Master Holford said; Seeing you cannot be altered, I will change my purpose, and yield unto you. Come of it what will, I will let you at liberty: And seeing you mind to go over Seas, get you gone so quickly as you can. One thing I require of you, that while you are there, you were willing to come hither, for if you may undo me, He friendly kiffed Doctor Sands, bade him farewell, and command the Keeper to take no fees of him, saying; I will be as I was before. As I may. Doctor Sands returning with the Keeper to the Marshalsey, tarried all night. There on the morrow, he gave a Dinner to all the Prisoners, bade his bed-fellow, and sworn his bed-fellow, if it had so pleased God, Master Sanders farewell, with many tears and kiffings, the one falling on the others neck, and so departed, clearly delivered without Examination or Bond. From thence he went to the Bench, and there talked with M. Bradford and M. Ferrer, Bishop of Saint David, then Prisoners. Then he comforted them, and they praised God for his happy deliverance. He went by Winchester House, and there took boat, and came to a friends House in London, called William Banks, and tarried there one night. On the morrow at night he shifted to another friends House, and there he learned that search was made for him.

Doctor Walsin and Master Christopher, coming to the Bishop of Winchester, told him that he had set at liberty the greatest Heretic in England, and one that had of all other most corrupted the University of Cambridge, Doctor Sands. Whereupon the Bishop of Winchester, being Chancellor of England, sent for all the Constables of London, commanding them to watch for Doctor Sands, who was then within the City, and to

apprehend him, and whoever of them should take him and bring him to him, he should have five pounds for his labour. Doctor Sands, suspecting the matter, conveyed himself by night to one M. Barne House a Frenchman, who was in the *Mariball* Prisoner with him. While, he was a good Protestant, and dwelt in *Mark-Lane*. There he was six days, and had one or two of his friends that repaired unto him. Then he repaired to an acquaintance of his, one *Harlestone* a Skinner, dwelt in *Corbills*; he called his Man *Bunting* to provide two Geldings for him, minding on the morrow to ride into *Elles* to *Master Sands* his Father in Law, where his Wife was.

At his going to bed in *Harlestone House*, he had a pair of Hofs newly made that were too long for him. For while he was in the *Tower*, a Taylor was admitted him to make him a pair of Hofs. One came unto him, whose name was *Benjamin*, a good Protestant, dwelling in *Burbin-Lane*: he might not speak to him, or come unto him to take measure of him, but only look upon his Leggs, he made the Hofs, and they were two inches too long. These Hofs he prayed the goodwife of the House to fend to some Taylor to cut them two inches shorter. The Wife required the Boy of the house to carry them to the next Taylor to cut. The Boy chanced or rather God so provided, to go to the next Taylor, which gave *Benjamin* that made them, which was a Comfortable, and acquainted with the Lord Chancellors commandment. The Boy required him to cut the Hofs. He said, I am not your Masters Taylor. Saith the Boy, because you are our next neighbour, and my Masters Taylor dwelleth far off, I came to you for it at night, and he sent out by them timely in the morning. *Benjamin* took the Hofs, and looking upon them, he knew his handy-work, and said, These are not my Masters Hofs, but D. Sands, then I made in the *Tower*. The Boy yielded and said, it was so. Saith he, Go to thy Mitfres, pray her to fit up till 12. of the clock, and then I will bring the Hofs and speak with D. Sands to his good.

At midnight the goodwife of the House, and *Benjamin* the Taylor cometh into D. Sands Chamber: The Wife prayeth him not to be afraid of their coming. He answered nothing can be amiss; what God will shall be done. Then *Benjamin* telleth him that he made his Hofs, and by what good chance they now come to his hands. God used the means, that he might admonish him of his peril, and advise him how to escape it, telling him that all the Confitables of London, whereof he was one, watched for him, and some were so greedily fast, that they prayed him if he took him, to let them have the carriage of him to the Bishop of *Winchester*, and he should have the five pound. Saith *Benjamin*, it is known that your Man hath provided two Geldings, and that you mind to ride out at *Algate* to morrow, and there then you are sure to be taken. Follow mine advice, and by Gods Grace ye shall escape their hands. Let your Man walk all the day to morrow in the street where your Horses stand, booted and ready to ride. The goodmans Servant of the House shall take the Hofs, and carry them to *Bedford-Green*. The Goodman shall be booted and follow after, as if he would ride; I will be here with you to morrow about eight of the Clock; it is both Term and Parliament time, here we will break our fast, and when the frites is full, we will go forth. Look widely, and if you meet your Brother in the streets, then him not, but outface him and know him not. Accordingly Doctor Sands did, clothed like a Gentleman in all respects, and looked widely, as one that had been long kept in Prison out of the light, *Benjamin* carried him through *Burbin-Lane*, and from one Lane to another, till he came to *Morgate*. There they went forth until they came to *Bedford-Green*, where the Hofs were ready, and *Master Harlestone*, where he rode with him as his Man. Doctor Sands pulled on his boots and taking leave of his friends *Benjamin*

min, with tears they killed each other; he put his Anno Hand in his Purse, and would have given *Benjamin* a 1558. great part of that little he had, but *Benjamin* would take none. Yet since D. Sands hath remembered him thankfully. He rode that night to his Father in Law M. Sands, where his Wife was: he had not been there two hours, but it was told M. Sands, that there were two of the Guard which would that night apprehend Doctor Sands, and so they were appointed.

That night Doctor Sands was guided to an honest Farmer near the Sea, where he tarried two days and two nights in a Chamber without all company. After that he flitted to one *James Mower* a Shipmaster, who dwelt at *Milton-Shore*, where he expected wind for the English Fleet ready into Flanders. While he was there, *James Mower* brought to him 40. or 50. Mariners, to whom he gave an Exhortation; they liked him so well, that they promised to dye for it, ere that he should be apprehended.

The 6. of May, being Sunday, the wind ferved. He took his leave of his Host and Hostess, and went towards the Ship. In taking his leave of his Hostess who was barren, and had bin married 8. years, he gave her a fine handkerchief and an old Royal of Gold in thanking her much and said, Be of good comfort, ere it is a whole year be past, God shall give you a Child, a Boy. And it came to pass, for that day twelve month lacking one day, God gave her a fair Son.

At the Shore Doct. Sands met with M. Isaac of Kent, who had his Eldest Son there, who upon the liking he had to D. Sands, sent his Son with him, who afterwards layd in his Fathers House in *Frankford*. D. Sands and D. Goss were both in one Ship, being one *Cockrell* Ship. They were within the kennings, when two of the Guard came thither to apprehend D. Sands. They arrived at *Amwerp*, being bid to Dinner to *Master Locke*. And at dinner time one *George Gulpin* being Secretary to the English House, and Kinsman to Doctor Sands, came to him and rounded him in his ear, and said; King Philip hath sent to make search for you, and to apprehend you. Hereupon they rose from their Dinner in a marvellous great show, and went out at the gate toward the Land of *Clen*. They found a Wagon and halfed away, and came late to *Luturys* in *Cleveland*, where D. Sands tarried 14. days, and then journeyed towards *Strauborough*, where after he had lived one year, his Wife came unto him. He fell fore sick of a flux, which kept him nine Months, and brought him to death door. He had a Child which fell sick of the Plague, and died. His Wife at length fell sick of a Consumption, and dyed in his Arms; no Man had a more Godly Woman to his Wife.

After this, *Master Sampson* went away to *Emanuel*, a Man skilful in Hebrew. *Master Grindall* went into the Country to learn the Dutch Tongue. Doctor Sands still remained in *Strauborough*, whose sustentation was cheifly from one *Master Isaac*, who loved him most dearly, and was ever more ready to give than he to take. He gave him in that space above an hundred Markes, which Sum the said Doctor Sands paid him again, and by his other gifts and friendshippes showed himself to be a thankful Man. When his Wife was dead, he went to *Zurike*, and there was in *Peter Martyrs* House for the space of 5. weeks. Being there, as they fate at Dinner, word suddenly came that Queen Mary was dead, and D. Sands was farr by his friends at *Strauborough*. That news made *Master Marrye* and *Master Jarrat* then there, very joyfull, but Doctor Sands could not rejoyce, it smote into his heart that he should be called to misery.

Master Bullinger and the Ministers feasted him, and he took his leave and returned, *Strauborough* where he was preached; and so *Master Grindall* and he came rowards England, and came to London the same day that Queen Elizabeth was Crowned.

Anno 1558.

A Complaint against such as favoured the Gospel in Ipswich, exhibited to Queen Maries Council, sitting in Commillion at Beckles in Suffolk, the 18. of May, An. 1556. by Philip Williams alias Footman, John Steward and Matthew Butler, fsworn for the purpose.

The Names of such as fled out of the Town, and lurked in secret places.

5 Mary. { Robert Parrich.
Rose Natingham, Daughter of William Natingham the elder.
Anne Fenne, Servant to Robert Natingham.
Andrew Tngfor, his Wife and Daughter.
Thomas Tomfson Shoemaker, supposed to have received but twice this 17. years.
Martin Algate Locksmith his Wife.
William Pickes Tanner.
John Whoodles, Coverlet Weaver, and his Wife.
William Harjes, Bicklaer.
Thomas Plowes, Shoemaker.
William Wright his Wife at the Windmill.
Laurence Waterward late Curate, born in a Town called Chobley, Lancashire.
Widow Swaine.
Matthew Bride and his Wife.
Stephen Greenwiche and his Wife.
William Coleman, servant to the said Stephen.
Rob. Coleman and his Wife.
Roger Lawrence alias Sparrow.
John Carelton, Sadler.
William Coleman.
James Howells his Wife.
Richard Hovver apprentice with Nicholas Natingham.
Richard Hedley a feller of Heretical Books.
James Becking Shoemaker his Wife.
John Ray, late Servant to James Aspley.
William Palmer.
Rich. Richman. { Servants to Stephen Green, Shoemaker.
John Deerley.
Richard Richman Shoemaker his Wife, Daughter to Mother Fenshly, Midwife.
Mitfres Tolly, who departed to Desham in Suffolk.
Agnes Wardall the elder, Widow.
Robert Wardall her Son.
John Shoemaker and his Wife.

The Names of such as have not received the Sacrament.

5 Mary. { Robert Bray.
John Natingham.
Agnes Wardall, Wife of Robert Wardall.
Nicholas Natingham.
Richard Mitchell.
William Jordanes his Wife.
Richard Butterall.
Robert Brown.
John Road.
Thomas Spurdance.
John Servant to Stephen Grinliff.
Robert Scolding.
John Greenwiche and his Wife.
Thomas Sturgeon, Mariner.
John Bins his Wife.
Robert Branfome, Brother and Servant to William Branfome.
Marion Johnson, who lyeth Bedrid.
Agnes his keeper.
Bess Alced. { Servants to Rob. Natingham.
Robert Syke his Son.
John Ramfey and his Wife now in Prison.

Names of such as observe not Ceremonies.

5 Mary. { Robert Cambridge refused the Paxe.
Robert Brage his Wife refused to suffer any Child to be dipped in the Font.
Joan Barber Widow. { refused to behold the E.
Thomasine her Daught- {levation of the Sacram. S. Clements ter.
Mitfres Ponder, Mother to Joan Barber. { in the same fault.
ther to Joan Barber. { ber.
saith a Mariner his Wife.
Richard Howard refused the Paxe at Maf in S. Lau- S. Mary at Elms.
venes.
Master Lyons at Maf at Saint Mary Stoke refused the Paxe.
Mother Fenshly. { refused to have Children dipped in a reern.
Joan Ward, alias Fens.
Benley Wife.
Mother Beriff, Midwife, refusal to have Children S. Stephen's dipped in Font.
George Bush his Wife rejected the Host after receipt of it.

Names of Priests Wives, that have access to their Husbands.

5 Mary. { Ralph Carleton his Wife, Curate of St. Matthew, and St. Mary at Elms.
Elizabeth Carleton, Wife to Ralph Carleton.
Jane Barker, Wife to Robert Barker Priest late of Bury.
Latimer his Wife, Curate of St. Lawrence, and St. Stephens.
Williams Glank his Wife, late Curate of Barkham, and S. Mary at Almes.
Names of maintainers against this Complaint.
Robert Sterop, Customer to Queen Mary.
Gilbert Sterop, deputy to Edward Grimston Esquire, for his Butlerage.
Matter Butler the elder, Searcher.
Mitfres Tolly, swelling by too much Riches into Wealth.
Margaret Bray, who also presumeth upon the Office of a Midwife, not called.
Joan Barber Widow, practising much whollom Mitfres Bird.
Basilian Min his Wife, and he himself more Rich than S. Clements S. Mary Key.

The requests to punish and convert certain, whose example might reverle other from their opinions: as,

To convert Richard Bird Jayler, who by evil Counsell doth animate his Prisoners of his Sect. Also for that he with his Wife did check us openly with unfriendly words, tending almost to a tumult.
To convert Thomas Sadler, for certain words spoken to John Bate the Crier of the Town, the sixth of May.
That it may please the Bishop with his Commissary and Official to be upright and diligent in their Office, and to appoint a Curate of more ability to feed his cure with Gods Word.
That none may be suffered to be Midwives, but such as are Catholick, because of evil Counsell at such times as the necessity of Womens Travel shall require a number of Women assembled.
That Ralph Carleton Curate, may be converted, whether by corruption of money he hath corrented his Book of any that are there named, and hath not received indeed, as it is reported.

The miraculous Preservation of the Lady ELIZABETH, 1558, now Queen of England, from extreme Calamity, and danger of Life, in the time of Queen MARY, her Sister.

The blessed
protection
of Almighty
God in
preserving
the Lady
Elizabeth
in her most
dangerous
and troublous
times.

BUt when all hath been said and told, whatsoever can be recited touching the admirable working of Gods present hand in defending and delivering any one person out of thralldome, never was there, since the memory of our Fathers, any example to be shewed, wherein the Lords mighty Power hath more admirably and blessedly shewed it self, to the glory of his own Name, to the comfort of all good hearts, and to the public felicity of this whole Realm, than in the miraculous custody and out-catche of this our Sovereign Lady, now Queen, then Lady Elizabeth, in the frait time of Queen Mary her Sister.

The troubles
of the Lady
Elizabeth
in Q. Maries time.

In which Story we first have to consider in what extremity, sickness, fear, and peril her Highness was; into what care, what trouble of mind, and what danger of death she was brought: first, with great Routs and Bands of armed Men (Happily was he that might have the carrying of her,) being pitched up as the greatest Traitor in the World, clapped in the Tower, and again tossed from thence, and from House to House, from Prison to Prison, from Post to Pillar, at length also Prisoner in her own House, and guarded with a fort of Cuckthroats, which ever gaped for the Spoil, whereby they might be fingering of famefulness in.

Secondly, We have to consider again, all this notwithstanding, how strangely, or rather miraculously, she was delivered from danger, with favour and grace the found with the Almighty; who, when all the help of man and hope of recovery was past, stretched out his mighty Protection and preserved her. Thirdly, demand of her in the Princely Seat of Rest and Quietness, wherein now the stretch, and long may she sit, the Lord of his glorious mercy grant, we beseech him.

In which Story, if I should set forth at large and at full all the Particulars and Circumstances thereto belonging, and as just occasion of the History requireth; beside the importunate length of the Story difficult, peradventure it might move offence to some being yet alive, and truth might get me hated. Yet notwithstanding I intend (by the grace of Christ) therein to use such brevity and moderation, as both may be to the glory of God, the discharge of the Story, the profit of the Reader, and hurt to none, suffering the names of some, whom here although I could rectify, yet I thought not to be more cruel in hurting their name, than the Queen hath been merciful in pardoning their lives.

Therefore now to enter into the Discourse of this tragical matter, first here is to be noted, That Queen Mary when she was first Queen, before she was crowned, would go no whither, but would have her by the hand and feed her to dinner and supper; but after she was crowned, the never did not supped with her, but kept her aloof from her. After this it happened immediately upon the rising of Sir Thomas Wyatt (as before was mentioned,) that the Lady Elizabeth and the Lord Courtney were charged with false suspicion of Sir Thomas Wyatts rising. Whereupon Queen Mary, whether for that surname, or for what other cause I know not, being offended with the said Lady Elizabeth her Sister, at that time lying in her House at Albury, the next day after the rising of Wyatt, sent to her three of her Councils, to wit, Sir Richard Southwell, Sir Edward Hallings, then Master of the Horse, and Sir Thomas Cornwallis, with their retinue and household of Horfmen, to the number of 250. who at their sudden and unprovoked coming, found her at the same time fore-laid in her Bed, and very feeble and weak of body. Whilst they were coming, ascending up to her Graces Chambers, they killed one of her Ladies, whom they met, to declare unto her Graces, that there were certain come from the Court, which had a message from the Queen.

Her Grace having knowledge thereof, was right glad of their coming; howbeit, being then very sick, and the night far spent (which was at ten of the Clock) she

requested them by the Messengers, that they would resort thither in the morning. To this they answered, and by the said Messenger first word again, that they must needs fee her, and would do so, in what case soever the were. Whereat the Lady being agast, went to herself her Graces words, but they, hastily following her, came calling as soon as she into her Graces Chamber. And there, at what so sudden coming into her Bed-chamber, her Grace, being not a little amazed, laid unto them; Is the halfe such that might not have pleased you to come to morrow in the morning?

They made answer, that they were right ready to fee her in that case. And I (quoth they) am not glad to fee you here at this time of the night. Whereunto they answered, that they came from the Queen to do their message and duty, which was to this effect, that the Queens pleasure was, that the should be at London the 7. day of that present Month. Whereunto the said, Certes, your Grace more glad than I to come to her Majesty, being right sorry that I am not in case at this time to wait on her, as you your selves do fee, and can well tell.

Indeed we fee it true (quoth they) that you do say; for which we are very sorry. Albeit, we let you to understand, that our Commission is such, and so straitened, that we must needs bring you with us whether quick or dead. Whereat the being amazed, sorrowfully said, that their Commission was there fore; yet notwithstanding that she hoped it to be otherwise, and not so frait. Yet verily, said she, whereupon they calling for two Physicians, Dr. Cuspo, Dr. Cuspo, and Dr. Windy, demand of them whether she might be removed from thence with life, or no. Whose answer and judgment was, that there was no impediment in their judgment to the contrary, but that she might travel without danger of life.

In conclusion, they wished her to prepare again the next Morning at nine of the Clock to go with them, declaring that they had brought with them the Queens Letter for her. After much talk, the Messengers declaring how there was no prolonging of times and days, so departed to their Chamber, being entertained and cheered, as appertained to their Worths.

On the next morning at the time prescribed, they had her forth as the was, very faint and feeble, and in such case, that she was ready to swoon three or four times between them. What should I speak here, that cannot well be expressed, what an heavy House there was to behold the unrevend and doleful dealing of these men, but especially the cruel fear and captivity of their innocent Lady and Mistress.

Now to proceed in her Journey from Albury, she did not go in the Litter, she came to Redborne, where she was guarded all night. From thence to St. Albans, to Sir Ralph Rowlands House, where she tarried that night, both feeble in body, and comfortless in mind. From that place they passed to Mr. Dols House at Myms, where also they remained that night; and so from thence she came to Highgate, where she being very sick, tarried that night and the next day. During which time of her abode, there came many Purfivants and Messengers from the Court; but for what purpose I cannot tell.

From that place she was conveyed to the Court, Lady Elizabeth being accompanied by the way came to meet her many Gentlemen to accompany her Highness, which were very sorry to see her in that case. But especially a great multitude of People there were standing by the way, who then flocking about her Litter, lamented and bewailed greatly her estate. Now when she came to the Court, her Grace was there freightly shut up, & kept as close Prisoner a fortnight, which was till Palm-Sunday, feeling neither King nor Queen, nor Lords, nor Friends, all that time, but only the then L. Chamberlain, Sir J. Gage, and the Vice-chamberlain, which were attendant unto the doors. About which time Sir William Settle was called before the Council. To whose charge

Ann
1558
Q. Mary
was laid, that he knew of Wyatts Rebellion. Which he stoutly denied, protesting that hee was a True Man both to God and his Prince, defying all Traytors and Rebels, but being finally examined, he was in Conclusion committed to the Tower.

The Friday before Palm-Sunday, the Bishop of Winchester with 19. other of the Council (who shalbe here named) came unto her Grace from the Queens Majesty, & burdened her with Wyatts conspiracy; which the utterly denied, affirming that she was altogether guiltless therein. They being not contented with this charged her Grace with business made by Sir Peter Carewe, and the rest of the Gentlemen of the West Country: which also she utterly denying, cleared her Innocency therein.

In Conclusion, after long debating of matters, they declared unto her, that it was the Queens will and pleasure that she should go unto the Tower, while the matter were further tried and examined.

Whereat the being agast, said, that she trusted the Queens Majesty would be a more Gracious Lady unto her, and that her Highness would not otherwise conceive of her, but that she was a True Woman; & declaring furthermore to the Lords, that she was Innocent in all those matters wherein they had burdened her, and desired them therefore to be a further mean to the Queen her Sister, that the being a True Woman in thought word, and deed, towards her Majesty, might not be committed to so Nocturnal and doubtful a place, protesting that she would request no favour at her hand, if she should be proved to have consented unto any such kind of matter as they laid unto her charge; and therefore in fine desired their Lordships to think of her what she was, and that she might not so extremely be dealt withal for her Truth.

Whereunto the Lords answered again, that there was no remedy, for that the Queens Majesty was fully determined that she should go unto the Tower. Wherewith the Lords departed, with their caps hanging over their eyes. But not long after, within the space of an hour or little more, came four of the foresaid Lords of the Council, which were the Lord Treasurer, the Bp. of Winchester, the Lord Steward, the Earl of Suffolk, with the Guard; who warding the next Chamber to her, secluded all her Gentlemen and Yeomen, Ladies and Gentlewomen, saving that for one Gentlewoman, three Gentlewomen, and two Grooms of her Chamber, were appointed in their rooms, three other men of the Queens, and three waiting women to give attendance upon her, that none should have access to her Grace.

At which time there was an hundred of Northern Soldiers in white Coats, watching and waiting about the Gardens all that night, and a great fire being kindled in the midst of the Hall, and two certain Lords watching there also with their band and company.

Upon Saturday following, two Lords of the Council (the one was the Earl of Suffolk, the other shall be named) came and certified her Grace, that forthwith the must go unto the Tower, the Barge being prepared for her, and the Tide now ready, which tarried for nobody. In heavy mood her Grace requested the Lords that the might tarry another Tide, trusting that the next would be better, and more comfortable. But one of the Lords replied, that neither time nor Tide was to be delayed.

And when her Grace requested him that she might be allowed and suffered to write to the Queens Majesty, he answered, that he durst not permit that: adding, that in his judging it would rather hurt, than profit her Grace in so doing.

But the other Lord, more courteous and favourable (who he was the Earl of Suffolk) kneeling down, told her Grace that she should have liberty to write, and as he was a True Man, he would deliver it to the Queens Majesty, and bring an answer of the same unto her Grace the next thereof. Whereupon the wrote, albeit she could in no case be suffered to speak with the Queen, or her great discomfort, being no offender against the Queens Majesty. And thus the time and Tide passed away for that feast, they privately appointing all things ready that she should go the next Tide, which fell about midnight;

but for fear she should be taken by the way, they durst not. So they staid till the next day, being the 10. of Sunday, when about nine of the Clock they returned again, declaring that it was time for her Grace to depart. She answered, if there be no remedy, I must be contented, willing the Lords to go on before. Being come forth into the Garden, she did call her eyes toward the Window, thinking to have seen the Queen, which she could not. Whereat the said, she marvelled much what the Nobility of the Realm meant, which in that hour would suffer her to be led into Captivity, the Lord knew whither, for she did not. In the mean time commandment was given in all London, that whosoever should keep the Church, and carry their Palms, while in the mean season the might be conveyed without all recourse of people in the Tower.

After all this, she took her Barge with the two foresaid Lords, three of the Queens Gentlewomen, and three of her own, her Gentleman Usher, and two of her Grooms, lying and hovering upon the water a certain space, for that they could not float the Bridge, the Lady Elizabeth being very unwilling to shoot the same, for fear to see as they did, because of the danger thereof. For the stern of the Boat brook upon the ground, she fell as by his side, and the water was so shallow, that the Boat being led over the Bridge, there staid again a while. At length the first failed and denied to land at those Stairs where all Traytors and Offenders customably used to land, neither well could they, unless the flood go over her shoes. The Lords were gone out of the Boat before, and asked why she came not. One of the Lords went back again to her, and brought word she would not come.

Then said one of the Lords, which shall be named, that she should not chafe; and because it did then rain, he offered to her his Cloak, which shee putting it back with her hand with a good will, refused. So the coming out, having one foot upon the stair, said: Here the words landeth as true a Subject, being Prisoner, as ever landed of Lady Elizabeth, at these Stairs: And before thee, O God, I speak it, ha, the Tower, venging no other friends but these alone.

To whom the same Lord answered again, that if it were so, it was the better for her. At her landing there was a great multitude of their Servants and Wardens standing in that form. What needed all this, said she? It is the use (said some) to be when any Prisoner came thither. And if he (quoth she) for my cause, I beseech you that they may be dismissed. Whereat the Poor Men kneeled down and with one voice desired God to preserve her Grace, who the next day were released of their cold Coats.

After this, passing a little further, she fate down upon a cold stone, and there rested her self. To whom the Lieutenant then being said; Madam, you were forbidden to come out of the rain, for you fit unwisely. She then replied, answered again; It is better sitting here, than in a worse place; for God knoweth, I know not whether you will be me. With that her Gentleman Usher wept; the demanding of him what he meant to unconformably to use her, being the rock took to be her comfort, and not to do; may her, especially for that she knew her truth to be such that no man should have cause to weep for her. But forth she went into Prison.

The Doors were locked and bolted upon her, which did not a little discomfort and dismay her. At what time she called to her Gentlewoman for her Books, desiring God not to suffer her to build her foundation upon the sands, but upon the Rock, whereby all blais of bluster, lying weather should have no power against her. The doors of Lady Elizabeth being thus locked, and the clove shut up, the Lords had great Conference how to keep ward and watch, every man declaring his own opinion in that behalf, agreeing finally and circumspectly to keep her.

Then one of them, which was the Lord of Suffolk, wearied of the said, said: My Lords, let us take heed and do no more than our Commission will bear us out in what we shall be commanded hereafter. And further, let us consider that she was the Kings our Masters daughter; and therefore let us use such dealing, that we may answer it hereafter, if it shall so happen: for just dealing, quoth he, is always answerable; whereunto the other Lords agreed that it was well said of him, and thereupon departed being in the Tower, within three days. Com-

X x x mandment

The gentle-
ness
of
Lady
Eliz.
at
the
Lord
of
Tames
house.

26. Benfield
greeting
at
the
Lord
of
Tames
house.

The rule &
un-
gen-
erally
be-
haviour
of
Sir
Henry
Benfield.

Lady Eliz.
coming
to
Woodstock.

The first
which
was
at
Woodstock.

A merry
day
con-
cerning
the
first
which
was
at
the
Lord
of
Tames
house.

was indeed, as the sequel proved after the said poor man. For immediately the said Sir Henry hearing the fame, sent his Souldiers thither, who apprehended some of the Rigners, fetched them in the Stocks, and other wife uncuttously mistreated other some for their good will.

On the Morrow her Grace pulling from Mr. Dormer (where was for the time of her abode there, a frait watch kept) came to the Lord of Tames house, where the lay all the night, being very princely entertained both of Knights and Ladies, Gentlemen and Gentlewomen. Whereat Sir Henry Benfield growed, and was highly offended, saying unto them, that they could not tell what they did, and were not able to understand their doings in that behalf, letting them to understand that the was the Queens Majesties prisoner, and no otherwise; advising them therefore to take heed and beware of afterclaps. Whereunto the Lord of Tames answered in this wife; that he was well advised of his doings, being joyined in committal as well as he, adding with warrants, that her Grace might and should in his house be merry.

The next day, as the should take her journey from Richmond toward Woodstock, the Lord of Tames with another Gentleman being at Tables, playing, and dancing vpon Crowns, the Lady Elizabeth passing by, haied Sir and said the would fee the game played out, which Sir Henry Benfield would scarce permit. The game running long about, and they playing, drew vpon Crowns, came on, faith he; I will carry faith the, and will fee this game out.

After this Sir Henry went up into a chamber, where was appointed for her Grace a chair, two cushions, and a foot-carpet very fair and princely wherein presented her self, and called one Barnick his man to sumptuously be her and called one Barnick his man to pull off his boots. Which as soon as it was known among the Ladies and Gentles, every one mofed thereat, and laughed him to scorn, observing his undeferent manners in that behalf, as they might very well.

When supper was done, he called my Lord, and wished him that all the Gentlemen and Ladies should withdraw themselves every one to his lodging, marveling much that he would permit there such a company, considering fo great a charge committed to him.

Sir Henry (quoth my Lord) content your self, all shall be voided, your men and all. Nay, my Souldiers (quoth Sir Henry) shall watch all night. The Lord of Tames answered, it shall not need. Well, faith he, need or need not, they shall fo do, mistruifing belike the company, which God knoweth was without cause.

The next day her Grace took her Journey from thence to Woodstock, where the was inclosed, as before in the Tower of London, the Souldiers guarding and warding both within and without the Walls, every day to the number of 60. and in the night without the Walls 40. during the time of her Imprisonment there.

At length the had garden appointed for her walks, which was very comfortable to her Grace. But always when she did recreate her self therein, the Doors were flit locked up, in as strict manner as they were in the Tower, being at the least five or six locks between her lodging and her walks; Sir Henry himself keeping the keys, and trusting no man therewith. Whereupon he called him her Taylor; and he kneeling down, desired her Grace not to call him fo, for he was appointed there to be one of her Officers. From such Officers (quoth she) good Lord deliver me.

And now by the way, as digressing, or rather reflecting the Reader, if it be lawful in so serious a story to recite a matter incident, and yet not impertinent to the same; occasion here moveth, or rather inforseth me to touch briefly what happened in the same place and time by a certain merry conceited man, being then about her Grace: who noting the frait and frange keeping of his Lady and mistruifed by the said Sir Henry Benfield, with so many locks and doors, with such watch and ward about her, as was frange and wonderful, spied a Goat in the ward where her Grace was; and whether to refresh her oppressed mind, or to notice her frait handling by Sir Henry, or else both, he took it upon his neck, and

followed her Grace therewith as she was going into her lodging.

Which when the saw, he asked him what he would do with it, willing him to let it alone. Unto whom the said party answered, No, by Saint Mary (if it like your Grace) I will not; for I cannot tell, whether he be one of the Queens Friends, or no. I will carry him to Sir Henry Benfield (God willing) to know what he is. So leaving her Grace, he went with the Goat on his neck, and carried it to Sir Henry Benfield, who when he saw him coming with it, asked him, half angrily, what he had there. Unto whom the party answered, saying; Sir (quoth he) I cannot tell what he is. I pray you examine him, for I found him in the place where my Ladies Grace was walking, and what talk they have had I cannot tell.

For I understand him not, but he should seem to me to be some franger, and I think verily a Welchman, for he hath a White Prize Coat on his Back. And forasmuch as I being the Queens Subject, and perceiving the frait charge committed to you of her keeping, that no franger should have access to her without sufficient license, I have here found a franger (what he is I cannot tell) in place where her Grace was walking; and therefore for the necessary duty of my duty, I thought it good to bring the said franger to you, to examine, as you see cause; and so hee set him down. At which his words Sir Henry seemed much displeased, and said; Well, well, you will never leave this gear I see: and they departed.

Now to return to the matter from whence we have digressed, after her Grace had there a time, the which made sure to the Council that the might be suffered to write to the Queen. Which at last was permitted: so Sir Henry Benfield brought her pen, ink, and paper; and standing by her while she wrote (which he fraitly observed) always the being weary, hee would carry away her Letters, and bring them again when she called for them. In the fulfilling thereof, hee would have been messenger to the Queen of the same. Whole quest her Grace denied, saying, one of her own men should carry them, and that she would neither trust him, nor any of his therein.

Then he answered again, saying; None of them durst be fo bold (he throwed) to carry her Letters being in such a place. Yes (quoth she) I am assured I have been so, to discontinue that being my request in that behalf, but will be as willing to serve me now as before. Well (said he) my Committal is to the contrary, and I may not fo suffer it. Her Grace replying again, said; You charge me very often with your Committal. I pray God you may justly answer the cruel dealing you use towards me.

Then he kneeling down, desired her Grace to think and consider how he was a Servant, and put in trust there by the Queen to serve her Majesty; protesting that if the case were hers, he would as willingly serve her Grace, as now he did the Queens Highness. For the which his answer her Grace thanked him, desiring God that the might never have need of such Servants as he was; declaring further to him, that his doings towards her were not good nor answerable, but more than all his Friends he had would stand by.

To whom Sir Henry replied and said, that there was no remedy but his doings must be answered, and fo they should, trusting to make good account thereof. The cause which moved her Grace fo to say, was for that the Letters would not permit her Letters to be carried four or five times in days after the writing thereof. But in fine he was the Queens content to fend for her Gentleman from the Town of Woodstock, demanding of him whether he durst undertake the carriage of her Graces Letters to the Queen, or no: and he answered, Yes Sir, that I dare, and will with all my heart. Whereupon Sir Henry, half against his Stomack, took them unto him.

Then about the eighth of June came down Doctor Dr. Owen and Dr. Wendy, sent by the Queen to her Grace, to see for that the was sickly; who ministering to her, and letting her Blood, tarried there and attended on her Grace five or six days. Then the being well amended, they returned again to the Court, making their good report to the Queen and the Council of her Graces behaviour.

1558.

The first
which
was
at
Woodstock.

Lady Eliz.
coming
to
Woodstock.

Lady Eliz.
coming
to
Woodstock.

Lady Eliz.
coming
to
Woodstock.

Another
which
was
at
Woodstock.

Lady Eliz.
coming
to
Woodstock.

Lady Eliz.
coming
to
Woodstock.

Lady Eliz.
coming
to
Woodstock.

Lady Eliz.
coming
to
Woodstock.

1558.

The gentle-
ness
of
Lady
Eliz.
at
the
Lord
of
Tames
house.

26. Benfield
greeting
at
the
Lord
of
Tames
house.

The rule &
un-
gen-
erally
be-
haviour
of
Sir
Henry
Benfield.

Lady Eliz.
coming
to
Woodstock.

The first
which
was
at
Woodstock.

A merry
day
con-
cerning
the
first
which
was
at
the
Lord
of
Tames
house.

behaviour and humbleness toward the Queens Highness. Which her Majesty hearing, took very thankfully: but the Bishops thereat repined, looked black in the mouth, and told the Queen, they marvelled that she submitted not her self to her Majesties mercy, considering that she had offended her Highness.

About this time, her Grace was requested by a secret Friend, to submit her self to the Queens Majesty, which would be very well taken, and to her great quiet and commodity. Unto whom the answered, that she would never submit her self to them whom she never offended. For (quoth she) if I have offended and am guilty, I then have no more, but the Law, which I am certain (quoth she) I should have had ere this, if it could be proved by me. For I know my self (I thank God) to be out of the danger thereof, willing that I were as clear out of the peril of my enemies, and then I am assured I should not be fo locked and bolted up within walls and doors as I am. God give them a better mind when it pleaseth him.

About this time there was a great consulting among the Bishops and Gentlemen, touching a marriage for her Grace, which some of the Spaniards wished to be with some Stranger, that she might go out of the Realm with her Honor; some saying, one thing, and some another.

A Lord (who shall be here named) being there, at last said, that the King should never have any quiet Commonwealth in England, unless her Head were taken from the shoulders. Whereunto the Spaniards answered, saying, God forbid that their King and Master should have that mind to content to such a mischief.

This was the courteous answer of the Spaniards to the Englishmen, speaking after that sort against their own Countrymen. From that day the Spaniards never left off their good persuasions to the King, that the like Honour he should never obtain as he should in delivering the Lady Elizabeths Grace out of Prison; whereby at length she was happily released from the same. Here is a plain and evident temple of the good clemencie and nature of the King and his Counsellors toward her Grace (praised be God therefore) who moved their hearts therein. Then hereupon the was sent for shortly after to come to Hampton-Court.

But before her removing away from Woodstock, we will a little stay to declare in what dangers her life was, during this time the there remained: first through force which began to kindle between the Boards and Ceiling under the Chamber where she lay, whether by a spark of fire gotten into a crany, or whether of purpose by some that meant her no good, the Lord doth know. Nevertheless a worful Knight of Oxfordshire, which was there joyined the same time with Sir Henry Benfield; keeping that Lady (who then took up the Boards and quenched the fire) verily supposed it to be done of purpose.

Furthermore it is thought, and also affirmed (if it be true) of one Paul Pen a Keeper of Woodstock a notorious Ruffian and a Ruchely wretch, that he was appointed to kill the Lady Elizabeth: who both before the man being often in her sight, and also knew thereof.

Another time, one of the Privy Chamber, a great man about the Queen, and chief darling of Stephen Gardiner, named Master James Balfie, came to Bladenbridge a mile from Woodstock, with twenty or thirty Privy Coats and sent for Sir Henry Benfield to come and speak with him. But as God would, which disposed all things after the purpose of his own will, fo it happened, that a little before, the said Henry Benfield was sent for by Post to the Council, leaving straight word behind him with his Brother, that no man, whatsoever he were, though commended by a Bill of the Queens hand, or any other Warrant, should have access to her before his return vpon her. By reason whereof it fo fell out, that Master Benfield, Brother, coming to him at the Bridge, would fulfill him in no case to approach in, who otherwise (as is supposed) was intended violently to murder the innocent Lady.

In the life of Stephen Gardiner we declared before, how that the Lady Elizabeth being in the Tower, a Wit came down, subscribed with certain hands of the Council for her execution. Which if it were certain,

as it is reported, Wincheffer (no doubt) was devot of that malicious drift: and doubtless the same Zephiah had brought his furious purpose that day to pass, had not the happy Providence of Almighty God (who is eyes, Lieutenant the same time of the Tower, to come in haste to the Queen, to give Certificate thereof, and to know further her content touching her Sisters death. Whereupon it followed, that all that device was disappointed, and Wincheffers devilish platform, which he had laid out, through the Lords great goodnets came to no effect.

Where moreover is to be noted, that during the imprisonment of this Lady and Princess, one Master Edmund Tremaine was on the Rack, and Master Smith-wick, and divers other in the Tower were examined, and divers offers made to them to accuse the guiltless Lady, being in her Captivity. Howbeit, all that notwithstanding, no matter could be proved by all Examinations, as the same time lying at Woodstock had certain intelligence by the means of one John Gayer; and under a colourable pretence of a Letter to Mrs. Cleve from her Father, was let in, and fo gave them secretly to understand of all this matter. Whereupon the Lady Elizabeths, at her departing out from Woodstock, wrote these Verbes with her Diamond in a glass Window.

Much suspected by me:
Nothing proved can be.

Quoth Elizabeth, Prisoner.

And thus much touching the Troubles of Lady Elizabeth, at Woodstock. Whereunto this is more to be added, that during the same time, the Lord of Tames had laboured to the Queen, and became Surety for her, to have her from Woodstock to his House, and had obtained grant thereof. Whereupon preparation was made accordingly, and all things ready in expectation of her coming. But through the procurement either of Master Benfield, or by the doing of Wincheffer her mortal Enemy, Letters came over night to the contrary; whereby her Journey was flopped.

Thus this worthy Lady, oppressed with continual sorrow, could not be permitted to have recourse to any Friends she had, but still in the hands of her Enemies was left defolate, and utterly destitute of all that might refresh a doleful heart, fraught full of terror and thraldom. Whereupon no marvel if the hearing upon a time, out of her Garden at Woodstock, a certain Milk-maid, singing pleasantly, wished her self to be a Milk-maid as the was, saying, that her calf was better, and life more merry than was hers, in that state as a Milk-maid.

Now after these things thus declared, to proceed further there where we left before, Sir Henry Benfield and his Souldiers, with the Lord of Tames, and Sir Ralph Chambrlaine, guarding and waiting vpon her, the first Night from Woodstock she came to River. In which Journey such a mighty wind did blow, that her Servants were vain to hold down her cloaths about her: Inform much that her Hood was twice or thrice blown from her Head. Whereupon the desiring to return to a certain Gentleman House there near, desired not to be suffered by Sir Henry Benfield fo to do, but was constrained under an Hedge to trim her Head as well as she could.

After this, the next night they journeyed to Master Dormers, and fo to Colbrokes, where the lay all that night at the George, and by the way coming to Colbrokes, certain of her Graces Gentlemen and Yeomen went her to the number of therefore, much to all their comforts, which had not been her Grace of long season before: notwithstanding they were commended in the Queens Name immediately to depart the Town to both their, and her Graces no little heaviness, who could not be suffered once to speak with them. So that night all her men were taken from her, saving her Gentlemen Ullers, three Gentlemen, two Grooms, and one of her Wardrobe, the Souldiers watching and warding about the House, and the clofe that up within her Prison.

Verbes with
her Diamond
in the
Glass Win-
dow.

Lady Eliz.
not suffered
to come to
the Lord of
Tames house.

Lady Eliz.
wished her
self to be a
milk-maid.

Lady Eliz.
coming
to
Woodstock.

Lady Eliz.
coming
to
Woodstock.

Lady Eliz.
coming
to
Woodstock.

Lady Eliz.
coming
to
Woodstock.

Lady Eliz.
coming
to
Woodstock.

cent therein, but to no purpose, God knoweth. For his life was determined, as it was appointed by Sir *Clement Higham*, words, who said he should not escape, for an example to all Heretics, as indeed he thoroughly performed. For immediately he was judged to be hanged, drawn, and quartered, which was executed upon him very shortly after, to the great grief of many a good heart. Here good *Carver* is bereft of his life, and leaves behind him alive his Wife and nine Children, with Goods and Cattle, to the value of three hundred Marks, the which Substance was all taken away by the said Sir *Henry Duell* Sheriff, but his Wife and poor Children left to the wide World in their Cloaths, and suffered not to enjoy one Penny of that they had fore laboured for, unless they made Friends to buy it with money of the said Sheriff, for cruel and greedy was he, and his Officers upon such things as were there left.

Well, now this innocent man is dead, his Goods forfeited, his Wife and Children left destitute and comfortless, and all things huilt, and nothing feared of any part: yet the Lord, who surely doth revenge the guiltless Blood, would not fill to suffer it, but began at the length to punish it himself. For in the Harvest after, the said *Grimwood* of *Hitcham* one of the windmills before specified, as he was in his labour flaking up a Gof of Corn, having his health, and fearing no Peril, suddenly his Bowels fell out of his Body, and immediately most miserably he died: such was the terrible judgment of God, to show his displeasure against his Bloody Act, and to warn the rest by this his judgment to repentance. The Lord grant us to honour the same, for his mercies sake. Amen.

This forsaide *Fennig*, who was the procurer of this Tyranny against him, is yet alive, and is now a Minister: which if he be, I pray God he may so repent that Folly, that he may declare himself hereafter such a one as may well answer to his vocation accordingly.

But since we have heard that he is no changing, but continueth still in his wickedness, and therefore presented before the worshipful *Matter Hammon*, Elque and Justice of Peace and *Quorum*, for that he had received some of his Friends (as he thought) how many honest Women (to their great infamy) were in the Parish of *Wenbushon*, wherein he is now Vicar, resident: wherefore he was commanded the next Sunday ensuing, to ask all the Parish for forgiveness upon his Knees openly in Service time, which he did in *Wenbushon* Church before said, and moreover the above said *Fennig* is reported to be more like a flitter than a Minister.

To these examples also may be added the terrible judgment of God upon the Parish of *Cranford* in *Kent*, who upon *Sunday-Sunday*, having received the Popes Pardon from *Cardinal Pole*, came to his Parish, and exhorted the People to receive the same, as he had done himself; saying that he stood now in clear Conscience as when he was first born, and cared not now if he should die the same hour, in the clearness of his Conscience; whereupon being suddenly stricken by the hand of God, and leaning a little on the side, immediately thrunk down in the Pulpit, and was found dead, speaking not one word more. Read before.

Not long before the death of Queen Mary died Dr. *Carpo Bishop of Salisbury*, about the which time also followed the unprepared death of Doctor *Geoffrey*, Chancellor of *Salisbury*, who in the midst of his buildings, suddenly being taken by the mighty hand of God, yielded his life, which had little pity of other mens lives before. Concerning whose cruelty partly mention is made before.

As touching moreover this forsaide Chancellor, here is to be noted, that he departing upon a *Saturday*, the next day before the same he had appointed to call before him 90. Persons and not to few, to examine them by inquisition, had not the goodness of the Lord, and his tender providence thus prevented him with death, providing for his poor Servants in time.

And now (to come from Priests to Lay-men) we have to find in them also no less terrible demonstration of Gods heavy judgment upon such as have been Vexers and Persecutors of his People.

Before in the Story of Mr. *Bradford* mention was

made of *Matter Woodroffe*, who being the Sheriff, used much to rejoice at the death of the poor Sains of *Church*, and so he had he was in his Office, that when Mr. *Rogers* was in the Cart going toward *Smithfield*, and in the way his Children were brought unto him, the People making a Lane for them to come; *Matter Woodroffe* bade the Carman hear! should be broken for buying his Cart. But what happened? He was not come out of his Office the face of a week, but he was stricken by the sudden hand of God, the one half of his Body in such sort, that he lay benumbed and bedrid, not able to move himself but he was lifted of others, and so continued in that infirmity the space of seven or eight years till his dying day.

Likewise touching *Ralph Lardin* the betrayer of *Isabel*, *George Eagles*, it is thought of some, that the said *Ralph* afterward was attached himself, arraigned, and hang- ed.

Who, being at the Barr, had these words before the Judges there, and a great multitude of People. This is most justly fallen upon me, faith he, for that I have betrayed the innocent Blood of a good and just man *George Eagles*, who was here condemned in the time of Queen *Maries* Reign through my procurement, who sold his Blood for a little money. Not much unlike froke of the severely was shewed upon *William Swallow* of *Chelmsford*, and his Wife, also upon *Richard Pate*, and Justice *Brown*, cruel Persecutors of the said *George Eagles*, concerning whose Story read before.

Among other Persecutors also came to our land the cruelty of one Mr. *Swingfield* an Alderman Dike about *Thames-street*, who hearing one *Angels* Wive, a Mid-wife that kept her filth from their Popish Church, to be at the labour of one *Mrs. Walter* at *Chesel Lane*, and took three other with him, and betwixt the house about, and took her and carried her to *Denners* Officers, big with Child, eight and twenty weeks gone, who laid her in *Lollards-Tower*: where, the same day she came in, through fear and a fall at her taking, she was delivered of a man Child, and could have no Women with her in that small time. Lying there five weeks, she was delivered under Sureties by friendship, and Doctor Story hearing thereof charged her with Felony, and to kill her, to *Neugate*. The cause was, for that she had a Woman at her house in her labour that died, and the Child also, and he charged her with their death.

But when Sir *Roger Chinnley* heard her tell her Tale, he delivered her; and not much more than ten weeks after, if it were so long, died the said *Matter Swingfield* himself, and the other three that came to take her.

Because some there be, and not a few, which have sayd of such a great devotion in fitting up the Popish Mass, I shall define them to mark well this Story following. There was a certain Bayliff of *Cleveland* in *Lincolnshire* named *Barton*, who pretending an earnest friendship to the Gospel in *Ks. Edwards* days, in outward show at first such a great devotion in fitting up the Popish Mass, I shall define them to mark well this Story following.

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At last when he saw his words were not regarded, and purposing to win his Spurs by playing the man in the Masses to all the Queens, he got him to Church upon a *Sunday* morning, and when the Curate was beginning the English Service, according to the Statute for forth by King *Edward* the sixth, the Bayliff cometh in a great Rage to the Curate, and faith, Sirrah, will you not say Mass? Buckle your self

to Mafsy you Knaave, or by Gods Blood I shall sheath my Dagger in your shoulder. The poor Curate for fear fledder himself to the Mass.

Not long after this, the Bayliff rode from home upon certain business, accompanied with one of his Neighbours, and as they came riding together upon the *Ferne-bank* homeward again, a Crow fitting in a Willow-tree took her flight over his head, kneeling after her wonted knee, Knaave, Knaave, and whilst he sat upon his face, so that her excrements ran from the top of his Nose down to his Beard.

The poisoned fent and favour whereof so noyed his Stomach, that he never ceased vomiting until he came home, where with his heart was so fore and his body so distempered, that for extreme sickness he got him to Bed, and so lying, he was not able to stir from his Stomach and painful vomiting, to receive any relief of meat or drink, but cried out still, forrowfully complaining of that filth, and with no small Oaths cursed the Crow that poisoned him, to make them, he continued but a few days, but with extreme pain of vomiting, and crying, he desperately died, without any token of repentance of his former life.

Reported and testified for a certainty, by divers of his Neighbours, such honest and credible Persons.

Of *James Abbes* Martyr, ye heard before. In the time of whole *Martyrdom*, what befell upon a wicked Rascalship him, now ye shall further understand. Whereby all such railing Persecutors may learn to fear Gods hand, and to take heed how or what they speak against his Servants. As this *James Abbes* was led by the Sheriff toward his execution, divers poor People stood in the way, and asked him, what he was doing. He answering no more to give them, and desirous yet to distribute something amongst them, did pull off all his Apparel saving his Shirt, and gave them unto them, to some one thing, to some another; in the giving where he exhorted them to be strong in the Lord, and as faithful followers of Christ, and to be steady unto the Truth of the Gospel, which he (through Gods help) would then in their light fail and confirm with his Blood. Whiles he was thus charitably occupied, and zealously instructing the People, a Servant of the Sheriffs going by and hearing him, cried out about unto them, and Blaphemously said, Believe him not good People, he is an Heretic, and a mad man, out of his wit, believe him not, for it is Heretic that he faith. And as the other continued in his godly admonitions, so did this wicked wretch fill blow forth his Blaphemous exclamations, until they came unto the Stake where he should suffer. Unto the which this constant Martyr was tied, and in the end cruelly burned, as in his Story more fully is already declared.

But immediately after the fire was put unto him (such was the fearful froke of Gods Justice upon this Blaphemous Rascal) that he was there presently, in the sight of all the People, stricken with a French, wherewith he had before most railing charged that good Martyr in the name of God, who in this furious Rage and madness calling off his hooves, with all the rest of his Cloaths, cried, out unto the People, and said, Thus did *James Abbes* the true Servant of God, who I loved best, I am damned. And thus ran he round about the Town of *Bury*, still crying out, that *James Abbes* was a good man and a brave, but he was damned.

The Sheriff then being amazed, caused him to be taken and tied in a dark houle, and by force compelled him again to put on his Cloaths thinking thereby within a while to bring him to some quietness. But he (all that notwithstanding) as soon as they were gone, continued his former raging, and calling off his Cloaths, cried as he did before, that *James Abbes* is the Servant of God and is saved, but I am damned.

At length he was tied in a Cart, and brought home unto his Masters hooves, and within half a year or three, being at the point of death, the Priest of the Parish was sent for: who coming unto him, brought him to his Crucifix, and his howling Hoof of the Altar. Which gear when the poor wretch saw, he cri-

ed out of the Priest, and defied all that Baggage, saying; that the Priest, with such other as he was, was the cause of his Damnation, and that *James Abbes* was a good man and saved. And so shortly after he died.

Clarke, an open Enemy to the Gospel, and all godly Preachers, in *Ks. Edwards* days hanged himself in the Tower of *London*.

The great and notable Papist, called *Troling Smith*, of late fell down suddenly in the Street, and died.

Dole the Promoter was eaten into his Body with Lice, and so died, as it is well known of many, and confided also by his Fellow *John Anales*, before credible witness.

Cox an earnest Protestant in King *Edwards* days, and in *Q. Maries* time a Papist and a Promoter, going well and in health to Bed (as it seemed) was dead before the morning. Testified by divers of the Neighbours.

Alexander the Keeper of *Neugate*, a cruel Enemy to those that lay there for Religion, was more miserably by his fowls, that he was more like a Monster than a Man, and so rotten within, that no man could abide the smell of him. This cruel wretch, to hate the poor Lambs to the Slaughter, would go to *Borer*, *Sty*, *Chimley*, and others, crying out, Rid my Prison, Rid my Prison. I am too much pelted with these Heretics.

The Son of the said Alexander called *James*, having left unto him by his Father great Substance, within three years walked all to nought: and when some marvelled how he spent those goods so fast: O faith he, evil gotten, evil spent; and shortly after as he went in *Neugate-Market*, he fell down suddenly, and there was dead.

John Peter, Son in Law to this Alexander, and a *Persecutor* Blaphemer of God, and no less cruel to the good faithful Persons, rotted away, and so most miserably died. Who commonly when he would affect to sing, were it true or false, used to say, if it be not true, I pray God I rot ere I die. Witness the Printer hereof, with divers others.

With these I might infer the sudden death of Justice *Leland* Persecutor of *Jeffrey Harts*, mentioned before. Also the death of *Robt. Baultham* stricken with Lightening at the taking of *William Seaman*, whereupon he was pinned away and died: the Story of the which *W. Persecutor* *Seaman*, see before.

Likewise the wretched end of *Beard* the Promoter. Moreover the continuing away of *Robert Blomfield*, Persecutor of *William Brown*, specified before.

Further, to return a little backward to King *Henries* time, here might be induced also the example of *John Rockwood*, who in his horrible end cried all too late, with the same words which he had used before in persecuting Gods poor People of *Calice*.

Also the judgment of God upon Lady *Honora* Persecutor, and of *George Bradway* a false accuser, both in *Calice*, benefit of their wit.

And what a notable Spectacle of Gods revenging judgment have we to consider in Sir *Ralph Ellerker*, who as he was desirous to fee the heart taken out of Sir *Adam Damply*, whom they most wrongfully put to death: so shortly after the said Sir *Ralph Ellerker* being slain of the Frenchmen, they all to mauling him, after they had cut off his privy Members, would not leave him, before they might fee his heart cut out of his Body.

Dr. *Fisford*, Chancellor to *B. Stokesley*, a cruel Persecutor, died suddenly.

Pavier or *Pavy*, Town-Clark of *London*, and a bitter Enemy to the Gospel, damned himself. *Stephen Gardin*, being hearing of the Pitiful end of *Judge Hales* after he had drowned himself, taking occasion thereby, called the following and profetion of the Gospel a Doctrine of desperation. But as Judge *Hales* never fell into that inconvenience before he had confessed to Papistry: so who so well considered the end of Doctor *Pendleton* (which at his death full fore reported that ever he had yielded to the Doctrine of the Papists, as he did) and likewise the miserable end of the most part of the Papists besides, and especially of *Stephen Gardin* himself (who after long persecuting the Doctrine of Papistry, when there came a Bishop to him in his death Bed, and put him

The Judgment of God upon *Grimwood*.

A terrible example of Gods severe punishment upon one *Nightingale*, Persecutor of *Cranford* in *Kent*.

Dr. *Fisford* Chancellor of *Salisbury*.

The sudden death of Sir *Smith*, Dole the Promoter, eaten with Lice.

Alexander the Keeper of *Neugate*, died a rotten death.

The sudden death of Sir *James*.

Justice *Leland* Persecutor of *Jeffrey Harts*, mentioned before.

Beard the Promoter, *Robert Blomfield* Persecutor.

The sudden death of Dr. *Fisford*, Chancellor.

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in remembrance of Peter denying his Master: he answered again, fids, that he had denyed with Peter, but never repented with Peter, and to both thinkingly and unrepentingly will say, as Stephen Gardiner also himself gave an evident example of the same to all the God-men, to understand that Popery rather is a Doctrine of depuration, procuring the vengeance of Almighty God to them that wilfully do cleave unto it.

John Fisher Bishop of Rochester, and **Sir Tho. More**, in King **Henric** time, after they had brought **John Frieb. Besheld** and **Baynham**, and divers others to their death, what great reward was they thereby with Almighty God? Did not the Sword of Gods Vengeance cleave upon their own necks shortly after, and they themselves made a Public Spectacle at the Tower-hill of bloody death, which before had no Compassion of the lives of others? Thus ye fee the faying of the Lord to be true, *He that smiteth with the Sword, shall perish with the Sword*, 2. Mach. 3.

So was **Heliodorus** in the old time of the Jews played by Gods hand in the Temple of Jerusalem.

So did **Amnicus**, **Herod**, **Julian**, **Valerianus** the Emperor, **Decius**, **Marcus**, with infinite others, after they had exercised their cruelty upon Gods People, fee the like striking hand of God themselves also, in revenging the Blood of his Servants.

And thus much concerning those Persecutors, aswell of the Clergy, for as of the Laity, which were tricken and died before the death of Queen **Mary**. With and died before the death of Queen **Mary**, these Bishops following.

Bishops.

Cardinal Bishop of Winchester.
Peter Bishop of Hereford.
Gim Bishop of Bangor.
Brooks Bishop of Gloucester.
King Bishop of Tame.
Fars Elect of Salisbury.
Day Bishop of Chichester.
Helyman Bishop of Bristol.

Bishops.

John Christopher Bishop of Chichester.
Hepm Bishop of Norwich.
Morgan Bishop of Saint Davids.
John White Bishop of Winchester.
Ralph Bain Bishop of Lichfield and Coventry.
Owen Oghilvie Bishop of Carlisle.
Cuthbert Tugel Bishop of Durham.
Thomas Rainolds Elect of Hereford, after his deprivation died in Prison.

Besides these Bishops above named, first died at the same time.

Dr. H'ffan Dean of Westminster, afterwar Dean of Windsor, chief disputant against **Crammer**, **Ridley**, and **Latimer**.

M. Sleaford, Master of Trinity College in Oxford, who died in the Tower.

Seth Holland Dean of Worcester, and Warden of All-Saints College in Oxford.

William Copinger, Monk of Westminster, who bare the great Seal before **Stephen Gardiner**, made himself Monk in the house of the said Gardiner, and shortly after fell mad, and died in the Tower.

D. Steward Dean of Winchester.

To behold the working of Gods judgments it was con-

drous. In the first year of Queen **Mary**, when the Clergy was assembled in the Convocation-house, and also afterward, when the disputation was in Oxford against **Dr. Crammer**, **Ridley**, and **Latimer**, he that had been then Doctor **Wolfe** the Procurator in his Ruff, how highly he took upon him in the Schools, and how stoutly he stood in the Popes Quarrel against simple and naked Truth, full little would have thought, and lets did he think himself (I dare say) that his glory and lofty looks should have been brought down to him, especially by them of his own Religion, whose part he so doubtly defended. But such is the reward and end commonly of them, who presumptuously oppose themselves to strive against the Lord, as by the example of this Doctorly Procurator right well may appear. For not long after the disputation above mentioned against Bishop **Crammer** and his fellows, God so wrought against the said **Dr. Wolfe**, that he fell in great displeasure with Cardinal **Pole** and other Bishops, because he was unwilling to give up his Deanry and house of Westminster unto the Monks and Religious men, whom indeed he favoured of Rome. Who notwithstanding at last, through impudant fury, gave up Westminster, and was Dean of **Windsor**; where not long after, he was apprehended in Adultery, and for the same was by the Cardinal put from all his spiritual Livings.

Wherefore he appealed to Rome, and purposed to have fled out of the Realm, but was taken by the way, and committed to the Tower of London and there remained until Queen **Elizabeth** was proclaimed Queen, at which time he being delivered, fell sick and died. The common talk was, that he had not so suddenly ended this life, he would have opened and revealed the purpose of the chief of the Clergy, meaning the Cardinal, which was to have taken up **Dr. Henric** Body at Westminster and to have burned it. And thus much of **Dr. Wolfe**.

The residue that remained of the persecuting Clergy, and escaped the stroke of death, were deprived, and committed to prisons: the Catalogue of whose names here followeth.

In the Tower.

Nicholas Heath, Archbishop of York, and Lord Chancellor.
Thomas Tisbury Bishop of Ely. **Thomas Watson** Bishop of Lincoln.

Gilbert Bourne Bishop of Bath and Wells.
Richard Fars Bishop of Worcester.
Truethful Bishop of Exeter.

John Peckham Abbot of Westminster.
John Borall Dean of Windsor and Peterborough.

Of David Pool Bishop of Peterborough, I doubt whether he was in the Tower, or in some other Prison.

Ran away.

Goldwell Bishop of Saint Asaph.
Maurice Elect of Bangor.
Edmond Bower Bishop of London, in the Marshfield.
Thomas Wood Bishop Ely, in the Marshfield.

Cuthbert Scot, Bishop of Chester, was in the Fleet, from whence he escaped to Lovaine, and there died.

In the Fleet.

Henry Cole Dean of Pauli.
John Harpsfield Archdeacon of London, and Dean of Norwich.

Nicholas Harpsfield Archdeacon of Canterbury.
Anthony Drayce Archdeacon of Huntingdon.
William Chadsey Archdeacon of Middlesex.

Concerning which Doctor **Chadsey** here is to be noted, a Quaff, that in the beginning of King **Edward** Reign he recanted, and subscribed to thirty four Articles, wherein he then fully consented and affixed his own hand; he was then allowed to be in the Church, as well concerning justification by faith only, as also the Doctrine of the two Sacraments.

Sacraments then received, denying as well the Popes Supremacy, Transubstantiation, Purgatory, Invocation of Saints, elevation and adoration of the Sacrament, the Sacrifice, and veneration of the Mass, as also all other like excrements of Popish Superstition, according to the Kings Book then set forth.

Wherefore the more marvel it is, that he, being counted such a famous and learned Clerk, would himself so fickle and unstable in his Affections, so double in his doings, to alter his Religion according to time, and to maintain for Truth, not what he thought best, but what he might most fairly defend. So long as the flate of the Lord Protector and of his Brother blood upright, what was then the conformity of this Doctor **Chadsey**, his own Articles in Latin, written and subscribed with his own hand, do declare, which I have to shew, if he will deny them. But after the decay of the Kings Uncles, the fortune of them turned not to fall, but his Religion turned withal, and effusions he took upon him to dispute against **Peter Martyr**, in upholding Transubstantiation at Oxford, which a little before with his own handwriting he had overthrow.

After this ensued the time of Queen **Mary**, wherein Doctor **Chadsey**, to shew his double diligence, was so eager in his Communion to fit in judgments, and to bring poor Men to their death, that in the last year of Queen **Mary**, when the L-Chancellor, Sir **Thomas Cornwallis**, L. Clinton, and divers others of the Council had sent for him by a special Letter to repair unto London out of Exeter, he writing again to the Bishop of London, fought needs to come at the Councils bidding, but to continue still in his persecuting progress. The Copy of whose Letter I have also in my hands (if need were) to bring forth.

Mention was made not long before, of one **William Mauldon**, who in King **Henry**'s time fulfilled stripes and scourings for confuting the verity of Gods true Religion. It happened in the first year of Queen **Elizabeth**, that the said **William Mauldon** was bound Servant with one named **Mr. Hugh Aperry** then a Wheat-taker for the Queen, dwelling at **Greenwich**. Who being newly come unto him, and having never a Book there to look upon, being desirous to occupy himself virtuously, looked about the house, and found a Primer in English, whereon he read in a Winters Evening. While he was reading, there fate one **John Apowell** that had been a Serving-man, about Thirty years of age, born toward **Wales**, whom the said **Mr. Hugh** gave meat and drink unto, till such time as he could get a Service. And as the forefaid **W. Mauldon** read on the Book, the said **John Apowell** mocked him after every word, with contrary gaits and flouting words unmercifully, in such manner as he could no longer abide him for grief of heart, but turned unto him and said, *John, take heed what thou doest; Thou dost not mock me, but thou nockest God: For in mocking of his Word, thou mockest him; and this is the Word of God, though I be simple that read it; and therefore beware what thou doest.*

Then **Mauldon** fell to reading again, and fill he proceeded on in his mocking; and when **Mauldon** had read certain English Prayers, in the end he read, *Lord have mercy upon us, Christ have mercy upon us, &c.*

And as **Mauldon** was reciting these words, the other with a start suddenly said, *Lord have mercy upon me.*

With that **Mauldon** answered and said, What aileth thee **John**?

He said, I was afraid.

Whereof wast thou afraid said **Mauldon**?

Nothing now, said the other; for he would not tell him. After this, when **Mauldon** and he went to bed, **Mauldon** asked him whereof he was afraid?

He said, when you read, *Lord have mercy upon us, Christ have mercy upon us*, methought the hair of my head stood upright, with a great fear which came upon me.

Then said **Mauldon**, *John* thou maist fee, the evil Spirit could not abide that Christ should have mercy upon us. Well *John*, said **Mauldon**, repent and amend

thy life, for God will not be mocked. If we mock and jest at his Word, he will punish us.

Also you see **Ridley** works; and Swearing very much: therefore for Gods sake, *John*, amend thy life: So I will (said he) by the grace of God; I pray God I may. *Amen* said the other, with other words; so went to bed.

On the morrow about 8. of the Clock in the morning, the forefaid *John* came running down out of his Chamber in his Shirt into the Hall, and wrestled with his Mistress as if he would have thrown her down. Whereto the shrieked out her Servants help her, and took him by strength and carried him up into his Bed, and bound him down to his Bed; for they perceived plainly that he was out of his right mind.

After that as he lay almost dead and night his Tongue never ceased, but he cried out of the Devil of Hell; and his words were ever fill, O the Devil of Hell; now the Devil of Hell; would fee the Devil of Hell: Thou shalt see the Devil of Hell; there he was there he goeth, with other words, but most of the Devil of Hell.

Thus he lay without amendment about six days; that his Master and all his household was weary of that trouble and noise. Then his Master agreed with the Keepers of **Bridham**, and gave a piece of Money, and sent him thither. It seemeth that he was possessed with an evil Spirit, from the which God defend us all.

This is a terrible example of you that be mockers of the Word of God: therefore repent and amend, lest the vengeance of God fall upon you in like manner. Witnesseth hence **William Mauldon** & **Newsinger**.

The same **William Mauldon** chanced afterward to dwell at a Town six miles from London called **Walsamstow**, where his Wife taught young Children to read, which was about the year of our Lord 1563, and the fourth year of Q. **Elizabeth** Reign: unto this School, amongst other Children, came one **Barnard** Daughters named **Dennis**, about the age of 12 years.

As these Children fate talking together, they happened amongst other talk (as the nature of Children is to be full with many things) to fall into communication of God, and to reason among themselves, after their Childish discretion, what he should be.

Whereunto fone answered one Child, some another. Among whom, when one of the Children had said, that he was a good old Father; the forefaid **Dennis** Benfield cutting out impious words of horrible Blasphemy, What he (said he) is an old doing Fool.

What wretched and blasphemous words were these ye hear. Now mark what followed.

When **W. Mauldon** heard of these abominable words of the Girl, he willed his Wife to correct her for the same. Which was appointed the next day to be done. But when the next morning came, her Mother would needs send her to the Market to London, the Wench greatly intrating her Mother that he might not go, being marvelously unwilling thereunto. Howbeit through her Mothers compulsion she was forced to go, and went. And what happened? Her business being done at London, as she was returning again homeward, and being a little past **Hackney**, suddenly the young Girl was so flickened, blasphemy that all the one side of her was black, and the speechless.

Whereupon immediately she was carried back to **Hackney**, and there the same night was buried. Witness of the same story **William Mauldon** and his Wife, also **Benfield** her Father, and her Mother, which yet be all alive.

A terrible Example (no doubt) both to old and young, what it is for Children to blaspheme the Lord their God, and what it is for Parents to suffer their young ones to grow up in such blasphemous blindness; and not to nurture them betime in the rudiments of the Christian Gate-chim, to know first their Creation; and then their Redemption in Christ our Saviour, to fear the Name of God, and to reverence his Majesty. For else what do they deserve but to be taken away by death, which contemptuously despite him of whom they take the benefit of life?

And therefore let all young Maids, Boys, and young Men, take example by this wretched filly Wench, not only not to blaspheme the Sacred Majesty of the Omnipotent God their Creator, but also not once to take him in vain, according as they are taught in his Commandments.

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er thereat. The end was this.

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wherein his purpose was (as *Slaidan* faith) to recover and heal again the whole Authority and Doctrine of the Romish See, and to fix it up for ever.

There were in this Council, besides the Popes Legats and Cardinal of *Trent*, 24 Bishops, Doctors of Divinity 62. And thus was the end of that Popish Council, by the provident hand of the Almighty, dispatched and brought to nought. *Ex Sleidan. lib. 23.*

This Council of *Trent*, being thus dissolved by the death of his Cardinal, was afterward notwithstanding recalled again about the year of our Lord 1562 against the Erroneous proceedings of which Council other Writers there be that say enough. So much as pertaineth only to *flory*, I thought hereunto to add concerning two filthy Adulterous Bishops to the said Council, who were slain by the just stroke of God with a Bonest-keeper. The other Bishop whose haunt was to creep thorow a Window, in the time Window was libally taken and hanged in a grin laid for him of purpose, and conveyed, that in the Morning was taken up in the three hanging out of all that pulled by. *Ex protestatione Conventum German. adversus conventum Trident. &c.*

Amongst all the Religious orders of Papists, who was a flouter defender of the Popes side, or a more vehement impugner of *Martin Luther*, than *Joh. Eckius*? who, if his cause wherein he so travelled, had been godly, had deserved, no doubt) great favour and condescendence at the hands of the Lord. Now forasmuch as we cannot better judge of him than by his end, let us consider the manner of his departing hence, and compare the same with the end of *Mr. Luther*.

In which *Mr. Luther*, being such an Adversary as he was to the Pope, and having no less than all the world upon him at once, first this is to be noted, that after all this travell, the Lord gave him to depart both in great age, and in his own native Country where he was born. Secondly, he blessed him with such a quiet death, without any violent hand of his Spirit and mind continued of his Body was mild, so his Spirit and mind continued in no less joy unto the end, continually invoking and calling upon the name of the Lord, and so commending his Spirit to him with fervent prayer, he made a blessed and an heavenly ending. Fourthly, and above besides these blessings, Almighty God did also add unto him such an honourable burial, as to many great Prince farce happened the like. And this briefly concerning the end of *Martin Luther*, as ye may read before more at large.

Now let us consider, and conferr with this the death of *Joh. Eckius*, and the manner thereof, which we find in the English translation of the History of *Joh. Calvin*, lib. 25. in these words expressed. This year *(1531)* he died at *Ingeldrate*, *Dr. Eckius*, a faithful servant and champion of the Pope, and a defender of the abominable Papacy. Put as his life was full of all ungodliness, uncleanness, and blasphemy; yet his last words (as it is told, and pittul, inasmuch that his last words (as it is told, of many credible persons) were these: In case the Lord should please, I would have been ready, the matter were the four thousand. (Dreaming belike of some Cardinalship that he should have bought.) Some say that the Pope had grieved him a certain *Dumy*, which he should have redeemed from the Court of *Rome* with the foresaid sum. Now what a heavenly end this was *Mr. Eckius*, I leave it to the Readers judgment.

In the City of *Antwerp* was (as they term him there)

a Shyvet, that is to say, the next Officer to the Mark of Grave, one named *Joh. Vander Warfe*, a Barred of some of a flock or kindred called *Warfe*, of the name of *Antwerp*, an Elimination amongst the chiefest in *Antwerp*. Who as he was of nature cruel, so was he of judgment

perverse and cruel, and a fore persecutor of Christs Persecutors and carners, with greenskins lickers and shedding Innocent Blood, and had drowned divers good men and women like a leech in the water, for the which he was much commended of the Bloody generation. Of some he was called Blood-hound or Bloody dogge. Of other he was called

Shilpad, that is to say, Sheldoad; for that he being a thort-grunt, and of little stature, did ride commonly with a great Broad Hat, as a churl of the Country.

This man, after he was weary of his Office (wherein he had continued above 20. years) he gave over, and because he was now grown old and weakly, he intended to pass the residue of his life in pleasure and quietness.

During which time, about the second year after he had left his Office, he came to *Antwerp* to the feast called our Ladies *Ommegang*, to make merry; which feast is usually kept on the Sunday following the Assumption of our Lady. The same day in the afternoon about four of the clock, he being well laden with wine, rode homewards in his Wagon, with his Wife and a Gentlewoman waiting on her and his fool. As soon as the Wagon was come without the Gate of the City called *Gravenberg* Gate, upon the Wooden Bridge being at that time made for a shift with rails or barriers on both sides for more safety of the passengers (half a mans height and more) the horses stood still, and would by no means go forward, whatsoever the guide of the Wagon could do.

Then he in a drunken rage cried out to him that guided the Wagon, saying; Ride on in a thousand Devils name, ride on. Whereat the poor man answered, that name, he could not make the horse to go forward. By and by, while they were yet thus talking, suddenly rose, as if there was a mighty whirl-wind, with a terrible noise (the weather being very fair, and no wind stirring before) and tope the Wagon over the barr into the Town ditch, and the ropes whereat the horse had been tied, being broken, slunder in such sort, as if they had been cut with a sharp knife, the Wagon also being cast up-side-down, with the fore-end thereof turned toward the Town again, and he drowned in the mire; and when he was taken up, it was found, that his neck also was broken. His Wife was taken up alive, but died also within three days after. But the Gentlewoman and the Fool, by a timely providence, were preserved and had no Gods mighty punishment. The Fool hearing the people say his Master was dead, said; And was not I dead, was not I dead too? This was done, Anno 1553. Witnesses herof not only the Printer of the same *Booke* in *Dutch*, dwelling then in *Antwerp*, whose name was *Francis Frans*, a German, but also afterward for hatred put to death of Papists, but also divers *Dutchmen* here now in *England*, and a great number of English Merchants, which were at *Antwerp*, and are yet alive.

Of the sudden death of *Bartholomew Chastellanus*, or *Calissian* persecutor, read before. Of *Mirerius* the Bloody persecutor, or rather Tormentor of Christs Saints, how he died with bleeding in his loins, ye have heard before.

And what should I speak of the Judge which accompanied the said *Mirerius* in his persecution, who a little after, as he returned homeward, was drowned, and three more of the same company killed one another upon a strike that fell among a cruel Monk, whom we may rather call a Hell-bound than persecutor, what hellish Torments he had devised for the poor Christs of *Angron*, *Angron*, the contents of the story before that express. Again, with what like Torments afterward, and that, doubtless, the Lord paid him home again, who in his rotting and flinking death neither could find any enemy to kill him, nor any friend to bury him, who neither could abide his own thinking carion, nor could any man else abide to come near him. Herof read also before.

Such a like persecutor also the same time was the Lord of *Retseff*, who likewise paid not the Rerenging hands of Gods Justice, being taken, after his famous percutution, with a like horrible sickness, and such a fiery and wretchedly dead. Whereof read before.

Touching the like grievous punishment of God upon one *Joh. Martin* a persecutor, read before.

Erasmus in an Epistle or Apology written in defence of his Colloquies, intereth, that of a certain Noble Person of great riches and possessions, who having Wife and Children, with a great family at home (to whom by *Saint Paul* Rule he was bound in Conscience principally

Anno 1558.

Our Ladies drunken feast.

the year of our Lord, 1555, there was in the

Francis from the Printer and without loss of a good man and Mary.

Francis from the Printer and without loss of a good man and Mary.

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Francis from the Printer and without loss of a good man and Mary.

fully above all other worldly things to attend) had purposed, before his death to go to *Jerusalem*. And to do all things being left in order, this Noble man, about the year of our Lord 1558, committed the care of his Wife (whom he left great with Child) and of his Lordships and Cattle to an Archibishop, also a most forward and truly Father. To make thofe, it happened in the journey this Noble man to die. Whereof is soon as the Archibishop had intelligence, in stead of a Father he became a student and a robber, felling into his own hands all his Lordships and Possessions. And moreover, not yet contented with all this, he laid siege against a strong Fort of his (unto the which he was for safeguard of his self did the like) where in conclusion flie, with the Child that he carried. Which story was done (as testifies *Erasmus*) not so long before his time, but that there remained the *Nephews* of the Noble man thenceforth, whom the same Inheritance should have fallen, but they could not obtain it.

What cometh of blind superstition, when a man not contented in other by-ways of his own, and not contented with the Religion set up of the Lord, will bind his Conscience to other ordinances, precriptions, and Religions devised by men, leaving Gods Commandments undone for the confutations and precepts of men, what can be the end, but to be damned. Forasmuch as men may learn by experience: and therefore they that yet will defend *Idolatrous* Purgings and rash Vows, let them well consider herof. It is rightly said of *Saint Hierome*; To have unaid at *Jerusalem* is no greater matter, but to live godly and virtuous life, that is a great matter in every deed.

In the year of our Lord, 1565, there was in the Town of *Gant* in *Flanders*, one *William de Wever*, accused and imprisoned by the Provost of *St. Peters* in *Gant* (who had in his *Chapels* a Prison and a place of execution) and the day when the said *William* was called to the place of judgment, the Provost sent for *Mr. Giles Brackelman*, principal Advocate of the Council of *Flanders*, and Borough-Master and Judge of *St. Peters* in *Gant*, with other of the Rulers of the Town of *Gant*, to sit in judgment upon him, and as they in fate judgment the Borough-Master, named *Mr. Giles Brackelman*, reasoned with the said *William de Wever* upon divers Articles of his life.

The one whereof was, why the said *William de Wever* denied that it was lawful to pray to Saints; and he answered (as the report goeth) for three causes. The one was, that they were but creatures, and not the Creator.

The second was, that if he should call upon them, the Lord did both see it, and hear it, and therefore he durst give the glory to none other, but to God.

The third and chiefest cause was, that the Creator had commanded in his Holy Word to call upon him in troubles, unto which commandment he durst neither add nor take from it.

The Borough-Master *Mr. Giles Brackelman* also demanded, whether he did not believe that there was a Purgatory, which he should go into after this life, where every one should be purified and cleansed.

He answered, that he had read over the whole Bible, and could find no such place, but the death of Christ was his Purgatory; with many other questions proceeding him, nor any order, until he came to pronounce his condemnation. But ere the said condemnation was read forth, the judgment of God was laid upon the said *Brackelman*, who suddenly at that present instant was stricken with a Palsy, that his mouth was drawn up almost to his ear, and so he fell down, the rest of the Lords by and by, by standing up and shadowing him, that the people could not well order, until he came to pronounce his condemnation. But ere the said condemnation was read forth, the judgment of God was laid upon the said *Brackelman*, who suddenly at that present instant was stricken with a Palsy, that his mouth was drawn up almost to his ear, and so he fell down, the rest of the Lords by and by, by standing up and shadowing him, that the people could not well order, until he came to pronounce his condemnation. But ere the said condemnation was read forth, the judgment of God was laid upon the said *Brackelman*, who suddenly at that present instant was stricken with a Palsy, that his mouth was drawn up almost to his ear, and so he fell down, the rest of the Lords by and by, by standing up and shadowing him, that the people could not well order, until he came to pronounce his condemnation.

that this was done about ten of the clock, they burned the said *William de Wever* within three hours after, on wood *St. Peters* in *Gant*.

The fourth day of *March*, 1566, the like example of the Lords terrible judgment was shewed upon *Sir Garret Triff* Knight, who had long been prominent to the terrible Regent to bring down the preaching. For the which *Triff* (as the report goeth) the Regent promised again to make him a Grave, which was an Earl. Of the which *Sir Garret* it is also said, that he coming from *Brussels* to *Antwerp*, and was *Gant*, brought with him the death of the Preachers, and being come to *Gant*, the said *Triff* with *Gant* and other of the Lords having received from the Regent a Commission to swear the Lords and Commons unto the Romish Religion, the said *Sir Garret* the 4. day of *March* above noted, at night being at supper, willed the Lady his Wife to call him in the morning one hour sooner than he was accustomed to rise, for that he should the next day have much business to do in the Town-houses, to swear the Lords and people to the Romish Religion. But fee what happened. The said *Sir Garret* going to bed in good health (as it seemed) when the Lady his Wife called him in the morning, according to his appointment, was found dead in her bed by her, and so unable to prosecute his wicked purpose.

The fifth of *March*, 1566, which was the day that *Sir Garret Triff* appointed to be there, and the Lords of *Gant* were come into the Town-house (as they had before appointed) to proceed and to give the Oath, according as they had their Commission, and *Mr. Martin de Peller* the Secretary being appointed and about to give the Oath, as the first man should have sworn, the said *Triff* of *Antwerp* was stricken of God with prent death, likewise, and fell down, and was carried away in a chair or stately, and never spoke after. Witnesses herof.

Peter de Bullemaker.
Abraham Rollet.
Marc de M.
Lucien Hendricks.
Jan Coucke.

Ronger Vanbulle.
Joy. Neuchem.
Wit. under Bogarde.
Joy. de Pitt.

About the Borders of *Sweden* in *Germany*, not far from of the City of *Ueberling*, there was a certain Monk, a confessor of Christian Monks, called *Salmstulpe*, founded an Abbey in the days of Pope Innocent 2. by a noble Baron, named *Gumbartus*, about the year of our Lord, 1110. This Cell thus being erected, in process of time was enlarged with more ample possessions, finding many great benefactors and endowors liberally contributing unto the same; as Emperors, Dukes, and rich Barons.

Amongst whom most especial were the Earls of *Montfort*, who had bestowed upon that Monastery many new liberties and great privileges, upon this condition, that they should receive with free hospitality any stranger or both Horseman or Footman, for one nights lodging, whoever came. But this Hospitality did not long continue, through the malice and devilish device of one of the monks, who took upon him to counterfeit to play the part of the Devil, rattling and raging in his Chains, where the strangers should sit, after a terrible manner, in the night time to fray away the guests; by reason whereof no stranger nor traveller durst there abide, and so continued this a long space.

At length (as God would) it so happened, that one of the Earls of the said house of *Montfort*, benefactors to that Abbey, coming to the Monastery, was there lodged, whether of free purpose, or by chance, it is not known.

When the night came, and the Earl was at his rest, the Monk after his wonted manner beguiled his Papants, to play the game, yea rather the wild Devil. There was stamping, raving, splitting of fire, roaring, thundering, bounding of boards, and rattling of chains, enough to make some man stark mad. The Earl hearing the sudden noise, and being somewhat peradventure afraid at the sight, although he had not then the feast of conjuring, yet taking a good heart unto him, and running to his sword, he laid about him well favouredly, and slew till the noise of the Devil, so conjured him at, ceased the last, that the Monk, which counterfeited the Devil would in jest, was slain in his own likeness in earnest the Devil.

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and no man else, that his Body burft, and his Guts braut out.

Senacharib, had he not for his Persecutors his own Sons, and it cost *Esdras* nothing to be revenged of him for his Tyranny?

Antiochus and Herod, although the Children of God, whom they so cruelly persecuted, had no hand upon them, yet they escaped not unpunished of Gods hand, whilst *Lice* and *Vermins* to be their Tormentors, which consumed and cut them up.

Pilate, after he had crucified Christ our Saviour, within few years after he was not driven to hang himself?

Nay, after his cruel Murders and Persecutions stirred up against the Christians, when he should have been taken by the Romans, God thought him not so worthy to be punished by the hands of them, but so disposed the matter, that *Nero* himself, when he could find no Friend nor Enemy to kill him, made his own hands to be his own Executioners.

Diocletianus, with *Maximinus* his Fellow Emperor, to which were the Authors of the Tenth and last Persecution against the Christians, being in the midst of their furious tyranny against the Name of Christ, needed no more help to bridle them and pluck them back, for God of his secret Judgment put such a Staff in the Mouths of these Tyrants, that they themselves of their own accord depofed and dispofessed themselves of their Imperial Function, and lived as private persons all their lives after: And notwithstanding that *Maximinus* after that, fought to resume his Imperial State again, yet by *Alexander* his Son he was refuted, and shortly after he was slain for the same.

What should I here speak of the cruel Emperor *Maximian* who when he had set forth his Proclamation engraven in Brass, for the utter abolishing of Christ and his Religion, was not punished by man, but had *Lice* and *Vermin* gushing out of his Intrails, to be his Tormentors, with such a rotten flinch laid upon his Body, that no Physicians could abide to come near, and was called to be slain for the same.

Alexander the Son of *Maximinian*, and *Pharaoh* the King of Egypt, as they were both like Enemies against God and his People, to draw they both of one Cup of pernicious perishing by any mans hand, but both in like manner, were drowned with their Harlots in the Water.

Furthermore and briefly in this matter to conclude, if the Kings among the Jews, which were bloody and wicked, were not spared, as *Achaz*, *Achab*, *Jehoiakim*, *Manasseh*, *Joaquin*, *Zedekias*, with many other, but had at length, although it were long, the hire of their iniquity; let not these bloody Catholics then think, which have been Persecutors of Christ's Saints, that they being in the same cause as the other above recited were, shall escape the same Judgment, which the longer it is deferred, the more many times it fritheth, unless by due repentance it be prevented in time: which I pray God may.

Unnumerable Examples more to the same effect and purpose might be inferred, whereof plentiful store we have in all places, and in all Ages of men to be collected. But these hitherto for the present may suffice, which I thought here to notify unto these our bloody Children of the murdering Mother Church of Rome, of whom it may well be said, *Mamur vestrae plenis sunt sanguine, &c.* Your hands have been full of Blood, &c. *Ejaj*, Chap. 1. to the intent that they, by the examples of their other Fellows before mentioned, may be admonished to follow the Prophets counsel, which followeth and bideth, *Carum mihi, manda ejus, &c.* By ye washed, and make your selves clean, &c. *Ejaj* 1. do not to presume too far upon their own Security, nor think themselves the further off from Gods hand, because mans hand forbearth them.

I know and grant, that man hath no further power upon any, than God from above doth give. And as the Laws of this Realm could make against them, when that I could say (because they will not say that we desire their blood to be spilled, but rather to be spared) but yet this I say, and with them well to understand, that the sparing of their Lives, which have been murderers of so many, is not for want of power in Magistrates nor

lack of any just Law against them, whereby they might justly have been condemned, if it had so pleased the Magistrates to proceed (as they might) against them; but because Almighty God perpendureth in his secret purposes, having something to do with these Persecutors, hath directed them hitherto, not that they should escape unpunished, but that peradventure he will take his own cause into his own hand, either by death to take them away (as he did by *Bow*, and by all Postemors in a mass of *Queen Maries* time) or else to make them to persecute themselves with their own hands, or will stir up their Confidence to be their own confusion, in such sort as the Church shall have need to lay hands upon them.

Wherefore with this brief Admonition to close up the matter, as I have exhibited in these Histories the terrible ends of so many Persecutors plagued by Gods hand: I would I with all such whom Gods lenity suffereth yet to live, this wisely to ponder with themselves, that as their cruel Persecution burneth not the Souls of God's Church, suffering them to live, doth not profit them, but of the Church he that is the Lord Almighty and gracious hand, rather heapeth the greater Judgment of God upon them in the day of wrath, unless they repent in time: which I pray God they may.

And now to reenter again to the time and story of *Q. Mary*.

Elizabeth where we left before.

In whose advancement and this her Princely governance, it cannot sufficiently be exprest, what felicity and blessed happiness this Realm hath received in receiving her as the Lord Almighty and gracious hand. For as there have been divers Kings and Rulers over this Realm, and I have read of some, yet I could never find in English Chronicle the like that may be written of this our noble and worthy Queen: whose coming in was not only so calm, so joyful, and so peaceable, without shedding any blood, but also her Rejoice hitherto (reigning now 24. years and more) hath been so quiet, that yet the Lord have all the glory: to this present day, his Sword is a Virgin, spotted and polluted with no drop of blood. In speaking whereof, I take not upon me the part of it of the Mouth of the Divine Pulpit, but to judge of things done, but only keep me within the compass of an Historiographer, declaring what hath been before, and comparing things done with things now present, the like whereof, as I said, is not to be found lightly in Chronicles before. And this I speak truly, for I would to be taken without flattery, to be left to our Posterity, as *Imperium clementie illius memoriam*. In commendation of which her Clemency, might also here add how mildly her Grace, after she was advanced to her Kingdom, did forgive the forefend Sir *Henry Benfield* with out molestation, suffering him to enjoy Goods, Lands, and Liberty. But I let this pass.

Thus halt thou, gentle Reader, simply, but truly described unto thee the time, first of the formidable adversity of this our most Sovereign Queen that now is, the miraculous protection of God, so graciously preferring her in so many straits and distresses, which I thought here briefly to notify, the rather for that the wondrous works of the Lord ought not to be suppressed, and that also her Majesty, and we likewise her poor Subjects, having thereby a present matter always before our eyes, to admonish both how much we are bound to Divine Majesty, and also to render thanks to him condescending for the same.

Now remaineth likewise in prosecuting the order of this, as of other Histories before, to notify and discourse of things memorable especially in the Church, such as happened in the time of this her Majesties quiet and joyful Government. And first here I let pass by the way the death of Cardinal *Pole*, which was the next day after the death of *Queen Mary*, the death also of *Christopher Bishop of Chester*, *Henry Bishop of Norwich*, committing also to speak of *Doctor Walsby*, who being chief Disputant against *Crommer*, *Ridley*, and *Latimer*, as before declared, first fell in displeasure with the Cardinal and other Bishops, because he was unwilling to part from his Deary and House of *Wolmington* unto the Monks, whom indeed he favoured more although in other things a maintainer of the Church of Rome. Then being removed from thence, he was made

Dean of Windsor, where he, being apprehended in Adultery, was by the same Cardinal put to all his Spiritual Livings. Wherefore he appeared to Rome, and flying out of the Realm, was taken by the way and kept in the Tower of London where he remained until this time that *Queen Elizabeth* was proclaimed. At which time being delivered, he fell sick and died.

Also I let pass the Coronation of this our most noble and Christian Princess, and the order of the same, which was the fifteenth day of *January*, done 1559. To pass over also the triumphant Passage and honourable Entertainment of the said our most dread Sovereign, thorough the City of London, with such Celebrity, Prayers, Wishes, Welcomings, Cries, tender Words, Pageants, Entertainments, Declamations and Verbes set up; as the like hath not commonly been seen, arguing and declaring a wonderful earnest affection of loving hearts toward their Sovereign. Item, To pretermitt in silence the Letters gratulatory, sent to her Majesty from divers and faithful foreign princes, as from *Zurich*, *Geneva*, *Basle*, *Bern*, *Wittenberg*, *Algerine*, *Frankford*, &c. These, I say, with many other things to let pass, we will now (God willing) begin with the Dilection or Conference between the Popish Bishops, and the learned men exiled in Germany, had at *Wolmington*; after that first we have inserted a certain Oration of a worthy Gentleman, called Mr. *John Hales*, first and delivered to the said *Queen Elizabeth* in the beginning of her Reign, the Copy whereof is this.

An Oration of John Hales to the Queens Majesty, and delivered to her Majesty by a certain Noble man, at her first Entrance to her Reign.

To the Noble Queen Elizabeth.

ALbeit there be innumerable gifts and benefits of Almighty God, whereby every one would wonder so dutifully comfort any person, on whom it should please his goodness to bestow it: yet is none of them either separate by itself, or joined with any other, or yet all mingled together, to be compared to this one gift that I have pleased God of his mercy to deliver this Realm, our Country, from the tyranny of malicious *Mary* and to commit it to the government of virtuous *Elizabeth*. For if a man had all the Treasure of *Solomon*, and might not be suffered to have the use thereof, in what better case were he than miserable *Tamara*, over whose head the Angels continually hung, yet being hunger-starved, he could never touch them? If a man had as strong a Body as had *Samson*, and besides, were as whole as a fish, as the Proverb is, yet if he were kept in Bands, what should it avail him? Yea, rather if it be well considered, it is a hurt to him, if continuance of torment and pains may be a hurt.

If a man had as many Children as had *Gideon* the Judge, and might not be so suffered to bring them up in the fear of God, and good knowledge and manners, had he not been happy to be without them, than Church, and this Realm, it should be done, he had found of God as had *Saul*, and durst not profess it openly with mouth, as he is commanded, but for fear of death should declare the contrary in deed, forbiden the word of God, and deny Christ, which is forbidden, should it not rather be a furtherance to his damnation than otherwise?

And to be short, if any one man had all the gifts together, or generally all the gifts of Fortune, the Body, the Mind, and of Grace, yet if he might not have the use of them, what should they profit him? Verily nothing at all. For Felicity is not in having, but in using; not in sitting in idleness, but in occupying, not in knowledge, but in doing.

But also our natural Mother *England*, which hath been counted to be the furest, the richest, and of late also the most godly Nation of the Earth, hath been these whole five years most violently by Tyrants forced to lack the use of all the gifts and benefits wherewith God and Nature had endowed her. Her natural and loving Children could not be suffered to enjoy their right inheritance, whereby they might relieve and succour her or themselves,

but whatsoever they had, was either by open force, or by craftily dealing pulled from them. And surely this had been intolerable, if none other mischief had been therewith intended.

He is a gentle Thief (if Thieves may be counted gentle) that only robbeth a man of his Goods, and reproveth violent hands from his person. For such loss with labour and diligence may be recovered. He may be called a merciful marauder, that only killeth the aged Parents, and doth no force on the Children.

For Nature hath made all men mortal, and that in this space; and to kill the Parents, is as it were but a prevention of a short time, if it were to the uttermost enjoyed. But these Tyrants were more ungentle than common Thieves, more empty of mercy than common murderers. For they were not only not contented to have the Goods of the People, but they would have it delivered to them by the owners own hands, that it might be paid to the world they gave it with their heart; and were not therewith pleased, but they would have their lives, that they should not betray them; and yet herewith they were not satisfied, but they meant to root out the whole Progeny and Nation of Englishmen, that none should be left to revenge and cry out on their extremities, and to bring our Country into the Spaniards Dominion.

It is an horrible duty for one brother to kill another, much more horrible for the Children to lay violent hands murdering hands on their Parents, but most horrible of all to murder the Children in the fight of their Parents, or the Parents in the fight of their Children; these most cruel Tormentors have done.

But what do I find in these things which have some defence, because the Turks perchance use to do, and Ethnicks kill one another, to make Sacrifice of men to their phantastical Gods?

It was not enough for these unnatural English Tormentors, Tyrants and false Christians, to be the Lords of the Goods, Possessions, and Bodies of their Brethren and Countrymen: but being very Antichrists, and Enemies of Christs Cross, they would be Gods, and reign in the Consciences and Souls of men. Every man, woman, and child must deny Christ in word openly, abhor Christ in their deeds, slander his Gospel with word and deed, worship and honour false Gods as they would have them, and themselves did, and give Body and Soul to the Devil their Master, or secretly beseech after inward Torment be burned openly. O cruelty, cruelty! far exceeding all cruelties committed by those ancient and famous Tyrants cruel and cruel Murderers, *Pharaoh*, *Hirad*, *Caligula*, *Nero*, *Demetrius*, *Maximian*, *Diocletian*, *Decius*, whose names for their cruel persecution of the People of God, and their own tyranny practised on the People, have been, and ever shall be in perpetual hatred, and their Souls in continual torment in Hell. If any man would take upon him to set forth particularly all the acts that have been done these full five years, by this unnatural woman; (No, no woman, but a Monster, and the Devil of Hell covered with the shape of a woman) as it is most necessary for the glory of God, and the profit of his Church, and this Realm, it should be done, he shall find it a matter sufficient for a perfect great History, and not to be continued in an Oration, to be uttered at one time by the voice of man. But to comprehend the sum of all their wickedness in few words; Behold, whatsoever falls in mischief, covetousness in spoil, cruelty in punishing, tyranny in destruction could do, that all this poor English Nation this full five years suffered already, or should have suffered, had not the great mercy of God prevented it.

And albeit there have been many that have hazarded and lost their lives to shake off this most hateful burden, (whereof this Virgin, rather than Virgin, as the word be called and taken, boasted herself to be free of God, to ride and take the People of England) albeit there have been many that have gone about to loose their brethren out of the yoke of this most miserable Captivity and albeit it hath proved to break the bands of this most cruel Tyranny, yet could they never bring to pass that which they so earnestly laboured, and so manfully attempted.

And it is nothing to be wondered, let the Papists boast thereof what it pleaseth them. For Almighty God.

being a most indifferent governor, punishing evil, and rewarding good, could not of his justice suffer his courage to be taken from this our Land, if he meant the Salvation of the people, as most manifestly it appears. For he had once given to this Realm the eth. he did. For having once given to this Realm the greatest Jewel that might be, that is, the free choice of his Word (which if they had embraced and followed, it would have reformed all disorders and sins for which his wrath was kindled and provoked) the people notwithstanding regarded it, but either utterly contemned it, or abused it, and many made it a Cloak and colour to cover their misdeeds. So that if he should suddenly have withdrawn this plague, as Tyrants and evil Governors be the plague of God, they would neither have paid on his justice, nor yet thought they have felt the sweetness of his mercy. For commonly the people regard but things present, and neither remember things past, nor yet pass on things to come, unless they be warned by exceeding extremities.

Besides this, it is most evident, that he determined to make this his conquest alone with his own hand and mighty power, and would not that it should be done by Man, lest Man should impute any part of the glory of this victory to his own strength, or to his own policy, or that Fortune should seem to bear any stroke in so glorious a conquest, and so be partakers in Mens opinions, of the triumph so worthy.

Neither did his almighty power waver when Man would have it depicted, that is, as soon as the enemy began to gather their force; for it is not for great a victory to discomfit a few dispersed peoples it is to destroy a perfectly united army; but he suffered them to make their force as great as was possible, to work whatsoever mischief by fire, banishment, imprisonment, hanging, ever mischief by fire, banishment, imprisonment, hanging, heading, burning, or otherwise could be imagined.

Neither would his most provident wisdom do it out of season: but as the good husbandman doth not crop his Tree, till he hath reaped his fruit: so would he not root out the pestiferous Tyrants, till the most profit might be taken thereof.

When he had given sufficient leisure to all kind of Men to declare in what way were Crocodiles, sometimes lying in Water, sometimes on Land, that is both Gophers and Papists; who were Spunges, sucked up their blood and life or not life, whether they were Christians or Epicures: who were Camels, that could turn themselves into all colours, with Protestants, Protestants; with Papists, Papists; with Spaniards, Spaniards; with Englishmen, Englishmen; who were Gophers that could apply themselves to every Mans appearance that was in Authority: who were Marigolds, that followed *Maries* mad affections; who were weathercocks, that did turn with every wind; who were Matives, that could bite and bark; not who were curs, ever barking who were Foxes, that would promise much, and perform nothing; who could bind themselves with many Oaths, and do clean contrary; who were Cain's, that fought the innocent *Abels* deaths; who were the Wolves, that worried the Lambs; and finally, when he had suffered the spiritual thrawls to tug on their venom, and every Man plainly to declare his own wickedness, then did he work this most victorior conquest. And with his works he fethem plain to say thus unto you: Ye fee (my people) what I have done for you, for your fakes, which nothing regarded the benefits that I most plentifully poured on you, and have delivered most grievous punishment for your unthankfulness, but of mine infinite mercy, and for my glories sake, which I will have opened to all the World in these latter days, to the fear of evil doers, and to the comfort of the well doers. Prove no more my wrath: ye see what will follow: it be hereafter more prudent and wife than ye were before. Ye may, if ye will, be more circumfpect in time to come, than ye have been in the time past: ye may if ye list put me to left trouble, and keep your selves in more safety. I have not only discovered mine, yours, and my Land of *Englands* enemies, and all the crafts, subtilties, and policies that have been or may be used by them any like heretofore, but I have also taken away their head and captain, and destroyed a great number of them, that ye should not be troubled with them, and

some of them have I left, that ye may make them spectacles and examples to the terror and fear of their posterity. Love me, and I will love you: I seek my honor and glory, and I will work your commodity and safety: walk in my ways and commandments, and I will be with you for ever. Surely, if we consider the wonderful mercy that it hath pleased God to us towards us, in the delivering of the Realm out of the hands of those most cruel Tyrants, as we cannot but do, unless we will declare our selves to be the most unthankful people that ever lived, we must needs judge it not only worthy to be compared, but also far to exceed the deliverance of the Children of Israel out of *Egypt* from the Tyranny of *Pharaoh*, and from the powers of *Hidrephes* and *Smacherib*. For it is not read, that either *Pharaoh* or the other two fought any other thing, than to be the Lords of the Goods and Bodies of the Israelites, they forced them not to commit Adultery, and to serve false Gods, as the English Tyrants did.

But besides, if we will note the wonderful Works of God in handling this matter, we shall well perceive, that far much more is wrought to his glory, and to the profit of his Church and people, than perchance all Men at the first do see. For he hath not only dispatched the Realm of the chief performances and heads of these Tyrants, but also as it were declared, that he minded not that either they or their doings should continue. For albeit that all acts, done by Tyrants tyrannically, be by all Laws, Reason and Equity, of no force, yet because no Dispensation follow on this, that is tyrannically done, and what is not tyrannical, why done, he hath provided that this question needeth not to come in question. For he utterly blinded their eyes, and suffered them to build on false grounds which can no longer stand, than they be propped up with ropes, sword, and fagot. For their first Parliament whereto they grounded and wrought a great part of their tyranny, and wherein they did overthrow whatever King *Edward* had provided for the advancement of Gods Glory brought to pass, was of no force: Authority for the perceiving that their Enemies Stock could not be emptied, nor the malice spued on the people by any good orders, could not be a great disorder. She by force and violence took from the Commons their liberty, that, according to the Ancient Laws and Customs of the Realm, they could not have their free election of Knights and Burgesses for the Parliament. For the well knew, that if elected, it was not possible that to succeed which he intended. And therefore in many places divers were chosen by force of her threats, meet to serve her malicious affections. Wherefore that Parliament was no Parliament, but may be justly called a conspiracy of Tyrants and Traitors. For the greater part by whose Authority and voices things proceeded in that Court, by their Acts most manifestly declared themselves for ever self being both Christians and true English Men, although they had good wills, yet were not above self or prevail with their unchristianish voices and suffrages of so many against the *Abels* deaths, and enemies to their Country.

Alto Burges, as usually called, and who were divers Burgesses being orderly chosen, and lawfully returned, as in some places the people did who were ordered to resist her purposes, were diversely and unlawfully put out, and others without any order of Law in under their places placed. Doctor *Taylor* Bishop of *Lincoln* at a *Queen* days Christian Bishop and a true Englishman, being lawfully and orderly called to the Parliament, and placed in the Lords House in his degree, was in his robes by violence thrust out of the House. *Alexander Nowell* with other Christian Men and true Englishmen, being lawfully chosen, and admitted, were by force put out of the House of the Commons: for the which cause the said Parliament is also void, as by a President of the Parliament held at *Cowenry* in the 38. year of King *Henry* the sixth it is manifestly appeared. And the said Parliament called in the name of her Husband, and of her dear and noble Father and the Realm had brought to pass for the restitution of the liberty of the Realm, and for the extinguishment of the usurped Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*.

Anno 1558.

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Rome

Anno *Rome*, is also void, and of none authority. For that the title and file of Supreme Head of the Church of *England*, which by a Statute made in the 34th year of the Reign of the said King *Henry*, was ordained, that it be united and annexed for ever to the Imperial Crown of this Realm, was omitted in the Writ of fummoning. Wherefore as a woman can bring forth no child without a man, so cannot those Writs bring forth good and true fruit, because this part of the Title, which was ordained by the Parliament for the form to be always used in the Kings file, was left out. For greater error is in lack of form, than in lack of matter. And where the foundation is naught, there can nothing build thereon be good. There is no Law spiritual nor temporal (as they term them) nor any good Reason, but allow these Rules for infallible Principles. And if any man will say, that it was not in the free choice, liberty, and pleasure of the King of this Realm, and the Queen, whether they would express the said Title in their file, or not, as that subtle *Serpent Gardiner*, being Chancellor of the Realm, and traitorously sending out the Writs of Parliament without the same file, perceiving he had over-should himself in calling the Parliament, and having committed many horrible murders and most mischievous acts, would have excused it, as appeareth by a piece of a Statute made in the same Parliament, in the eighth Chapter and two and twentieth Leaf, it may be justly and truly answered, that they could not so do. For although every person may by Law renounce his own private right, yet may he not renounce his right in that which toucheth the Commonwealth, or a third person.

And this Title and Stile more touched the Commonwealth and Realm of *England*, than the King. For if I had before, it was ordained for the conservation of the Liberty of the whole Realm, and to exclude the usurped Authority of the Bishop of *Rome*. And therefore no King nor Queen alone could renounce such Title: but it ought (if they would have it taken away) to be taken away orderly and lawfully by Act of Parliament, sufficiently called and fummoned. For the natural and right way to loose and undo things, is to dissolve them by that means they were ordained. And it most manifestly appeareth, that all their doings, from the beginning unto the end, were all of no effect, forsooke authority: but all that they have done, hath been meer Tyranny. O most marvellous Providence of Almighty God, that always, and in all things, doth that is best for the wealth of his People! O most mighty Power, that so suddenly overthroweth the counsels of the wicked, and bringeth their devices to naught! O infinite mercy, that so gently dealeth with his People, that he saveth them whom he might most justly destroy! O most joyful, most merry, and never to be forgotten *Hopewell* day, in which it hath pleased thee, O God, to deliver thy Church, this Realm, and thy People from so horrible Tyranny! No Tongue can express, no Pen can imitate, no Eloquence can worthily set out, much less commend the theft thy marvellous doing. No, no heart is able to render unto thy goodness sufficient thanks for the benefits we have received. Who could ever have hoped this most joyful time? Yes, who did not look rather for thy most sharp visitation, and utter destruction of this Realm, as of *Sodom*, *Gomorrah*, and *Jerusalem*.

But we fee and feel, good Lord, that thy mercy is greater than all mens sins, and far above all thy works. And albeit there is no Christian and natural Englishman, Woman, or Child, either present, or that shall succeed us, which is not or shall not be partaker of this most exceeding mercy and wonderful benefit of Almighty God, and therefore is bound continually to praise and thank him: yet there is not one Creature that is more bound to do so, than you noble Queen *Elizabeth*. For in this horrible and most cruel Persecution, your Grace hath been more hunted for, than any other. Divers times they have taken you, sometime they have had you in strong hold, secluded from all liberty; sometime at liberty, but not without most cruel Gaolers custody; and many times they determined, that without Justice ye should be murdered privately. They thought, if your Grace had been suppressed, they should have been fully prevailed: If ye had been destroyed, their doings

for ever should be established: If ye had been taken out of the way, there were none left that would or could undo that they had ordained. But he that fitteth on high, and laugheth at their madness, would not suffer that the malicious purposes and most cruel designs of those should have succeeded. He took upon him the prosecution of you. He only hath been your *Yefeb*, that preserved you from this wicked *Abdulia*. He only was the *Judas* that destroyed this cruel *Atreus*. He only hath made you Queen of this Realm, instead of this mischief, your *Mariam*. No earthly Creature can claim any piece of thanks therefore, no man's force, no mans counsel, no mans aid, hath been the cause thereof. Wherefore the greater his benefits have been toward you, the more are you bound to seek his glory, and to set forth his honour. Ye see his Power, what he is able to do; he alone can save, and he can destroy, he can pull down, and he can set up. If ye fear him, and seek to do his will, then will he favour you, and preserve you to the end from all Enemies, as he did King *David*. If ye now fall from him, or juggle with him, look for no more favour than *Saul* had thence: but I have a good hope that both his Justice and Benefits be so printed in your heart, that ye will never forget them, but seek by all means to have the one, and to fear to fall into the other. I trust also your wisdom will not only consider the causes of this late most cruel Vilification, but also to your utmost power endeavor to out-oust them.

And furthermore as besides this infinite mercy poured on your Grace, it hath pleased his Divine Providence to constitute your Highness to be our *Debra*, to be the Governors and Head of the Body of this Realm, to have the charge and cure thereof; it requireth above all things, as well for his glory and honour, as for your discharge, quietness and safety, to labour that the same Body now as at the first be cleansed, made whole, and then kept in good order. For as if the Body of man be corrupted and diseased, he is not able to manage his affairs at home, much less to do any thing abroad: if the Body of a Realm be corrupt and out of order, it shall neither be able to do any thing abroad, if necessity should require, nor yet prosper in it itself. But this may not be done with piecing and patching, cobling and botching, as was used in time past, whilst your most noble Father and Brother reigned. For as if a man cut off one Head of the *Serpent Hydra*, and destroy not the whole Body, many will grow instead of that one; and in a corrupt Body that hath many diseases, if the Physician labour to heal one part, and not the whole, it will in short time break out afresh: unless the Body of a Realm or Commonwealth be clean purged from corruption, all the particular Laws and Statutes that can be devised shall not profit it.

We need no foreign Examples to prove it: look upon this Realm it self, it will plainly declare it. And as it is not enough to cleanse the Body from his corruption, but there must be also Preervatives ministered to keep it from putrefaction; for naturally of it self it is disposed to putrefie: so after the Body of a Realm is purified, unless there be godly Ordinances for the preservation thereof ordained and duly ministered, it will return to the old state. For this Body, which is the People, is universally naturally disposed to evil, and without compulsion will hardly do that is his duty.

This must your Grace do: ye mind the advancement of Gods glory, your own quietness and safety, and the wealth of this your Politick Body. And they be not hard to bring to pass, where goodwill will vouchsafe to take to her a little pain. The Realm will from be purged, if vice and self-love be utterly condemned. It will be in good state preferred, if these three things, Gods Word truly taught and preached, Youth well brought up in godly and honest Exercises, and Justice rightly ministered, may be perfectly constituted. And without this foundation, let men imagine what it might be, and how the House of God shall never be well framed or builded, nor the publick state of your Realm well ordered. For in what Body Gods Word lacketh, the unity and charity which ought to be among the Members thereof, and which kniteth them together, is soon extinguished. Where the unity is neglected, there can no good be brought to be fully prevailed: If ye had been destroyed, their doings

7.2.2.3

Crop

words that have Ignorance, how shall it be understood that is spoken? For ye shall but speak in the air, that is to say, in vain, and consequently without edifying.

And afterward in the same Chapter he saith, how can he that occupieth the place of the unlearned, say Amen at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest? For thou verily givest thanks well, but the other is not edified.

These be S. Pauls words, plainly proving, that a Tongue not understood, doth not edify. And therefore both the parts of the reason thus proved by Saint Paul, the conclusion followeth necessarily.

2. Secondly, nothing is to be spoken in the Congregation in an unknown Tongue, except it be interpreted to the people, that it may be understood. For faith Paul, If there be no Interpreter to him that speaketh in an unknown Tongue, *sacret in Ecclesia*, let him hold his peace in the Church. And therefore the common Prayers and Administration of Sacraments, neither done in a known Tongue, neither interpreted, are against the commandment of Paul, and not to be used.

The Minister in Prayer or Administration of Sacraments using Language not understood of the hearers, is to them barbarous, and alien, which of Saint Paul is accounted a great absurdity.

It is not to be counted a Christian common Prayer, where the people present declare not their assent unto it by saying Amen, wherein implied all other words of affirmation.

But S. Paul affirmeth, that the people cannot declare their assent in saying Amen, except they understand what is said, as afore.

Therefore it is no Christian common Prayer where the people understand not what is said.

Paul would not suffer in his time a strange Tongue to be heard in the common Prayer in the Church, notwithstanding that such a kind of speech was then a miracle, and a singular gift of the holy Ghost, whereby infidels might be persuaded unto the faith; much less is it to be used now amongst Christian and Faithful Men, especially being no miracle nor gift of the holy Ghost.

Some will peradventure answer, that to use any kind of Tongue, in common Prayer or Administration of Sacraments, is a thing indifferent.

But S. Paul is to the contrary. For he commandeth all things to be done to edification, he commandeth to keep silence if there be no interpreter, and in the end of the Chapter he concludeth thus. If any Man be spiritual or a Prophet, let him know that the things which I write, are the commandments of the Lord. And so forth to the commendments of the Lord, in Prayer and administration, is against the Word and Commandment of God.

To these reasons, grounded upon Saint Pauls Words, which are the most firm Foundation of this Affection, divers other Reasons may be joyned, gathered out of the Scriptures and otherwise.

In the Old Testament all things pertaining to the publick Prayer, Benedictions, Thanksgivings, Sacrifices, were always in their vulgar and natural Tongue. In the Psalm of David, and *Alaph* the Prophet, which doubtless were written in Hebrew their vulgar Tongue. If they did so in the shadows of the Law, much more ought we to do the like, who as Christ faith I must pray in *spiritu et veritate*.

The final end of our Prayer (as David faith) is, ut *populi et convertant in unum, et annuntient nomen Domini in Sion, & laudes ejus in Hierusalem.*

But the name and praises of God cannot be fit forth to the people, unless it be done in such a Tongue as they may understand, therefore common Prayer must be had in their vulgar Tongue.

The definition of publick Prayer out of the Words of S. Paul. *Oratio spiritus, oratio et mentis, Public oratio, est vota communia mente ad Deum effundere. Quae spiritus, hoc est, lingua testatur, communis Prayers is to lift up our common desires to God with our minds, and to tell in the same outwardly with our Tongues, which defini-*

tion is approved by S. Augustine, *De magistro*, cap. 1. *Nihil opus est (inquit) loquutione, nisi forte ut faciat discipulum, significandi mentis causa et populi utilitas.* 1553.

The ministrations of the Lords Prayer and Baptism are as it were Sermons of the Death and Resurrection of Christ.

But Sermons to the people must be had in such Language as the people may perceive, otherwise they should be had in vain.

It is not lawful for a Christian Man to abuse the gifts of God: but he that prayeth in the Church in a strange Tongue, abuseth the gifts of God. For the Tongue is given only to express the mind of the speaker to the hearer. And Augustine faith, *De doctrina Christiana*, lib. 4. cap. 10. *Legendum omnino nulla esse causa, si quod loquimur non intelligunt, propter quod, ut intelligunt, loquimur.* There is no cause why we should speak, if they for whose cause we speak, understand not our speaking.

The Heaten and barbarous Nations of all Countries Thee have and of Men, were they never so wild, evermore for they made their Prayers and Sacrifices to their Gods in their own Mother Tongue. Which is a manifest Declaration that it is the very light and voice of nature.

This much upon the ground of S. Paul and other reasons out of the Scriptures, joyning therewith the common usage of all Nations as a Testimony of the Law of nature.

Now for the second part of the Affection, which is, that the use of a strange Tongue in publick Prayer and Administration of Sacraments, is against the custom of nature.

The Primitive Church, it is a matter to be clear, that the denial of it must needs proceed either of great ignorance, or else of wilful malice.

For first of all *Justinus* describing the order of the Communion in his time, faith thus, *Die Sola oratio, oratio ac refrigerium, ceteris fidei, ut Apollonius* *Prayers, oratio ac refrigerium, ceteris fidei, ut Apollonius* *Prayers, oratio ac refrigerium, ceteris fidei, ut Apollonius*

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hinging again, go to their Songs or Psalmody, where being divided into two parts, they sing by course together, both deeply weighing and confirming the matter of the Heavenly sayings, and also stirring up their attention and devotion of heart, which by other means be alienated and plucked away. Then appointing one to begin the song, the rest follow, and so with divers Songs and Prayers pulling over the night, at the dawning of the day, all together, even as it were with one mouth and one heart, they sing unto the Lord a song of Confession, every Man framing to himself new words of repentance.

If you will flye us from henceforth for these things, ye must flye also the Egyptians, and both the Libians, ye must cliche the Thebans, Palestines, Arabians, the Phoenicians, the Sirians, and those that dwell besides Euphrates, and to be short, all those with whom watchings, Prayers, and common singing of Psalm are had in honor.

Testimonies of Saint Ambrose, written upon the fourteenth to the Corinthians, the first Epistle.

Super illud, qui enim loquitur linguas, &c. This is it that he saith, because he which speaketh in an unknown Tongue, speaketh to God. For he knoweth all things, but Men know not, and therefore there is no profit of dispatching.

The same Author afterwards, Super illud, si benedixeris Spiritu.

Hoc est, si laudem Dei lingua loquaris ignota, &c. Upon these words, if thou blest or give thanks with the Spirit, how shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, say Amen, at thy giving of thanks, seeing he understandeth not what thou sayest?

That is (saith Ambrose) if thou speak the praise of God in a Tongue unknown to the hearers For the unlearned, hearing that which he understandeth not, knoweth not the end of the Prayers, and he answereth not Amen. That is as much to say as (true) that the blessing or thanksgiving may be confirmed. For the confirmation of the Prayer is fulfilled by them which do answer Amen. That all things spoken might be confirmed in the minds of the hearers, through the testimony of the truth.

Afterward in the same place upon these words, if in our Prayers unto our God.

Quoniam enim intelligit et intelligitur, &c. For when he understandeth, and is understood, hearing God to be praised and Christ to be worshipped, he feels perfectly that the Religion is true, and to be revered, wherein he feels nothing to be done colourably, nothing in darkness, as among the Heathen, whose eyes are covered, that they seeing not the things which they call holy, may perceive themselves to be deluded with divers vanities. For all falsehood feeleth darkness, and therefore falleth things for true. Therefore with us nothing is done privately, nothing covertly, but one God is simply praised, of whom are all things, and one Lord Jesus, by whom are all things. For if there be none which can understand, or of whom he may be tried, he may say, there is some deceit and vanity, which is therefore false in Tongues (not understood, he meaneth) because it is a shame to open it.

Upon this place, Omnia ad edificationem faciunt.

Conclusio hae est, si nihil intelligam in Ecclesia gratias, hoc est, elaborandum magis, ut et imperiti proficiant, nequid fidei corpora per impietatem tenebrosam. Let all things be done to edification.

This is the conclusion, that nothing should be done in the Church in vain, and that this thing ought chiefly to be laboured for, that the unlearned also might profit. Let any one part of the Body should be dark through ignorance.

Again, Si non fuerit interpres, taceat in Ecclesia.

Hoc est, intra se tacite oris aut loquatur Deo, qui audit mens proficiat. In ecclesia enim ille debet loqui qui omnibus proficiat.

If there be no interpreter, let him keep silence in the Church.

This is, let him pray secretly, or speak to God within himself, which heareth all dumb things; for in the Church he ought to speak which may profit all men.

Testimonies out of Saint Hierom, upon that place of Paul, Quomodo qui supplet locum idiotae, &c.

De illis, fidei Saint Hierom, qui supplet locum idiotae, id est, laicum intelligit, qui multo gravior Ecclesiastica fingitur. It is the Lay-man, faith he, whom Paul here understandeth to be in the place of the ignorant Man, which hath no Ecclesiastical Office. How shall he answer Amen to the Prayer that he understandeth not?

And a little after upon these words, Nam si est lingua, &c.

Hoc dicit, quoniam si quis incognitis aliis linguis loquatur, mens ejus non significatur fratri fratri, sed auditur. Quomodo enim dicitur, ignorat. This Pauls meaning, faith Hierom, if any Man speaketh in strange and unknown Tongues, his mind is not to himself without fruit and profit, but is not profited that heareth him.

And in the end of his Commentary upon the Epistle to the Galatians, he faith thus: Quod autem (Amen) consensum significat audientibus, &c. That (Amen) significeth the consent of the hearer, and is the sealing up of the truth, Paul in the first Epistle to the Corinthians teacheth, saying, But if thou shalt blest in Spirit, who suppleth the place of the ignorant, how shall he at thy Prayer answer (Amen) seeing he knoweth not what thou sayest? Whereby he declareth that the unlearned Man cannot answer, that which is spoken in tears, unless he understand what it is said.

The same Hierom faith in the Preface of S. Pauls Epistle to the Galatians, that the noise of an Amen sounded in the Roman Church like an Heavenly thunder.

As Hierom compareth this found of common Prayer to thunder, & compareth Casill to the found of the Sea, in these words, If the Sea be said, how is not the assembly of the Congregation much fierer in the which a joynt found of Men, Women and Children were of the Waves beating on the Shore, is sent forth in our Prayers unto our God.

Cum populus famel audiret, et vis audiret vis audiret, statim omnes respondentes Amen.

When the people once hear these words (World without end) they all forthwith answer, Amen.

And the same writer upon the same Chapter, upon these words, How shall he that occupieth the room of the unlearned, say Amen? *En vultus amphi (quod dicitur) faciem applicat, Ecclesiae adificationem uniusque requirent, &c.* Behold again he applyeth the bone unto the square (as the Proverb is) requiring the edifying of the Congregation in all places. The unlearned he calleth the common people, and heareth that it is no small difcommodity, if they cannot say Amen.

And again the same Hierom faith, Quia et in praesentia audiret quis praesentium multum esset, nam per eorum quoniam, tam per penitentium. Communis enim preces & fides a sacerdote & ab illis sunt, & omnes dicunt unam orationem, orationem misericordiam placent. Iterum, ubi excludimus a sacerdotibus ambibit eis qui non possunt esse participes sanctae mensae, illis facienda est oratio, & omnes singulis largimur, &c. that is, Yes, in Prayers you may fee the people offer largely, both for the possessed and the penitents. For the Priesthood the people pray altogether commonly, and all one Prayer, a Prayer full of mercy and pity. And excluding out of the Priests limits all such as cannot be partakers of the holy Table, another Prayer must be made, and all after one sort lay down upon the earth, and all again after one sort rise up together. Now when the peace is given, we are all in like manner salute one another, and the Priest in the reverend myrtles witheth well to the people, and alleluia, &c. All things that belong to the Sacrament of thanksgiving, are common to all. But he giveth not thanks alone, but all the people with him.

Hereby

Hereby it may appear, that not the Priest alone communicated nor prayed alone, nor had any peculiar Prayer, but such as was common to them all, such as they all understood, and all were able to say with the Priest, which could not have been, if he had used a strange Tongue in the ministrations of the Sacraments.

Dionysius. *Dionysius* describing the manner of the ministrations of the Lords Supper, faith, "That hymns were said of the whole multitude of the people."

Cyprian. *Cyprian* faith, "The Priest doth prepare the minds of the brethren, with a Prædication before the Prayer saying, Lift up your Hearts: that while the people doth answer, we have our Hearts lifted up to the Lord, they may be admonished that they ought to think of none other thing than of the Lord."

S. Augustine. *S. Augustine*, *Quid hic sit, intelligere debemus, &c.* What this should be we ought to understand, that we may sing with reason of Man, not with clattering of birds. For *Ouzels*, and *Peepins*, and *Reveries*, and *Præ*, and other such like Birds are taught by Men to prate they know not what. But to sing with understanding, is given by Gods holy will to the nature of Man.

The same *Augustine*, There needeth no speech when we pray, saying perhaps as the Priests do, to declare their meaning; nor that God, but that Men may hear them, and so, being put in remembrance by conferring with the Priests, may hang upon God.

To these testimonies of the ancient writers, we will join one Constitution of *Justinian* the Emperor, who lived 527. years after *Christ*, *Subemus ut omnes Episcopi pariter & Presbyteri, &c.* We command that all Bishops and Priests do celebrate the holy Oblation, and the Prayers used in holy Baptism, not speaking low, but with a clear and loud voice, which may be heard of the people, that thereby the minds of the hearers may be stirred up with greater devotion, in uttering the praises of the Lord God. For to the holy Apostles teaching in his first Epistle to the *Corinthians*, saying, "Truly, if ye think only blest or give thanks in Spirit, how doth he which occupieth the place of the unlearned say, Amen, at the giving of thanks unto God? for he understandeth not what thou sayest. Thou verily givest thanks well, but another is not edified. And again, in the Epistle to the *Romans* he faith, *Certe credite ad iustitiam, &c.* autem sit confitio ad salutem, with the Hearer a Man believeth unto righteousness, and with the mouth confession is made unto Salvation.

Therefore for these causes it is convenient, that amongst other Prayers those things also which are spoken in the holy Oblation, be uttered and spoken of the most Religious Bishops and Priests unto our Lord Jesus Christ our God with the Father and the holy Ghost, with a loud voice. And let the most Religious Priests know this, that if they neglect any of these things, neither the dreadful judgment of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ, neither will we when we know it, refrain leave it unreproved.

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marvelled at, not only how such an untruth and abuse Anno 1558. crept at the first into the Church, but also how it is maintained so firmly at this day, and upon what ground there, that will be thought guides and pastors of Christ's Church, are so loth to return to the first original of *S. Paul's* Doctrine, and the practice of the Primitive Catholic Church of Christ.

¶ The God of Patience and consolation, give us Grace to be like minded: one towards another in Christ Jesus, that we all agreeing together, may with one Mouth praise God the Father of our Lord Jesus Christ, Amen.

John Scory.
Richard Cox.
David Whitehead.
Edmund Grindall.
John Feowell.
Robert Horne.
John Asmoy.
Edmund Geit.

And the flame being ended with some likelihood as it seemed, that the flame was much allowable to the audience, certain of the Bishops began to say contrary to their former answer, that they had now much more to say to this matter, wherein although they might have been well reprehended for such manner of cavillation; yet for avoiding of any more mistaking of orders in this colloquy or conference, and for that they should utter all that which they had to say, it was both ordered and thus openly agreed upon of both parts in the full audience, that upon the Monday following, the Bishops should bring their Minds and Reasons in writing to the second affirmation, and the laity also if they could, and first read the same, and that done, the other part should bring likewise theirs to the same. And being read each of them should deliver to other the same writings. And in the mean time, if Bishops should put in writing, not only all that which Doctor *Cole* had that day uttered, but all such other matters as they any otherwise could think of for the same; and as soon as they might possible, to find the flame Book touching that first affirmation to the other part, and they should receive of them that writing which Mr. *Horn* had there read that day, and upon Monday it shall be agreed what day they should exhibit their answers touching the first proposition. Thus both parts assented thereto, and the assembly was quietly dismissed.

The order of the second days talk.

The Lord Keeper of the great Seal, the Archbishop of York, the Duke of Northfolk, and all the Council being set, the Bishops on the one side, and the Protestants, that is, the late banished Preachers on the other side, thus began the Lord Keeper.

MY Lord and Masters, I am sure ye remember well, what order of talk and writing was appointed to be had this day in this assembly, at our last meeting, which I will not refuse now to repeat again for the shortness of it, which was, that ye appointed that on both sides ye should bring in English writings, what ye had to say in the second question, and in this place appointed to read the same. Therefore begin my Lords.

Wincheff. I am determined for my part that there shall be now read, that which we have to say for the first question.

L. Keeper. Will ye not then proceed in the order appointed you?

Wincheff. I am, as I said, provided for the first question or proposition: and we should suffer prejudice, if ye permit us not to intreat of that first, and so we would come to the second question, and this is the order we would use. I judge all my Brethren are so minded.

Bishops. We are determined.

L. Keeper. I know not what you would do for your determined order: but ye ought to look what order is appointed you to keep, which by this means do break and little regard.

Wincheff.

Anno 1558. *Wincheff.* Since our adversaries part, if it please your Grace and Honour, have confirmed their allegation and purpose, we suffer a prejudice or damage, if ye permit us not the like. Hereat Doctor *Watson* Bishop of Lincoln, being at this talk very desirous to have spoken, said now to the Bishop of *Wincheff*; I pray you let me speak, which was permitted him: we are not used indifferently, since that you allow us not to open in present writing what we have to say for the declaration of the first question, inasmuch as that which ye take for the information of the same, was meant nothing to that purpose, that which Master *Cole* spoke in this last assembly, was not prepared to strengthen our cause, but he made his Oration of himself, and *ex tempore*, that is, with no fore-studied talk.

At such the Bishops words the Nobility and other of the audience much frowned and grugged, fith that they all well knew, that Master *Cole* spoke out of a writing which he held in his hand, and often read out of the same, and in that the same places which the Bishops informed him, and appointed him unto with their fingers; all which things do well declare the matter to be premeditated, and not done *ex tempore*, for that Master *Cole* was appointed by them to be their speaker. Whereupon this of the Bishop of *Lincoln* was the worst taken, notwithstanding he went onward complaining, and said, we are also evil ordered as touching the time, our adversaries part having warning long before, and we were warned only two days before the assembly in this the Archbishop's place, with this business and other troubles we have been driven to, have been occupied the whole last night. For we may in no wise betray the cause of God, nor will do, but sustain it to the uttermost of our powers, as we ought to do to endeavour by all manner of means. But herewith we want presently indifferent sifting.

L. Keeper. Take ye heed that ye deserve not your selves when it shall come to just trial of the matter, and that then it be not proved against you, that ye complain without cause, when the order and your manner towards it shall be duly weighed. I am willing and ready to hear you after the order that was appointed for you to reason therein, and further or contrary to that I cannot deal with you.

Lich. Cov. Let us suffer no misorder or injury herein, but be heard with indifference, that is convenient and meet we should have here.

L. Keeper. I pray you, Sirs, hear me, and mark it ye well. It was concluded on by my Lords of the Council, who you well know of, that their writing, which ye are now willing to have heard, should have been read the first day, and then did we understand that Master *Cole* had said what you would have him say, and as much as you would him to say, and upon that indifference among us. I judge ye were asked in the end of Master *Cole's* rehearsal, whether that which he spoke, "as it ye would have him say, and ye granted it. Then, whether ye would be that he should say any more in the matter, ye answered no, whereupon the other part was heard, which ye hearing, then indeed without all good indifference or plain dealing, ye pretended that ye had more to say. So mark you with how small equity you used your selves.

The B. We had indeed more to say, if we might have been indifferently heard.

L. Keeper. Give me leave I say, and look what gains you should have if your present request should be granted you, that call for much of indifferent using, how you should use these other Men? For many who are here present, were then away, so would you have your writing now read to them, which heard not this. Mark ye whether it had not been more fit that ye had provided it against the first day, when they orderly read theirs; fith to my knowledge, and as far as I have had to do in the matter, you were of both sides (I am sure) warned one time. Howbeit to satisfy your importunity and earnestness of this crying out to have your first writing read, I might well allow, if it pleased the rest of the Queens most Honourable Council, that you dispatch the work of the second question, appointed for this day, and give up your writing for the first, so that when the day cometh that each of you shall answer the other in confirmation of

the first question, then the same day ye shall have time to read this your first writing, which ye now would so faint read. To this order all the Council willingly consented.

Lich. Cov. Nay, my Lords, they reading one and we two Books in one day, we should not have time enough to read them both. It would occupy too much time.

L. Keeper. For my part I might well stay at the hearing of them both, and so I judge would the rest of the Council, and likewise the whole audience. As which saying there was a shout, crying on all sides; Yea, yea, we would hear it gladly.

Lincoln. We cannot read them both at one time: for their writing (I am sure) would require an hour and a half, if it be to be so long as their last was, and then our answer would require no less time after the first question.

L. Keeper. I have showed you we could be well contented to tarry out the time when it cometh therunto. Therefore ye need not be so much, and yet ye will obey my orders, I cannot tell what I shall say unto you.

Lincoln. We have been wonderfully troubled in the order of this disputation. For first it was appointed us by my Lord the Archbishop, that we should dispute, and that in Latin, and then had we another commandment that we should provide a Latin writing, and now at last we are willing to bring forth our writings in English.

At these words the Lord Keeper of the great Seal, the Archbishop, with the Council much mused, and many murmured at each his wrong report of the order well taken. Whereupon with an admiration the Lord Keeper answered; I marvel much of the using of your self in this point, I am assured the order was never so written, than that you should bring forth in English writing what you had to say for your purpose.

Herewith the Bishops of *Lincoln* and *Wincheff*, to excuse my Lord of *Lincoln's* said, "We so understood the order, my Lords."

L. Keeper. How likely is that, fith that it was so plainly told you that end the delays, I pray you follow the order intended, and begin to intreat of the second question.

Lich. Cov. We were appointed this day by your Honours to bring in what we had to say in the first question. At the which saying the audience much grugged, who heard the former talk, contrary to fith his report.

L. Keeper. The order was taken, for that your writings were not ready the last time, that ye should yield the same to these Men, meaning the Protestants, and now as ye might, and upon the receipt of your writings, you should have theirs, and this day you should intreat of the second question, and of the third, if that ye had leisure enough. This was the order, my Lords, except my memory much fail me. The same all the Council affirmed.

Lincoln. We were willed then to bring in this day our writing for the first question also.

L. Keeper. Al Sirs, if ye be so hard to be satisfied, and to encline to the truth, let my Lords here say what was then determined.

B. York. Ye are to blame to stand in this issue, for there was a plain decreed order taken for you to intreat of the second question. Wherefore leave you your contentions herein, and shew what ye have to say in the second question.

L. Keeper. Go to now, begin my Lords.

Lich. Cov. Its contrary to the order in disputation, that we should begin.

Chesfer. We have the negative, they the affirmative, therefore they must begin.

Lich. Cov. They must first speak what they can bring in against us, fith we are the defending part.

Chesfer. So is the School manner, and likewise the manner in *Wynneffer-Hall* is, that the Plaintiffs part should speak first, and then the accused party to answer.

Lich. Cov. I pray you let the proposition be read, and then let us see who hath the negative part, and so let the other begin.

L. Keeper. The order was taken that ye should begin.

Lich. Cov. But then we should do against the School order.

L. Keeper.

L. Keeper. My Masters, ye influence much the School orders. I wonder much at it, fith divers of those orders are sometimes taken for the exercise of youth and ought to maintain a fashion, and many predilections, which we need not here to rectify, much less offend. We are come not here to rectify, much less offend. We are come not here to rectify, much less offend.

Carle. We are of the Catholic Church, and abide therein, and stand in the positions of the truth; and therefore must they say what they have to allege against us, and so we to maintain and defend our cause.

Lich. When they affirm any thing, and we say nay, the proof belongeth to them, and so it behooveth them to shew first what they affirm, and for what cause and purpose.

L. Keeper. Here resteth our purpose and whole matter, whether ye will begin, if they do not, fith it was determined ye should begin.

Lich. We heard of no such order.

L. Keeper. No did? Ye say, and in the first question ye begin willingly. How cometh it to pass that ye will not now do so?

L. Keeper. Then had we the affirmation, which fith that our adversaries have now, they should presently begin.

Lich. The Protestants saying, fying, that they in the first day had the negative, wherein they did not yet refuse to begin.

L. Keeper. If you have any thing to say, my Lords, to the purpose, say on.

Lich. A particular sort of Men can never break an Universal Church, which we now maintain; and as for these Men, our adversary part, I never thought that they would have done so much as have named themselves to be of the Catholic Church, challenging the name as well as we.

Protestants. We do so, and were of the true Catholic Church, and maintain the verity thereof.

Lich. Yet would ye overthrow all Catholic order. How, I wonder that ye so much stand who should begin. You count it requisite that we should follow your orders, as we have taken the questions at your hands, in that sort as you have assigned them.

Lich. Coven. Yea, even so we be driven to do now.

L. Keeper. Nay, judge if ye mark the matter well, the questions are neither of their propounding them to you, nor of your device to them, but offered indifferently to you both.

Horn. Indeed, my Lords of the Queens most honourable Council, these questions or propositions were proposed unto us by your Honours, and then having the premissary, chose to themselves the negative, and yet freely began first: now again why do they not the like?

Lich. Being angry that he should so traitly speak against them, went quite to the matter, saying, My L. Keeper of the great Seal, and you the rest of the Queens most honourable Council, I hope that you all, and the Queens Majesty herself, are inclined to favour the verity of the truth of the Catholic Church, which we maintain, will you can do no otherwise, but earnestly maintain to the uttermost of our power, and to this purpose let us now well weigh who are of the true Catholic Church, they or we.

L. Keeper. Tarry, you now go from the matter, and make questions of your own.

Lich. Yet not flying from his digression, I said thus, We must needs go to work, and try that first, what Church they be of. For there are many Churches in Germany. Master Hume, Master Horn, I pray you which of these Churches are you of?

Horn. I am of Christ's Catholic Church.

L. Keeper. Ye ought not thus to run into voluntary talk of your own inventions, nor to devise new questions of your own appointment, and thereby enter into that talk; ye ought not to do so. But say on, if you have any thing to say in this matter.

Lich. Nay, we must first thus go to work with them as I have said, if that we will teach a truth: howbeit

of the truth we have no doubt, for that we assuredly stand in it. These Men come in, and they pretended to be doubtful. Therefore they should first bring what they have to impugn or withstand us withal.

Winch. Let them begin; so will we go onward with our matter.

Chesfer. Otherwise, my Lords, if they should not begin, but end the talk, then should the verity on our sides be not so well marked; for they should depart speaking last, *consequenter populi*, with the rejoicing triumph of the people.

Winch. Therefore I am relieved that they shall begin ere that we say any thing.

Chesfer. I am sorry, my Lords, that we should so long stand in the matter with your Honours, and make so many words, and so much ado with you, whom we ought to obey: howbeit there is no indifferency if they begin not; and surely we think it meet, that they should, for their parts, give us place.

Lich. Yea, that they should, and ought to do, where any indifferency is used.

Almer. We give you the place (do we not?) and deprive you not of the preheminence, because you are Bishops; therefore I pray you begin.

The Bishop. A goodly giving of place, I assure you: ye marry, ye gave place: such words they used, with more to do.

L. Keeper. If ye make this Assembly gathered in vain, and will not go to the matter, let us rise and depart.

Winch. Contented, let us be gone; for we will not in this point give over.

L. Keeper. Let us then break up, if you be thus minded. With these words the Bishops were straightway retired.

Winch. But then said the Lord Keeper: Let us see whether every one of you be thus minded. How say young Lord of Winchester, will you not begin to read your writing?

Winch. No surely, I am fully determined, and fully at a point therein: howsoever my brethren desire.

Lich. Then the Lord Keeper asked how the Bishop called, who fate next to Winchester in order. It was the Bishop of Exeter, who being inquired his mind herein answered that he was none of them. Then the Lord Keeper asked the other in order, and first Lincoln, who said he was of the same mind that Winchester was of: and likewise answered Lichfield, Coven. Cole, and Chesfer.

Chesfer. being asked his sentence, said, My Lords, I say not that I will not read it, if ye command us; but we ought not to do it: yet I desire your Honours not to take it as though I would not have read it. I mean not so.

L. Keeper. How say you to it, my Lord of Carle?

Carle. If they should not read theirs this day, so that our writing may be left read, so am I contented that ours shall be first read.

L. Keeper. So would ye make orders your selves, and appoint that we should spend one day in hearing you.

Almer. Then the Abbot of Westminster was asked his mind; who said, If it please your Honours, I judge that my Lords here say most on this point, that they first read theirs, and then the other answer: thereupon, there shall be no time given to them to speak, which my Lord milkeith.

L. Keeper. How can it otherwise be in talk appointed in such Assembly and Audience: think you that there can be continual answering one another? when should it after that have an end?

Lich. Coven. It must be so in disputation to seek out the truth.

L. Keeper. But how say my Lord Abbot, are you of the mind it shall be read?

Almer. Yea forthwith, my Lord, I am very well pleased withal. Harpsfield being inquired his mind, thought as the other did.

L. Keeper. My Lords, fith that ye are not willing, but refuse to read your writing after the order taken, we will break up and depart, and for that ye will not stay that we should hear you, you may perhaps shortly hear of us.

Thus

Annos 1558. Thus have we declared the order and manner of this Communication or Conference at Westminster, between these two parties, wherein if any Law or Order were broken, judge (good Reader) where the fault was, and consider what these Papists be, from whom if ye take away their Sword and Authority, you fee their cunning, how soon it lieth in the dust, or else why would they not abide the trial of writing? why would they, or durst they not stand to the order agreed upon? Whether should we favour or flatter them to be in them more, or both together? Who first being gently (as is said) and favourably required to keep the order appointed, they would not. Then being secondly (as appeared by the Lord Keepers words) pressed more earnestly, they neither regarding the Authority, &c. of that place, nor their own reputation, nor the credit of the cause, utterly refused that to do. And finally, being again particularly every of them apart distinctly by name required to understand their Opinions therein, they all favouring one (which was the Abbot of Westminster), having some more consideration of order and his duty of obedience (than the other) utterly and plainly denied to have their Book read, some of them as more earnestly than others, so also some more undirectedly and unreasonably than others. Whereupon giving first example of disorder, disobedience, and fall-will, as hath not been seen and suffered in such an honourable Assembly, being of the two Estates of this Realm, the Nobility and the Commons, besides the presence of the Queens Majesties most honourable Privy Council, the same Assembly was dissolved, and the party and self Christian purpose of the Queens Majesty made frustrate. And afterward, for the contempt so notoriously made, the Bishops of Winchester and Lincoln, having most obstinately both disobeyed common Authority, and varied manifestly from their own order, and especially Lincoln, who flouted more fully than the others, were committed to the Tower of London, and the rest (saving the Abbot of Westminster) flood bound to make daily their personal appearance before the Council, and not to depart the City of London and Westminster, until further order were taken with them for their disobedience and contempt.

Besides the former Protestation or Libel written and exhibited by the Protestants concerning the first Protestants, there was also another like writing of the said Protestants made of the second question, but not published, which if it come to our hand, we will likewise impart unto thee.

As these Bishops above-named were committed to the Tower, so Bona Bishop of London, about the same time was commanded to the Marshalsea, where he both in his blind blindness Hereford, and also in his deserved captivity, long remained, abiding the Queens pleasure. Gods pleasure, I beseech him, to be wrought on that person, that the Church of Christ flourish they can take or look for no goodness of that man to come, yet they may take of him and of other no more harm hereafter than they have done already. We all beseech thee this, O Lord eternal, Per Christum Dominum nostrum, Amen.

About this time, at the beginning of the flourishing Reign of Queen Elizabeth, was a Parliament summoned and holden at Westminster, wherein was much debating about matters touching Religion; and great study on both parts employed, the one to retain still, the other to impugn the Doctrine and Religion which before in Queen Marys time had been established. But especially here it is to be noted, that though there lacked no industry on the Papists side, to hold fast that which they most cruelly from time to time had studied, and by all means praed to come by; yet notwithstanding, such was the Providence of God in the testimony of that lack of the other Party, whom the Lord had taken away by death a little before, therefore that there were left, could do the left; and in very need, God be praised therefore, did nothing at all in effect. Although yet notwithstanding there lacked in them neither will nor labour to do what they

could, if their cruel ability there might have fired. But namely amongst all other, not only the industrious change of Dr. Story, but also his words in this Parliament are worthy to be known of Posterity: who like a furious and furious Champion of the Pope, blasphe declare himself how lully he was, and wharhe said and would do in his Masters quarrel, flamed not openly in the said Parliament House to brag out into such an impudent sort of words as was a wonder of all good ears to hear, and no less worthy of filibury.

The film of which his shameful talk was uttered to this effect: First, beginning with himself, he declared, That whereas he was noted commonly abroad, and declared, of Dr. Story to have been a great doer, and a letter of his late Sovereign that dead is, Queen Mary, were set forth in this Realm, he denied nothing the same, protesting moreover that he therein had done nothing, but that both his Confidence did lead him thereunto, and also his Commendation did well then command him, as now also doth to do the like, and more, in case he by the Queen were authorized likewise, and commanded therunto. Wherefore, as I see (saith he) nothing to be ashamed of, so less I be to be sorry for, but rather said that he was sorry for this, because he had done no more than he did, and that in executing those Laws they had not bent more vehement and severe. Wherein he said there was no default in him, but in them, whom he both oft and earnestly had exhorted to the same, being therefore not a little grieved with them, for that they laboured only about the young and little spirits and twigs, while they should have stricken at the roots, and clean have rooted it out. And concerning his persecuting and burning them, he denied not, but that he was once at the burning of an Earwig (for so he termed it at Usbridge, where he tolt a Fagot at his face as he was signing Plams, and for a Winebold burnt as a Usbridge) and said, that he was not a little to prick him with many other words of like effect. In the which words he named moreover Sir Philip Hoby, and another Knight of Kent, with such other of the richer and higher degree, whom his counsel was to pluck at, and to bring them under coron, wherein (saith he) if they had followed my advice, then had they done well and wisely. This, or much like was the effect of the shameless and tyrannical excuse of himself, more meet to speak with the voice of a Beast, than a Man.

Although in this Parliament some diversity there was of judgment and opinion between parties, yet notwithstanding, through the merciful goodness of the Lord, the true cause of the Gospel had the upper hand, the Lords hope was frustrated, and their rage abated, the order and proceedings of King Edwards time concerning Religion the Articles and bloody Statutes of Queen Mary repealed; briefly, the furious Fire-brands of cruel Persecution, which had consumed so many poor mens bodies, were now extinct and quenched.

Finally, the held Bishops were depofed, for that they refused the Oath in re-announcing the Pope, and not subscribing to the Queens just and lawful Titles. In whole rooms and places, first for Cardinal Pole succeeded Dr. Matthew Parker, Archbishop of Canterbury. In the place of Heath succeeded Dr. Young. Instead of Bona, Edmund Grindall was Bishop of London. For Hopson, Thurlby, Tonsall, Bates, Christenson, Per, Water, Morgan, Feafe, White, Ogilthorpe, &c. were used Dr. Parkhurst in Norwich, Dr. Cox in Ely, Fowd in Salisbury, Pilkenton in Duresham, Dr. Sandi in Worcester, Mr. Gwynn in Winchester, Beniam in Coventry and Lichfield, David in St. Davids, Ally in Exeter, Horne in Winchester, Story in Hereford, Bayn in Carlisle, & Bulingham in Lincoln, Scamler in Peterborough, Bartlet in Bath, Joff in Rochester, Barlo in Chichester, &c.

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wherever an Image to offend were erected, there should also of reason a godly and sincere Preacher be continually maintained: for it is reason that the remedy be as large as the offence, the medicine as general as the poyson, but that is not possible in the Realm of England that Images should be generally allowed, as reason and experience may teach.

As good Magistrates, which intend to banish all whoredoms, do drive away all naughty persons, specially out of such places as are suspected; even so Images, being called in the Prophets *Fornication and Adultery*, ought to be banished, and especially out of Churches, which is the most suspected place, and where the spiritual Fornication hath been most committed.

It is not expedient to allow and admit the thing which is hurtful to the greatest number, but in all Churches and Commonwealths the ignorant and weak are the greatest number, to whom Images are hurtful, and not profitable.

And where it is commonly alledged, That Images in Churches do stir up the mind to devotion, it may be answered, that contrariwise they do rather distract the mind from Prayer, hearing of Gods Word, and other godly Meditations, as we read, that in the Council Chamber of the *Laedemonians* no Picture or Image was suffered, lest in consultation of weighty matters the Commonwealth, their minds by the sight of the outward Image might be occasioned to be withdrawn, or to wander from the matter.

The experience of this present time doth declare that those parts of the Realm, which think and are persuaded that God is not offended by doing outward reverence to an Image, do most desire the restitution of Images, and have been most diligent to let them up again: Restoration therefore of them by common Authority shall confirm them more in their Error to the danger of their Souls, than ever they were before. For as one man writeth,

Nihil magis est certum, quam quod ex dubio fit certum. That is to say, Nothing is more certain or sure, than that which of doubtful is made certain.

The profit of Images is uncertain, the peril, by experience of all Ages and states of the Church (as afore) is most certain.

The benefit to be taken of them (if there be any) is very small; the danger in seeing of them, which is the danger of Idolatry, is the greatest of all other. Now to allow a most certain peril for an uncertain profit, and the greatest danger for the smallest benefit, in matters of Faith and Religion, is a tempting to God, and a grievous offence.

Probations out of the Fathers, Councils, and Historians.

FIRST, It is manifest, that in the Primitive Church Images were not commonly used in Churches, Oratories, and places of Assembly for Religion; but they were generally detested and abhorred, inasmuch that the want of Imagery was objected to the Christians for a Crime.

Origen reporteth, that *Celsus* objected the lack of Images, lib. 4. contra *Celsum*.

Ambrosius faith also, That the *Etruscans* objected the Christians that they had neither Altars nor Images.

Zepherus in his Commentary upon the Apology of *Tertullianus*, gathereth thus of *Tertullianus* words; *Quia licet perinde sit frigere pectus, nisi perpetuo illud tenemus: Christiani tunc temporis ad illud maxime statum sua ornamentis, &c.* That is to say, Which place of perfection were very cold, and to no purpose at all, except we hold this always. That Christians in those days did hate most of all Images with their trim decking and ornaments.

Irenaeus lib. 1. cap. 4. reproveheth the Heretics called *Gnosticks*, for that they carried about the Image of *Christ* made in *Pilate* time after his own proportion (which were much more to be esteemed, than any that can be made now) using also for declaration of their affection towards it, to let Garlands upon the Head of it.

Lactantius affirmeth plainly: *Non est dubium, quin religio nulla sit, ubi unquam simulacrum est: lib. Divina instit. 2. cap. 19.* That is to say, It is not to be doubted, that there is no Religion wherefore is any Image. If Christians then had used Images, they would not have made his Proposition too large.

S. Augustine De Civitate Dei, lib. 4. cap. 3. commendeth *Varro* the Roman in these words: *Quam Varro confisimur casum sine simulacris deorum religionem, qui non videtur quantum expugnare possit veritas?* That is to say, When as *Varro* thought Religion might be kept more purely without Images, who doth not see how near he came to the Truth? So that not only by *M. Varros* judgment, but also by *S. Augustines* approbation, the most pure and chaste observation of Religion, and nearest the Truth, is to be without Images.

The same *S. Augustine* in *Psalm* 113. hath these words: *Plus valent simulacra ad curandam infidelium animam, quam ad docendum:* That is to say, Images have more force to bough down and crook the silly fool, than to teach it.

And upon the same *Psalm* he moveth this question: *Quis pur, una quavis bestia sit non esse Deum quid videmus, cui ergo Spiritus Sanctus rursus monent eundem quod omnes sciunt?* That is to say, Every Child, yea every Beast knoweth that it is not God which they see, why then doth the Holy Ghost bid oft give warning to beware of that thing which all do know.

S. Augustines Answer.

Quoniam cum ponitur in Templis, & simul incipit adorari a multis, statim nescitur iordis illius esse deum. That is to say, For when they are set in Churches, and begin once to be worshipped of the Multitude or Common People, straightway springeth up a most filthy affection of Error.

This plot of *S. Augustines* doth well open how weak a reason it is to say, Images are a thing indifferent in Chambers and in Churches. For the alteration of the place, manner, and other circumstances, doth alter oftentimes the nature of the thing. It is lawful to buy and sell in the Market, but not so in Churches. And therefore faith *S. Paul*, *Annon habetis domos ad edendum ac bibendum? An Ecclesiam Dei contemnitis?* That is to say, Have you not Houses to eat and drink in? Do you contemn the Church of God?

Many other actions there be which are lawful and honest in private places, which are neither comely nor honest, nor only in Churches, but also in other Assemblies of honest People.

Tertullianus faith, he used sometimes to burn Frankincense in his Chamber, which was then used of Idolaters, and is yet in the Romish Churches, but he joyntly withal, *Sed non eodem ritu, nec eodem habitu, nec eodem apparatusque agitur ad idola:* That is to say, But not after such a Rite or Ceremony, nor after such a fashion, nor with such preparation or sumptuousness, as it is done before the Idols.

So that Images placed in Churches, and set in honorable place of estimation, as *S. Augustines* faith, and especially over the Lords Table, which is done (using the words of *Tertullianus*) *eodem ritu, & eodem habitu*, that is after the same manner and fashion which the Papists did use, especially after so long continuance of abuse of Images, and so many being blinded with superstitious opinions towards them, cannot be counted a thing indifferent, but a most certain ruin of many Souls.

Epiphanius in his Epistle to *John* Bishop of *Jerusalem* (which Epistle was read out of the Greek by *S. Jerome*, being a likelihood that *Jerom* misliked not the Doctrine of the same) doth write a fact of his own, which doth most clearly declare the judgment of that notable learned Bishop concerning the use of Images, his words are these: *Quam visum ad velle quod dicitur Abrahama, ut impingeret in pretorio lucernam ardentem, & interrogasset qui locis esset, didicisse quod esse Ecclesiam, & intrasse ut orarem: inventi vero oculum pendens in foribus ejusdem Ecclesie tinctum aqua*

depictum,

depictum, & habens imaginem quasi Christi ocul sanctis oculis, cum sita manus ejus fuit. Can we see how *Epiphanius* in *Ecclesia Christi contra auctoritatem Scripturarum*, homines pendere imaginem, scilicet illud, &c. Et paulo post. Et praecipue in *Ecclesia Christi* ipsi ipsi, *ipsi velle contra religionem nostram venient non appendi, &c.* That is to say, When I came to a Village called *Abrahama*, and saw there, as I judged by a Candle burning, and enquiring what place it was, and learning that it was a Church, and had entered into the same to pray, I found there a Vale or Cloth hanging at the door of the same Church, dyed and painted, having on it the Image of *Christ* as it were, or of some Saint (for I remember not well whole it was.) Then when I saw this, that in the Church of *Christ*, against the Authority of the Scriptures, the Image of a man did hang, I cut it in pieces, &c. And commanded that such manner of Vails or Cloths, which are contrary to our Religion, be not hanged in the Church of *Christ*.

Out of this place of *Epiphanius* divers notes are to be observed.

FIRST, That by the Judgment of this ancient Father, to permit Images in Churches is against the Authority of the Scriptures, meaning against those few Commandments, *Thou shalt not make to thy self any graven Image, &c.*

Secondly, That *Epiphanius* doth reject not only graven and molten, but also painted Images: forasmuch as he cut in pieces the Image painted on a Vail hanging at the Church door; what would he have done, if he had found it over the Lords Table?

Thirdly, That he saith not the Image of *Christ*: for no doubt that Image is most perilous in the Church of all other.

Fourthly, That he did not only remove it, but with a vehemency of zeal cut it in pieces, following the example of the good King *Ezechias*, who brake the brazen Serpent, and burnt it to ashes.

Last of all, That *Epiphanius* thinketh it the duty of vigilant Bishops to be careful, that no such kind of painted Images be permitted in the Church.

Serenus Bishop of *Majella* broke down Images, and destroyed them when he did fee them begin to be worshipped, *Greg. in regis. epist. 129.*

Experience of the times since hath declared, whether of these two Sentences were better. For since *Gregorius* his time, the Images standing in the West-Church, hath been overthrown with Idolatry, notwithstanding his other most doctrine: Whereas if *Serenus*'s judgment had universally taken place, no such thing had happened. For if no Images had been suffered, none could have been worshipped: and consequently, no Idolatry committed by them.

To rectify the Precept of Histories and Councils a bout the matter of Images, it would require a long Discourse, but it shall be sufficient here briefly to touch a few.

IT is manifest to them that read Histories, that not only Emperors, but also divers and sundry Councils in the East Church have condemned and abolished Images both by Decrees and Examples. *Concilium Niceanum*, l. 9. c. 9. *Ep. lib. Augustinus* habet verba transscripta. *Valens & Theodosius Augusti Imperatores praefecto pretorio ad hunc modum scripserunt. Quam sit nobis cura diligens in rebus omnibus superius nominis religionem tuam: Signum Salutaris Christi nomen quidem sanctum colimus, sed idola aliorum materia fingere, inculpare, et pingere, sed quocumque reperitur loco soli jubemus, gravissima pena cum multando qui contrarium decreta nostra, & imperio quicquam tentaverint.* That is to say, *Petrus Crinitus* in his book of honest Discipline, Book 9. Chap. 9. wrote out of the Emperors Books these words: *Valens et Theodosius Imperatores wrote to the High Marshal or Lieutenant in this sort. Whereas we are very careful that the Religion of Almighty God should be in all things kept, We permit no man to call, grave, or paint the Image of our Saviour Christ, either in colour, stone, or other matter; but whatsoever is so found, we com-*

mand it to be taken away, punishing them most grievously that shall attempt any thing contrary to our Decrees and Empire.

Leo the Third, a man commended in Histories for his excellent virtues and godliness, who (as is judged of some men) was the Author of the Book *De re militari*, that is, Of the Part of War, being translated out of the Greek by Sir *John Choisey*, and dedicated to *K. Henry* the Eighth, your Highnesses Father, by Publick Authority commanded abolishing of Images; and in *Constantinople* called all the Images to be gathered together on a heap, and burned them unto ashes.

Epiphanius the Fifth his Son, assembled a Council of the Bishops of the East-Church, in which Council it was decreed as followeth. *It was lawful for them that believe in God through Jesus Christ; to have any Images, either of the Creator, or of any Creatures set up in Temples to be worshipped, but rather that all Images by the Laws of God, and for the avoiding of offences, ought to be taken out of Churches.* Which Decree was executed in all places where any Images were, either in *Greece* or in *Asia*. But in all these times, the Bishops of *Rome* rather maintaining the Authority of *Gregory*, weighing like Christian Bishops the peril of the Church, always in their Assemblies allowed Images.

Not long after, the Bishop of *Rome*, praefecting with *Tharastus* Patriarch of *Constantinople*, obtained of *Irene* the Emperess, her Son *Constantine* being then young, that a Council was called at *Nice*, in the which the Popes Legates were Presidents, which appeared well by their Legates: for in that Council it was decreed, That Images should not only be permitted in Churches, but also worshipped; which Council was confuted by a Book written by *Carolus Magnus* the Emperour, calling it a foolish and an arrogant Council.

Soon after this Council, arose a sharp contention between *Irene* the Emperess, and her Son *Constantine* the Sixth, the Emperour, who destroyed Images. And in the end, as the had before wickedly burned the bones of her Father in Law, *Constantine* the Fifth, so afterward unmanly the put out the eyes of her Son *Constantine* the Sixth.

About which time, as *Eusebius* his Son, the Sun was darkened most terribly for the space of seventeen days, God shewing, by that dreadful sign, how much he disliked those kind of proceedings.

To be short, there was never thing that made more division, or brought more mischief into the Church, than the Controversie of Images: by reason whereof, not only the East-Church was divided from the Westland never since perfectly reconciled, but also the Empire was cut asunder and divided, and the Gate opened to the Saracens and Turks to enter and overcome a great piece of Christendom. The fault whereof most justly is to be ascribed to the Patrons of Images, who could not be contented with the example of the Primitive Church, being most simple and sincere, and most agreeable to the Scripture;

For as *Tertullian* faith, *Quid primum erroris, et posterius adulterium:* That is to say, What as is left, that is true, and that that is later is counterfeit. But with all extremity maintained the use of Images in Churches, whereof no profit nor commodity did ever grow to the Church of God. For it is evident, that infinite millions of Souls have been cast into eternal damnation by the occasion of Images used in place of Religion, and no History can record that ever any one soul was won unto *Christ* by having of Images. But left it might appear that the West-Church had always generally retained and commended Images, it is to be noted, that in a Council holden in *Spain*, called *Concilium Elberionum*, the use of Images in Churches was clearly prohibited in these form of words: *Placuit in Ecclesia picturas esse non debere, ne quod colitur aut adoratur in parietibus depingatur.* That is to say, We decreed, that Pictures ought not to be in Churches, lest that be painted upon the walls which is worshipped or adored.

But this notwithstanding experience hath declared, that neither assembling in Councils, neither Writings, Preachings, Decrees, making of Laws, preferring of Punitments, hath helped against the use, to the which Idolatry hath been committed, nor against Idolatry itself. Images

Item 4

*The third appearance of Thomas Hutton before the said
Archbishop of Canterbury.*

THe said *Thomas Hinton* that the day prefined, made his personal appearance before the Bishop at the place appointed, to whom the Bishop miniftered certain Articles, and Interrogatories to him: to anſwer unto which, *Hinton* ſaid he ſwear, to anſwer truly and unfeignedly, to all ſuch things, and every part of them. The ſaid unto him, *Hinton* ſaid he ſwear, ſaying, I ſwear, that I will ſwear Gods Laws and good Conſcience for any man to ſwear to his own blood, for ſo he ſaid, he ſweareth to himſelf, and become guilty of his own Death. But, notwithstanding the ſaid ſwear, he ſaid to ſwear to another, yet he anſwered the Interrogatory and directly to every particular Aſſertion, and Interrogatory propounded unto him, ſaying, he was as ſincerely to their contentation, him, as he was to the great glory of God, and comfort of his church, to do his duty, and to ſerve the ſervice of the goſpel. This done, the Biſhop brake the ſaid ſwear again, ſaying for that time, and commanded him to be ſtored upon to and appear before him again further, as ſhould be demanded of him, growing him liberty withal to do as he will, or ſubſcribe from his former anſwers, or elſe utterly to ſwear the ſame.

The fourth appearance of Thomas Hitton before the said Archbishop of Canterbury.

[illegible]

The fifth appearance of Thomas Hutton before the said Archbishop of Canterbury.

[illegible]

means attempted to draw this poor man from Christ and his Truth, the Bishop, feeling that he could not prevail, determined to fend him to the Bishop of Rochester, and so did, who assayed by all means possible to remove him from his former professed truth. But seeing all his endeavors frustrate, and that he profited nothing, he signified the same to the Archbishop, and withal both sent himself unto him, and carried the poor Prisoner with him, thither also.

In the afternoon of the same day, the said Archbishop of Canterbury, the Bishopp of Rochester, and divers other assistants, called the said poor man before them again, and caused all the former Articles, Interrogatories and Demands to be read unto him in English, to the end he should either have revoked the faith, or else retracted them altogether, using both threats and fair promises to the performance thereof, but all in vain: for by his Faith was built upon the Rock Christ Jesus, and therefore unable to be removed with any forms of persecution whatsoever.

In fine, the Archbishop (with mature judgment you must believe) consulting with the Bilshop of *Rocheſter* and other, proceeded to his condemnation, reading the Bloody Sentence of Death againſt him, and ſo was he, being condemned, delivered to the ſecular power, who carried him to the Priſon, and ſoon after he was burned for the Teſtimony of Jeſus Chriſt, as you may ſee more at large in his ſtory, for whoſe conſtancy in the truth, the everlaſting God be praiſed, Amen.

A Note of a certain good man troubled in Bulloyn the
first year of King Edward the sixth, for the Gospel.

[illegible]

Q.Mary

A Note of William Hasten.

[illegible]

(Belief) he flicth on the Right hand of God the Father, and from thence that Body shall come as the Day of the last Judgment, and shall be the Judge of all the world as the mean while I believe, that (the Sacrament duly ministered according to Christs Institution) all the faithful Receivers of this Sacrament, lifting up the eyes of their mind into Heaven where Christs Body is, they do receive the same Body which he sold for us, and gave for us, the very Body of our Saviour Jesus Christ; yea, and I believe further, that Christ concerning his Divine Power, or the Power of his Godhead; is whersoever two or three be gathered together in his Name; that he is in the midst even amongst them; and that he is so with his Church, that whosoever shall be baptized in his Name, shall find heads together and had privy talk: after that two of them feed me so, that it was rank Heretic that I did believe it to remain bare Bread after the Diet had consecrated it; and not believing it to be the very Body of Christ, was unwilling to be burned: Then said I earnestly, that whosoever shall be baptized in his Name, shall be Abjct in your fight, and he that is most bufile among you to feek my Blood, but that my Blood shall be required at his or their hands? Then had they privy talk together again, after the which my Lord said unto me, that whosoever shall be baptized in his Name, shall be a Man of War, and have skill in such bufile Mytheries, wherofore thine Accusers say, that thou must suffer here as an Heretic, that all the rest of the Garrison may beware by thee that they fall not into the like Heretic, and so call away themselves. Then said I, I appeared to you as a man of War, who was with me, and I said my Lord, I am very glad that thou hast appeared to the Council of England, for there are Learned men and Divines that can skill of such matters, thither shalt thou be sent ere it be long. Then was I carried to Sir *John devereux* House, and having Pen and Ink, I wrote down the things that I saw, which were the first points of Religion which you have heard before in my Examination: then on the Morrow, being *Thursday*, the 15th of *April*, I was brought to the Prison in the Town, called the *Marshalls*, where I was very gently used: for a good Gentleman, one Mr. *Waglan* was appointed to be my keeper, who with me was apprehended, I had not so much as one penny to help my self with, for we had been long unpay: furthermore I thought in that Town of War, that there were very few or none that favoured the Word of God: for I looked for no help there, but to be hated and scorned: but I was surprised to find that there were three there that had any love to the Gospel till I was into Prison, and then there came very many Soldiers unto me, and I was very much troubled, and gave me Money, so that I had as good as three Pounds given me in a small time: then I was in Prison, the 14 day of the month of *May*, the first day of the month of *June*, and the 1st of *July*, one other man brought me to *London* even the same day, being *Sunday* at Night and the 15th day of the *May*. There was a great talk over all the City of one Doctor *Smith* that recanted that day, they brought me to the *Marshalls* and there I met him, and he no more than that which he brought me there, but Mr. *Hughes* was a faithful Minister of Jesus Christ, that gave me warning before of all this trouble, came from *Bullyn* to *London*, causing my Articles to be seen, so that by his painful diligence to the Council for me, after that I had been there a little more than one month, I was discharged unto my friends, and he bid get me home to *Bullyn* to my living again.

This was laid in *Queen Mariæ* Cloſet upon her Desk,
againſt her coming unto her Prayers.

O Lovesom Rose most redolent,
Of fading Flowers most fresh :
In England pleasant is thy scent,
For now thou art Peerlesse.

B b b b 2 16

Anno
1558.

This Rose which beareth such a smell,
Doth represent our Queen.

O listen, that I may you tell
Her colours fresh and green.

The Love of God within her heart,
Shall beautifie her Grace:

The fear of God on the others part,
Shall stablish her in place.

This Love and Fear her Colours are,
Wherby if she be known;

She may compare both high and far,
Unable to be overbrow.

The Love of God it will her cause,
Obtaineth if it be;

To have respect unto his Laws,
And hate Idolatry.

If that she have the Fear of God,
And be thereto right bent;

She will do that hee her bids,
And not her own intent.

O Noble Queen take heed, take heed,
Beware of your own intent:

Look ere you leap, then shall you speed,
Haste maketh many fust.

Remember Saul that Noble King,
What shame did him befall:

Because that unto the Lords bidding
He had no lust at all.

The Lord hath bid you shall love him,
And other gods despise:

Alas take heed, do not begin
To place Idolatry.

What greater Disobedience
Against God may be wrought;

Than this: To move men Conscience
To worship things of nought?

What greater folly can you invent
Than such men to obey?

How can you force your own intent
Not forsaking your own decay?

And whereto first ye should maintain
Your Realm in perfect Unity:

To rent the People bearts in twain
Through false Idolatry.

Is this the way to get you fame,
Is this to get you love?

Is this to purchase you a Name,
To fight with God above?

Is this your care to set up Mass,
Your Subjects Souls to fry?

Is this your study no more to pass,
Gods People to annoy?

Is this to Reign, to serve your will,
Good Men in Bonds to keep;

And to exalt such as be evil,
And for your Grace unmeet?

Such as made that fond Divorce,
Your Mother to deface;

Are nighty in power and force,
And most bounden unto your Grace.

With yet take heed of bad counsell,
Let Gods Word bear the Bell:

If you will reign, learn to know Christ,
At David doth you tell.

What great presumption doth appear,
Thus in a week or twaine;

To work more shame than in seven years
Can be redress again?

All is done without a Law,
For will doth work in place:

And thus all Men may see and know
The weakness of your cause.

That miserable making Mass,
Which all good Men do hate;

Is now by you brought up again,
The root of all Debate.

Your Ministers that love Gods Word,
They feel this bitter Rod;

Who are robbed from house and goods,
As though there were no God.

And yet you would seem merciful

In the midst of Tyranny,
And bely, whereto you maintain
Most vile Idolatry.

For fear that thou shouldst hear the Truth,
True Preachers may not speak;

But on good Prophets you make truth,
And unkindly them intrac.

Him have you made Lord Chancellor,
Who did your Blood most stain:

That he may suck the Righteous blood,
As he was wont again.

Those whom our late King did love,
You do them most disdain:

These things do manifestly prove
Your colours to be but vain.

Gods Word you cannot abide,
But as your Prophets tell:

In this you may be well compared
To wicked Israhel.

Who had 400 Prophets false.
And fifty on a rout:

Through whose false preaching poor Ely
Was chased in and out.

Gods Prophets you do evil intent,
Balls Priests defend your Grace:

Thus did the Jews put Christ to death,
And let go Barabbas.

Hath God thus high exalted you,
And set you on a Throne:

That you should prison and deface
His flock that maketh mean?

The Lord which doth his flock defend,
As the Apple of an eye;

Of this full quickly will make an end,
And banish Cruelly.

Therefore my counsel pray you take,
And think thereof no more:

You shall find it is the best counsel,
To keep since you were born.

Put away blind affection,
Let Gods Word be Umpire.

To try our true Religion,
From this evil-favoured gear.

The Instruction of King Edward the Sixth,
given to Sir Anthony Seyntleger, Knight
of his Privy-Chamber, being of a cor-
rupt judgement of the Eucharist. Upon
this saying of an ancient Doctor of the
Catholick Church.

Dicimus Eucharistiam Panem vocari in Scri-
pturis, Panis in quo gratia actus fuit, &c.

IN Eucharist then there is Bread,
Wherein I do consent:

Then with Bread are our Bodies fed,
And further what is meant?

I say that Christ in Flesh and Blood
Is there essentially.

Unto our Soul a special food,
Taking it spiritually.

And this Transubstantiation I
Believe as I have read:

That Christ Sacramentally
Is there in form of Bread.

St. Austin saith, the Word doth come
Unto the Element:

And there is made, be faith in sum,
A perfect Sacrament.

The Element doth then remain,
Or else must needs enfee:

St. Austins words be nothing plain,
Nor cannot be found true.

For if the Word, as he doth say,
Come to the Element:

Then is not the Element away,
But hideth there want.

For whose eateth that lively food,
And hath a perfect Faith,

Receiveth Christs Flesh and Blood,
For Christs himself so faith.

Not

Anno
1558.

Not with our Teeth bite Flesh to tear,
Nor take Blood for our drink:

Too great an absurdity it were,
So grossly far to think.

For we must eat him spiritually;
If we be spiritual:

And whole eat him carnally,
Thereby shall have a fall.

For he is now a Spiritual meat,
And spiritually we must eat.

That Spiritual meat spiritually eat,
And leave our Carnal left.

Thus by the Spirit, I spiritually
Believe, say what you will.

None other Transubstantiation I
Believe of the Eucharist.

But that there is both Bread and Wine,
Which we see with our eye:

Yet Christ is here by power Divine
To those that spiritually

Do eat that Bread and drink that Cup,
Effectually it begets:

As Judas did, which eat that Sop,
Not judging it aright.

For I was taught not long ago,
I should learn to be Spirit:

And he the Counsel, flesh alone,
For it doth not profit.

God save him that teaching me taught,
For I thereby did win.

To put from me that Carnal thought,
That I should be carnal.

For I believe Christ Corporally
In Heaven doth keep his place:

And yet Christ Sacramentally
Is here with us by Grace.

So that in this high Admyr
We must eat Spiritually

To keep his Death in Memory,
Lest we should it forget.

This do, I say, this have I said,
This saying say will I:

This saying though I once denied,
I will no more to die.

F. I. N. I. S.

This young Prince became a perfect School-Master
unto old erroneous Men, for as no Divine could amend
him, and therefore this place is worthy of perpetual
memory to his immortal fame and glory.

When Queen Mary came to her reign, a Friend of
Mr. Seyntleger charged him with this Pamphlet.
Well, quoth he, content your self. I perceive that a
Man may have too much of Gods Blessing. And
even here Peter began to deny Christ, such is men
frailty.

Finit quod W.M. as it is supposed.

A Note of a Letter of one John Melvin, Prisoner in
Newgate.

Christi Electis salutem, Elee.

Hec seculum fecit Afflictiorem propter multos; futurum
autem propter paucos.

The Almighty Lord hath made this World for many, but
the World or life to come but for a few.

Most certain it is dearly Beloved, that Christs Elec-
tion is but few in comparison of that great number
which live after the flesh, loving this present evil
world, deny God in word and deed, whose eyes are
blinded, and their hearts hardened.

Most certain it is also, that our Saviour Jesus Christ
hath and knoweth his own, whose Names are written
in the Book of Life, redeemed with the most precious
Blood of our Saviour Jesus Christ. So that the eternal
Father knoweth them that be his.

And doth
know
him
his
own

And doth
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The Almighty and Eternal God grant, that we may
have the testimony of our Conscience, and the Spirit
of God to bear record with our Spirits, that we be his
elect Children, walking in the Spirit; not fulfilling the
lusts of the flesh, but as Christs Members, having Christ
Jesus fixed before our eyes, he being to us the true Way,
the infallible Verity, and the eternal Life. Christ hath
given us example, let us follow him as dear Children, for
Gods delight is to behold his Saints which be in the
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oblation unto God either by Prayer, or any other deed of Charity, not having their Neighbours reconciled. Reconciling is as much to say, as to restore the Neighbour unto Charity, which by thy words or deeds is moved, or galled: then if it be so that thou hast spoken to, or galled thee, then if it be so that thou hast spoken to, or galled thee, whereby he is moved to or wrath, thou must lay down thy Oblation. Oblations be prayers, alms-deeds, or any work of Charity; these be called obligations to God. Lay down therefore these obligations unto thy Neighbour, and confess thy fault unto him, declaring thy mind, that if thou hast offended him, thou art glad and willing to make him amends, as far forth as thy words and substance will extend, requiring him by thy words to do the same. Thou art sorry in thy mind not to take it at the world. Thou art sorry in thy mind that thou shouldst be occasion of his offending. What manner of Card is this will come say? Why? What have I to do with my Neighbours or Brothers malice? as Cain said, Have I the keeping of my Brother, or shall I answer for him and for his faults? This were no reason. As for my self, I thank God, I am no man malice nor displeasure, if other men be any, at their own peril be it. Let every man answer for himself. Nay Sir, not so, for you may understand by this Card: for it faith; if thy Neighbour hath any thing, any malice against thee, through this occasion, lay even down, faith Christ, this obligation. Pray unto me, do no good deeds for me, but go first unto thy Neighbour, and bring him again unto my flock, which hath forsaken the same through thy naughty words, mocks, frolics, or disdainful Countenance, and so forth: and then come and offer this obligation, then thy devotion, then do thy alms-deeds, then pray, if thou wilt have me hear thee. O good Lord, this is an hard reckoning, that I must go and seek him out that is offended with me, before I pray or do any good deed. I cannot go unto him. Peradventure he is an hundred miles from me, beyond the seas, or else I cannot tell where, if he were here nigh, I would with all my heart go unto him, This is a lawful excuse before God on this fashion, That thou wouldst in thy heart be glad to reconcile thy Neighbour, if he were present, and that thou thinkst in thy heart, whenever thou shalt meet with him, go unto him and require him charitably to forgive thee, and so never intend to come from him, until the time that he doth depart one from the other true Brethren in Christ. Yet peradventure there be some in the world that be so devilish and so hard-hearted, that they will not apply in any condition unto Charity. For altho, that that lieth in thee by all charitable means to bring him to unity: if he will in no wise apply thereto, thou mayst be sorrowful in thy heart, that by this occasion that man or woman continueth in such a damnable state: this notwithstanding, if thou do the best that lieth in thee to reconcile him, according to some Doctors mind, thou art discharged towards God. Nevertheless, St. Augustin doubteth in this case, whether thy obligations, prayers, or good deeds, shall avail thee before God, or no, until thy Neighbour come again to good faith, whom thou hast brought out of the very Doth this Noble Doctor doubt therein? what aileth unto be bold and count it but a small fault or none, to bring another man out of patience for every trifling that standeth not with our mind? You may see what a grievous thing it is to bring another man out of patience, that peradventure you cannot bring in again with all the goods that you have: for surely after the opinion of great wise men, friendship once broken will be never well made whole again. Wherefore you shall hear what Christ faith unto such persons; Saith Christ, I came down into this world, and to seek out me bitter passion for mans sake, by the merits whereof I intended to make unity and peace in mankind, to make man Brother unto me, and so to expell the dominion of Satan the Devil, which worketh nothing else but dissension: and yet now there be a great number of you that have professed my name, and say you be Christian men, which do rebel against my purpose and mind. I go about to make unity, and you go about to break the same, and kill my flock. How dareth thou (saith Christ) presume to come unto my Altar, unto my Church, into my presence, to make oblation unto me, that takest on thee to spoil my Lame? I go about like a

good Shepherd to gather them together: and thou doest the contrary, evermore ready to divide and loath them. Who made thee so bold to meddle with my filly beasts, which I brought to dearly with my precious Blood? I warn thee out of my light, come not in my Presence, I refuse thee and all thy works, except thou do and bring home again my Lambs which thou hast lost: wherefore, if thou dost intend to do me no mine, lay even down by and by thine Oblation, and come no further toward mine Altar, but go and seek them without any questions, as it becometh a true and faithful servant. A true and faithful servant, whenever his Master commandeth him to do any thing, he maketh no Ropes nor questions, but goeth forth with a good mind: and it is not unlike he continuing in such a good mind and will, shall well overcome all dangers and frowns whatever besides him in his journey, and bring to pass effectually his Masters will and pleasure. In the contrary, a foolish servant, when his Master commandeth him to do any thing, by and by he will ask questions, where, when, which way, and so forth, and so he putteth every thing in doubt, that although both his errand and way be never so plain, yet by his untoward and foolish behaviour, his Masters commandment is either undone quite, or else he doeth it, he shall stand to no good purpose. Go now forth with the good servant, and ask no such questions, and put no doubts, be not ashamed to do thy Masters and Lords will and commandment. Go, as I said, unto thy Neighbour that is offended by thee, and require him (as is aforesaid) whom thou hast left by thy unkind words, by thy frolics, mockes, and other disdainful words and behaviours, and be not nice to ask of him the cause why he is displeased with thee, require of him Charitably to remit, and cease not till you both depart one from the other true Brethren in Christ. Do not like the foolish servant, whose Masters meadow with cattles and fowls, offendeth, and give him a penworth of ale, or a baiter, and so make him a fair Countenance, thinking that by thy drink or dinner he will then be like Countenance. I grant you may both think that make good cheer, and yet there may remain a bag of rusty malice, twenty years hence, in thy Neighbours Bosom; when he departeth from thee with a good Countenance, thou thinkst all is well then. But now I tell thee it is worse then it was, for by such cloaked Charity, where thou doest offend before Christ but once, thou hast offended twice herein: for now thou goest about to give Christ a mock, if he would take it of thee: Thou thinkst to blind thy Master Christs commandment. Beware, do not so, for at length he will overmatch thee, and take thee tardy whatsoever thou be, and so as I said, it should be better for thee not to do his message on this fashion, for it will stand thee in no purpose. What? some will say, I am fere he loveth me well enough. He speaketh fair to my face, yet for all that thou mayst be deceived. It proveth not true love in a man to speak fair. If he love thee with his mind and heart, he loveth thee with his eyes, with his tongue, with his feet, with his hands, and his Body; for all these parts of a mans Body be obedient to the will and mind. He loveth thee with his eyes that looketh cheerfully on thee, when thou meetest with him, and is glad to see thee proper and do well. He loveth thee with his tongue, that speaketh well by thee behind thy back, or giveth thee good Counsel. He loveth thee with his feet, that is willing to go to help thee out of trouble and business. He loveth thee with his hands, that will help thee in time of necessity, by giving thee alms-deeds, or with any other occupation of the law. He loveth thee with his Body, that will labour with his Body, or put his Body in danger to do good for thee, or to deliver thee from adversity, and so forth, with the other members of his Body. And if thy Neighbour will do according to these sayings, then thou mayst think that he loveth thee well, and thou in like wise oughtest to declare and open thy love unto thy Neighbour in like fashion, or else you be bound one to reconcile the other, till this perfect love be ingendered amongst you. It may fortune thou wilt say, I am content to do the best for my Neighbour, that I can saving my self harmless. I promise thee Christ will not leave this excuse; for he himself suffered harm for our

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our fakes, and for our Salvation was put to extreme death. I wis if it had pleased him, he might have fared us and never felt pain; but in suffering pains and death, he did give us example and teach us how we should do one for another, as he did for us all. For, as he faith him self, he that will be mine, let him deny himself, and follow me in bearing my Cross and suffering my pains. Wherefore we must needs suffer pain with Christ, to do our Neighbour good, as well with the Body and all his members, as with heart and mind.

Now I trust you wot what your Card meaneth, let us see how that we can play with the same. Whenever I shall happen you to go and make your Oblation unto God, ask of your felves this question, Who art thou the answer as you know is, I am a Christian man. Then you must again ask unto your self, What Christ requireth of a Christian man? by and by call down your trump, your heart, and look first of one Card, then of another. The first Card telleth thee thou shalt not be angry, thou shalt not be out of patience. This done, thou shalt look if there be any more Cards to take up, and if thou look well, thou shalt see another Card of the same face, wherein thou shalt know that thou art bound to Reconcile thy Neighbour. Then call thy trump upon them both, and gather them all three together, and do according to the verue of thy Cards, and surely thou shalt not lose. Thou shalt first kill the great Turke, and discomfit and thrust them down. Thou shalt again, fetch home Christs Sheep that thou hast lost, whereby thou shalt go both patiently, and with a quiet mind unto the Church, and make thy Oblation unto God, and then without doubt he will hear thee. But yet Christ will not accept our Oblation (although we be in patience, and have reconciled our Neighbour) if that our Oblation be made of unkind words, of mercy, which you are bound to keep: you must have ever good respect unto the best and worstest words toward God, to be done first and with more efficacy, and the other to be done secondarily. Thus if you do with the other that I have spoken before, you may come according to the verue of your Cards, and offer your Obligations unto our Lord Jesus Christ, who will both hear and accept them to your everlasting joy and glory, to the which he bring us, and all those whom he suffered death for, Amen.

A Note of William Gie.

On William Gie, Servant with Master Revest Merchant, brought a Bible and Service Book of Richard Waterlon, who then dwelt with Master Dunsin in Pauls Church-yard, and one Spelman bound the Book: and when the said Gie, had acquired for the said Richard to have his Book at Dunsin, was made that he was not within, and so the said Gie went his way to Spelman for the Book; and because he found it not done, he left it there, and immediately farch was made in Spelman house, and the said Bible and Service Book was found and carried to Borer then Bishop of London. He having the Books, commanded Spelman for the binding thereof to Lollards Tower; and as Clang went for the key thereof Spelman conveyed himself away. After that Waterlon and Gie being apprehended by Robin Calin, John Hill, and John Avelin, and being two days in the Counter, were brought before Borer and other Commissioners. Being examined, Doctor Spelman demanded Gie; Wherefore, he brought the Bible? He answered, to have God and what. Then said Borer; Our Lady Mattins would ferve a Christian man to Serve God. The Bible, said Story, would breed Heresies; a Bible Bible were more fit for thee. So they concluded that either of them should have forty stripes lacking one, and Borer said it was the law. And they said to Waterlon, if he would pay forty pound, he should be released of his stripes: at length they came to 10. pound, and when they few he would not, they made a Warant to Master Grafton, and sent Waterlon and Gie to Bridewell to be beaten upon the Crook. And because the matter should not be flightly handled, Story was sent with them to see it done. Gie being whipped upon the Crook, intercession was made that he might be forgiven part of his penance.

A Note

A Note of Michaela Wife.

M^{ichaela} Wife aforementioned, being Prisoner in *Witchell* for Religion, reformed daily from the Prison to her Husbands house, and returned again, keeping Faith and promise. And her Husband threatning fearful, the would comfort him, flying the came not to trouble him, neither should be a further trouble by her. Wherefore the would will him to be of good cheer, for her coming was of good will to feed him and her Children, and not to bring them into trouble, but to shew her duty therein while the night have liberty.

A Note of John Spicer.

Iⁿ Queen *Maries* time there was one *John Spicer*, of whom mention is made before, he being at the Stake ready to give his life for the Truth, a Bag of Gunpowder was brought him by his Son. And another landing by (one named *Master Beckingham*) took the Gunpowder of his Son, and put it under the Girdle of the said Spicer, and exhorted him to be strong in the Lord; also divers of the Sheriffs Servants comforted him in like manner, and desired him not to faint. Unto whom Spicer answered? Doubt you not of me (faith he) my Soul is quiet; but be ye strong and stand fast in the Lord Jesus, and commit your selves to him in the confession of his holy name, and profession of his Truth.

A Note of Mandrel.

M^{andrel} standing at the Stake, as is mentioned before, Doctor *Officer* the Chancellor spake to him, willing him to yield to the Doctors, who many hundred years had taught otherwise then he doth believe, &c. To whom *Mandrel* answered; *Master Chancellor* (said he) trouble me with none of your Doctors whatso- ever they say; but bring me the book of God, the old testament and the New, and I will answer you. What sayest thou *Mandrel* (quoth he) by the Saints in the Church, the Image of our Lady, of the Crucifix and other holy Saints? to be they not necessary, &c. Yes, Mr. Chancellor (said he) very necessary to roast a shoulder of Mutton. Then Doctor *Billing* a Prier once, standing by, said; *Master Chancellor* (quoth he) hear how these Heretics speak against the Crucifix and the holy Cross, and yet the holy Cross is mentioned in all the Tongues, both Hebrew, Greek, and Latin. For in Latin it is called *T* in Greek *Tau*, &c. Whereupon one *Thomas Gifford*, a Merchant of *Tow*, standing by, said; Ah merciful Lord (said he) is not this a marvellous matter for a poor man thus to be charged, and put to the pains of fire for *Tau*?

When *Mandrel* and *Spicer* were examined before the Chancellor, the Chancellor called them *heretics*; Come on, said he, *Mandrel* these Heretics. Thou art by thy occupation a Bricklayer: Yes, that I am. And can sing in the Quire: Yes, that I can, faith he. And can play on the Organs. True, faith he. Tell them, then, the Chancellor, and thou shalt married this poor man, and shalt taught him all these Heretics. No, *Master Chancellor* (quoth he) I have not taught him, but I have read him. He is able, thanks be to God, to teach both you and me.

A Note of Elizabeth Pepper.

E^{lizabeth} Pepper before mentioned, when the was burned at *Stratford*, was eleven weeks gone with Child, as the then testified to one *Bijones* Wife, who then unloaded her Neckcloth; and moreover, when she was asked, why she did not tell them, answered; Why (quoth she) they knew it well enough. Oh, such are the bloody hearts of this cruel generation, that no occasion can fly them from their malicious murdering of the Saints of the Lord, that truly profit Christ crucified only and alone, for the satisfaction of their Sins.

A Note of one confessing Gods Truth at the Gallows.

Aⁿ Notorious Felon, one *Dick Adams*, being upon the Gallows, making his confession, and ready to be cast down from the Ladder, was desired at that instant by one *Mrs. Harris*, the Grammar-Schoolmaster, to whom the said *Adams* said; *Mary Miltrens* never in better time, who went up to the Top of the Ladder, and said it was the most abominable Idol that ever was, and willed all men to take it so; for we have been greatly deceived thereby. Whereupon the Sheriff caused him to hold his peace, and to take his death patiently. He went down to his place, and was called from the Ladder, speaking his last word, that it was an abominable Idol: his Body therefore was buried out of the Church-yard by the High-way; who although he was a Thief in his life, yet he earnestly repented thereof, so that I doubt not but he died the Child of God, and not unworthy to be put in the Register of the Lords accepted Confessors.

A note of Gertrude Crockhay.

Iⁿ the late days of Queen *Mary*, among other strange dealings, of the Papists with the faithful, this is not with the rest to be forgotten, that a godly Matron named *Gertrude Crockhay*, the Wife of *claire Robert Crockhay*, dwelling then at *St. Katharines* by the Tower of *London*, abtained her self from the Popish Church. And the being in her Husbands house, it happened in *Anno 1556*, that the foolish Popish Saint *Nicholas* went about the Parishes, which the understanding of her doors against him, and would not suffer him to come within her house. Then Doctor *Mallet* hearing thereof (and being then Master of the said *St. Katharines* next day came to her with twenty at his Tail, thinking belike to fray her, and asked why she would not the night before let in *St. Nicholas*, and receive his blessing, &c. To whom she answered thus; I know not *St. Nicholas*, said she, that came hither. Yes (quoth *Mallet*) here was one that represented *St. Nicholas*. Indeed Sir, (said she) here was one that is my Neighbours Child, but not *St. Nicholas*. For *St. Nicholas* is in Heaven. I was afraid of them that came with him to have had my nose cut by them. For I have heard of men robbed by *St. Nicholas Clerks*, &c. So *Mallet* perceiving that nothing could be gotten at her hands, went his way as he came, and for that time of speech.

Then in *Anno 1557*, a little before *Whitsontide*, it happened that the said *Gertrude* answered for a Child that was baptised of one *Thomas Saunders*, which Child was christened secretly in a house after the order of the Service Book in King *Edward*'s time; and that being shortly known to her Enemies, he was sought for, which understanding nothing thereof, went beyond the Sea into *Gelderland*, to see certain Lands that should have come to her Children in the right of her first Husband, who was a stranger born. And being there about a quarter of a year, at the length coming home ward, by *Switzerland*, she chanced to meet with one *John Tynjon* a Dutchman, alias *John de Wit* of *Antwerp* Shipper, whoeering her there, went of malice to the *Margarets*, and accused her to be an Anabaptist, whereby she was taken and carried to Prison. The cause why this naughty man did thus, was for that he claimed of *Mallet* *Crockhay* her Husband a piece of money which was not his due, for a Ship, that he said *Mallet Crockhay* bought of him; and for that he could not get it, he wrought this displeasure. Well, the being in Prison, lay there a fortnight; in which time the law found that were Prisoners there, who privily were drowned in *Rhenish* Wine flats, and after forcibly put in Sacks and cast into the River. Now the good Woman, thinking to be so forced, took thereby such fear, that it brought the beginning of her sickness, of the which at length she died.

Then at the last she was called before the *Margarets*, and charged with Anabaptistry, which she there utterly denied, and detested the Error, declaring before him (Dutch)

Q Mary. Notes of certain good Men and Women persecuted for the Gospel.

Aⁿ Dutch her faith boldly without any fear. So the *Margarets* hearing the same, in the end being well pleased with her profession, at the due of some of her Friends delivered her out of Prison, but took away her Book, and to the came over into *England* again. And being at home in her Husbands house, he thinking to find means to get her to go abroad, made one *Picars* a Yeoman of the Tower his Friend, who was great with *Boner*, to which that liberty for her. Now this *Picars* making means to *Boner* for the same, *Boner* put the matter over to *Darbyshire* his Chancellor who enjoyed her to give certain money to poor folks, and to go on the *Wednesday* and *Sunday* after to Church to *Evenings*, which she to do and afterward had such trouble in her Conscience thereby, that she thought *Verdy God* had cast her off, and that she should be damned, and never be saved: so not long after this, it happened that Mr. *Rough*, of whom mention is made before, came to her house, unto whom she made moan of her uneasiness for going to Church, and desired his Counsel: what she might do, that should best please God, and ease her troubled Soul, &c. Unto whom Mr. *Rough* replied many comfortable Sentences of Scripture to comfort her, and in the end gave her Communion to the Christian Congregation, which fiercely the persecuted had confest her fault unto them, and so to be received into their fellowship again; who hearing that was glad, and intended to go to do, and so would have done, if *fore* sickness had not immediately prevented the same. But when Doctor *Mallet* heard by one *Robert Hemmings* Woodmonger, that the lay very thick indeed, which *Hemmings* was her great Enemy, he came to her house to persuade her to recant, and to receive (as the Papists term it) the Rites of the Church. Unto whom she answered, she could not, nor would, for that she was Subject to vomit; and therefore he would not (he said) give the said have her to call up to her again, as the *Boards* do, if she did receive. And so immediately vomited indeed; wherefore he fearing that, went from her into the Hall to her Daughter named *Eck Sacks*, and told her, if her Mother would not receive, she should not be buried in Christian burial, as he termed it. Then *Claire* went and told her sick Mother what he said unto her. Who hearing the same spake these words following; Oh (said she) how happy am I, that I shall not rise with them, but against them. Well (quoth she) the earth is the Lords, and all that therein is; and therefore I commit the matter to him, &c. Shortly hereupon, that is, the 17. day of *March* 1558, the said Doctor *Mallet* came again to her with one Doctor *Wright*, Queen *Maries* Chaplain. And coming in, he saluted her, and told her that he had brought her a good learned man to persuade her, who was one of the Queens Chaplains, &c. and therefore he desired her to hear and believe him in that he should say, &c. Then Doctor *Wright* exhorted her to receive the Sacrament, and to be anointed, for he said, she was strong enough for it, &c. Unto whom she answered, that she was able and strong enough to receive it indeed, but she would not, for that it was abominable, &c. Then said *Wright*, ye be in an unbelief: Do ye that to die a Christian Woman? Yes, said she, that I do. I pray you, said *Wright*, how came you first into that Opinion. Marry, said she, there is he that first taught it me (meaning Doctor *Mallet*) at the Marriage of my Brother and his Sister, when I heard *Rim-cars* preach against the Sacrament, and when I saw both him and his Wife to the Lay of *Maidfords*, and there they were burned for the Testimony of the Gospel of God. And the Friday fortnight after I was in the Market at *Reche*. After talking with another man, and the said *Ralph Crockhay* was sent for me; and he coming within a Stone cast of me where I was talking with my Neighbour *Geoff Smally*, one *William Stanley* a Papist, dwelling also at *Straw*, met with the said *Crockhay*, and they two talked together a while, and I doubted that they talked of me, because many times in their talk they looked on me; and then the said *Ralph Crockhay* went over the street to another Officer or Constable, which knew not me, and said the said *Constable* for me, and coming for me, knowing my Neighbour *Geoff Smally*, took him instead of me, and carried him to the Bishop, and when he came before him, the Bishop said to the Officers, this is not the *Knave* that is not

of *April* next after that, he died constantly in the Lord, and yielded her Soul and life into his holy hands, with these words; Oh Lord, into thy hands receive my Soul, and so immediately gave up her life unto the Lord, to whom be praise for ever, Amen.

While she was beyond Sea, as is said before, *Mallet Crockhay* her Husband, by the procurement of Doctor *Mallet*, was cited to come before *Mallet Huffy* the County military who (had it not been for that he made means unto the said *Huffy* before) would have sent him to Prison, and bound him in Recognizance to seek her out. But he more easily escaped their hands by friendship, as before I have said.

Now when Dr. *Mallet* heard of her death, *Mallet Crockhay*, and one *Robert Hemmings* Bayliff of *St. Katharines*, being before him for the burying of her, he said plainly, she should be buried night to come High-way, and a mark set up, in token that an Heretic was buried there. Then the said *Hemmings* told him, the *Huge* would trape her up, which were not decent, nor best; and Mr. *Crockhay* intreated the might be buried in his Garden, which at length he granted, and willed the said *Hemmings* to see to do, and that he should be sure he buried her there indeed.

After, when the Corp was brought to the said Garden, the said *Robert Hemmings* the Bayliff would needs see it opened: which when the Corer was taken off, the Wife of the said *Hemmings* put her hand within the sheet, and felt the hair of the said dead Corp, saying: Now will I justify that she is here; and so she did, telling *Mallet* that those her hands did feel her: this is the effect of this Story.

Now since the coming in of Queen *Elizabeth*, the said Doctor *Mallet* came to the said *Mallet Crockhay*, and asked him forgiveness, alleging this Verse of the Poet.

Amantium ira amoris redintegratio est.

The Lord give him repentance and grace to seek perfect friendship with him, if it be his blessed will. Amen.

A Note of William Wood.

A^cording as I have sent unto you the true record of my Examination before the Doctors above mentioned, I thought it not inconvenient to send you likewise certain Notes of my other two deliverances in *Q. Maries* time, and this I do me (as God knoweth) to get any praise to my self, or to reproach any other, but that God may be glorified in his works, and that our Brethren may know, that though there be many times but little help on earth, yet that there is more in Heaven. About month after my Examination, one *Apley* and his Wife (that were persecuted from *Maidfords* in *Kent*) delivered of *W. Wood*, came to my house in *Straw*, and desired me that he might have a place in my house for him and his Wife for a time, because Persecution was so hot, that he could no longer stay there; and I at his instance let him have a place with me; but within a fortnight after the Papists espied him, and complained of him to the Bishop of *Reche*, and the Bishop sent his chief man, called *Ralph Crockhay*, and he carried him to *Reche* before the Bishop, and the said *Apley* stood in the defence of the Truth boldly, and when the Bishop sent both him and his Wife to the Lay of *Maidfords*, and there they were burned for the Testimony of the Gospel of God. And the Friday fortnight after I was in the Market at *Reche*. After talking with another man, and the said *Ralph Crockhay* was sent for me; and he coming within a Stone cast of me where I was talking with my Neighbour *Geoff Smally*, one *William Stanley* a Papist, dwelling also at *Straw*, met with the said *Crockhay*, and they two talked together a while, and I doubted that they talked of me, because many times in their talk they looked on me; and then the said *Ralph Crockhay* went over the street to another Officer or Constable, which knew not me, and said the said *Constable* for me, and coming for me, knowing my Neighbour *Geoff Smally*, took him instead of me, and carried him to the Bishop, and when he came before him, the Bishop said to the Officers, this is not the *Knave* that is not

not be knave, and the Bishop checked the Major and his Officers, and said that they mocked him, because he carried the other man for me, such was the mighty providence of God to defend me, and the Major the same night sent forty bills and men with others weapons to beset my house to take me; but the Lord kept me from them and delivered me out of their hands, to him be glory therefore, Amen.

The third time that the Lord delivered me was on Easter day next after. I had been at London all the Lent, and on Easter Eve at night I came home to Strand to my wife, and a Child of three years old told one of the Neighbours that her Father was come home. And on Easter day after their Popish Evening was done, came Master Reade, Thomas Crouch, Brother to the above said Ralph Crouch, William Stanley, Thomas Bets, Lionel Newman, and Roger Branch, with therefore people or thereabouts, and searched my house very straitly for me; but as Gods Providence was there was Mault a drying upon the Kill, and they searched for naught for me, that I was glad to leave up my corner of the hair whereon the Mault lay, and went into the Kill hole, and there stood till they were gone, and I escaped from them; but within an hour after there came a Woman to my Wife to borrow a bruil, and spied me throw the key-hole of the door, and there she carrying abroad, immediately came a great company of tydings abroad, and therefore I pray thee wife follow me and beset my house round about, and I did to my wife, You see that these four men seek for my life, that is, Master Reade, Thomas Crouch, William Stanley, and Thomas Bets: for I do think that none of the rest will lay hands on me; and therefore I pray thee wife follow these four men, and talk loud to them that I may hear, and so escape, and if they search on the backside, I may avoid on the three side; and be of good comfort, for our lives are in Gods hand, and though there be little help here on Earth, yet there is help enough in Heaven; and when these men were searching on the backside, I went into the street, among (as I guess) an hundred people, and any thing that laid hands on me, neither did they none to me, so I went out of the Town, and lay there at an honest mans house at the Parish of Cobham that night.

And at the same time also two of my Neighbours, honest men and of good wealth, the one called John Penner, a Fisherman, the other named John Baily a Glover, because they came not to their Popish Church to buy some of their idolatrous wares, were complained of to the Iudges, who did bind them to answer for their faith before the Judges at the Adverses which were holden at Midsummer after (as I remember) at Rochester in the Palace-yard; and there was at that time a Sail cloth of a ship tied to the top of the Bishops Palace wall, to keep away the Sun from the Judges, because it was hot, and the wind blew and shook the Sail, so that when these two men were called to be examined, and when they should have answered, there fell from the top of the wall three or four great stones upon the Judges necks, so that some of them which fate on the Bench were sore hurt and maimed, so that they arose suddenly all amazed, and departed, and the two men were delivered.

From Tuddenham in Suff. the 25. day of July, 1583. Per me Gulielmum Wood, Vicarium de Tuddenham.

The Story of John Alcocke.

This John Alcocke or Aucke, of whom mention is made before, was a very faithful honest man, by his occupation a Wood-fetter, singularly well learned in the Holy Scriptures, and in all his Conversation a just and righteous man that feared God, and studied to do indeed that thing that he had learned in the Scriptures. Now after that Sir Richard Penson was driven away, and the people on Sundays and other days came to the Church, and had no man to teach them any thing (for as yet Parson Newel was not come to Hadley to dwell), nor had gotten any Curate. Besides that, the Laws made by King Edward were in force, and the Latine mummings not received every where, John Alcocke

therefore took the English Book used by King Edward, Anno 1558. and exhorted the people to pray with him, and to read certain prayers in English before them: and moreover, he gave them godly lessons and exhortations out of Chapters that he read unto them. For this, the Bishop of Winchester Stephen Gardiner sent for him, and cast him into Newgate at London: where after many examinations and troubles, for that he would not fobscum himself to ask forgiveness of the Pope and to be reconciled to the Romish Religion, he was cast into the lower Dungeon, where with evil keeping, and sickness of the house, he lived in Prison. Thus died he a Martyr of Christs Verity, which he heartily loved and constantly confessed, and received the Garland of a little foughten battel at the hand of the Lord. His Body was cut out, and buried in a dunghill; for the Papists would in all things be like themselves; therefore would they not so much as suffer the dead Bodies to have honest and convenient Sepulture.

He wrote two Epistles to Hadley, which follow here.

The first Epistle of John Alcocke.

Grace be with you, and peace from the Father, and our Lord Jesus Christ, which gave himself for our sins, that he might deliver us from this present evil world, according to the will of God our Father, to whom be praise for ever and ever, Amen.

Oh my Brethren of Hadley, why are ye so foon turned from them which called you in the Grace of Christ, unto another Doctrine? which is nothing else but that there be some which trouble you, and intend to pervert the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. Nevertheless these should come unto you that have been your true Preachers and preach another way of Salvation, than by Jesus Christs death and passion, hold them accountable. Yes, if it were an Angel came from heaven, and would tell you that the sacrifice of Christs Body upon the Crose were for all ever, for all the sins of all those which shall be saved, were not sufficient; accused be he. If he were an Angel, or whatsoever he were, that would say that our Service in English were not righte Gods Service, but will better allow the most wicked mumming that you now have: Those, whatsoever they be, except they do repent and allow the Gospel of Jesus Christ, they shall never come into that Kingdom that Christ hath prepared for those that be his. Wherefore, my dearly beloved Brethren of Hadley, remember you well what you have been taught heretofore of the Lord Gods true and simple Prophets, that only did with his grace and Consolation.

Do not (my good Brethren) I pray you forget the comfortable word of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, Matthew 11. Come unto me all ye that are troubled and laden, and with the dangers that ye are in the stormy daies, and hear my words, and believe them, and you shall fee the unfeakable comfort that you shall receive. The Lord is my Shepherd, faith the Prophet David, so that I can want nothing, Psal. 23. He feedeth his Sheep in green pastures, and leadeth them unto clear and wholesome waters of comfort. I am that good Shepherd, faith our Saviour Jesus Christ, John 10. and for I give my life for my Sheep, and I know my Sheep, and my Sheep know me; but my Sheep will not know an hireling; for he careth not but only for his god the belly, and so seeketh the destruction of their Souls. Therefore beware of hirelings, you that count your selves the Shepherds of Jesus Christ. Be sure that ye know his voyce and obey him, and be not deceived through strange voyces, but go from them, and earnestly abide by your profession that you have made in your Baptism, and think not from it. For if you do, you shall declare your selves to be a vain people, and without understanding. And for this cause doth God plague his People, and suffereth them to be deceived with false Prophets and wicked men. I pray you note what the Prophet Ezech. saith to the people of those daies, Ezech. 1. because they were slipping from the Lord their God, which had done so Marvellous works for them, as you well do know in the Histories of the Bible. Hear O Heaven (saith he) and hearken thou Earth, for the Lord

hath spoken, I have nourished and brought up Children, but they have done wickedly against me. The Ox hath known his Owner, and the Ass his Masters crib; but Israel hath received no knowledge, my People hath no understanding. Alas for this faithfull Nation, a People of great Iniquity, a froward Generation, a unnatural Children.

They have forsaken the Lord, they have provoked his wrath, and are gone backward. Hearken also what the Prophet Jeremy saith, Jer. 2. Be astonished ye Heavens, be afraid and ashamed at such a thing, saith the Lord, for my People hath done two evils. They have forsaken me, the Well of the waters of Life, and digged them broken Pits that can hold no Water. Is first a Bondservant or one of the household of the Lord? Why then is he so polluted? Why then do they roar and cry upon him as a Lion? Understand those things now in these days that the Prophet spake of them. Oh my Brethren of Hadley, why cometh this plague upon us, that we have none in these daies and other times? Hearken what the Prophets say, Cometh not this upon thee because thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God? Thine own wickedness shall reprove thee, and thy turning away shall condemn thee, that thou must know and understand how evil and hurtful a thing it is, that thou hast forsaken the Lord thy God, and not feared him, faith the Lord God of Hosts, the holy One of Israel; that is to say, he that maketh Israel holy. And understand by Israel the Children of God, and those things that were spoken to the carnal Israelites spoken unto us, that are or should be the spiritual Israel. Grace be with you all, Amen.

John Alcocke, Prisoner for Gods Word in Newgate at London.

The second Epistle of John Alcocke.

My Brethren of Hadley, note well what St. Paul saith in the tenth Chapter to the first of the Corinthians; Brethren, I would you should not be ignorant of this, that our Fathers were all under the cloud, and all passed through the Sea, and were baptized unto Moses in the Cloud and in the Sea, and did eat one spiritual meat and drank of one spiritual drink. They drank of that spiritual Rock that followed them, which Rock was Christ: Nevertheless in many of them had God no delight, for they were over-laden in the Wilderness. These are examples unto us, that we should not lust after evil things as they lusted; that is to say we should stand forth to defend the Verity of God, which we would do right well, as were it not for loss of goods: we do so much lust after them, that we will rather say there is no God, than we will profess his Word to be truth to the losing of our goods. And our Saviour Christ, faith, Mark 10. He that is not content to forsake Father and Mother, Wife and Children, House and Land, Corn and Cattel, yea, and his own life for my Truths sake, is not meet for me. And if we be not for our Lord God, then we must needs be meet for the Devil, and we must needs be servants to one of them. If we be not ashamed of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, but earnestly confess it to the uttermost of our power, then are we sure to be confessed of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ, and angels before the Angels in Heaven, to be his Servants. But if we will be lust to keep our goods, and rather deny him than to lose our goods, then doth it follow whose Servants we are. Therefore (my dear Brethren of Hadley) beware that you do not consent to any thing against your Conscience. For if you do, beware of Gods great wrath. I exhort you therefore (my beloved Brethren in our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ) to stand fast in your Profession, and become not manifest Run-aways from the truth of our Lord God, but stick earnestly to it, and doubt not but our Lord will be unto you a living defence and refuge in the needful time. Bow down thine ear, O Lord, (saith David, Psal. 85.) and hear me; for I am poor and in misery. Be merciful unto me, O Lord, for I will call daily upon thee: comfort the Soul of thy Servant; for unto thee, O Lord, do I lift up my Soul. For thou art good and gracious, and of great mercy unto all them that call upon thee. Give ear Lord unto my prayer, and ponder the voice of

my humble petition. All Nations whom thou hast made shall come and worship thee, O Lord, and shall glorify thy Name. For thou art great, and doest wonderful things: Thou art God alone. Teach me thy way, O Lord, and I will walk in thy Truth: Oh knit my heart unto thee, that I may fear thy Name. I will thank thee, O God, with all my heart, and will praise thy Name forever. O you Christian People of Hadley, comfort your selves one another in these words, Psalm of David, and the whole Bible. Embrace the noble jewel of our Lord God the Bible, and endeavour your selves to walk the way that it doth teach you.

My good Brethren were helpers, faith St. Paul, 1 Cor. 6. do exhort you, that you receive not the grace of God in vain. For behold now is the accepted time, now is the day of Salvation. Let us beware that we take sure hold while we have time; for time will away. While ye have the light walk in it, lest when ye would desire it, ye cannot have it. Understand the Light to be the knowledge of Christ, and to obey, that is to have the light. For that cause came our Saviour Jesus Christ, to make himself known, John 12. Unto those that did receive him he gave power to be the Sons of God, and so to be made inheritors of his Kingdom, which shall never end, John 2. who would not be glad to have the Kingdom, that he thereby might be partaker of the Kingdom that never shall end? O vain man, what art thou that wilt refuse everlasting life for a day or two, or an hour? thou canst not tell how long. Open thine eyes, and fee thine own condemnation, and refuse to Christ. O thy vanity of this world, and refuse this worldly wisdom, for worldly wisdom doth shut out the wisdom of God. For the word of the Bible, Christs foolishness unto them that perish; but unto us which are saved it is the power of God. For it is written, 1 Cor. 1. I will destroy the wisdom of the wise, and will call away the understanding of the prudent. Where are the wise? where are the Scribes? where are the Disputers this world? hath not God made the wisdom of this world foolishness? For inasmuch as the world by the wisdom thereof knew not God in his wisdom, it pleased God through the foolishness of preaching, to save them that believe. For the Jews require tokens, and the Greeks ask after wisdom; but we preach Christ crucified, faith St. Paul, to the Jews an occasion of falling, and unto the Greeks (a People that are wise in their own conceits) to them is the preaching of Christ crucified foolishness. But unto them that are called, both Jews and Greeks, we preach Christ, the power of God and the wisdom of God. For the foolishness of God is wiser than men, and the weakness of God is stronger than men.

Brethren, look upon your Calling, how that not many men after the flesh, not many mighty, not many of high degree are called. But that which is foolish before the world hath God chosen, that he might confound the wise; and that which is despised before the world hath he chosen, and that which is nothing, that he might destroy that which is ought, that no flesh should rejoice. Of the same are ye also in Christ Jesus, which is made of God unto us wisdom and righteousness, and sanctifying and redemption, according as it is written, that he that rejoiceth should rejoice in the Lord, that your Faith should not stand in the wisdom of men, but in the power of God. We speak of this wisdom among them that are perfect, not the wisdom of this world, nor the Rulers of this world, which go to nought; but we speak of the wisdom of God, which the carnal man doth not understand. The natural man perceiveth nothing of the Spirit of God. It is foolishness with him. But God hath opened it to us by his Spirit, for the Spirit searcheth out all things. Wherefore (my dear Brethren) try your selves well, whether you have the Spirit of Christ, or no. If you have the Spirit of Christ, then are ye dead concerning sin; but ye are alive unto God through Jesus Christ. If this Spirit dwell in you, then will ye increase and go forward in your Profession, and not fear what flesh may do unto you. Therefore stand fast in the liberty wherewith Christ hath made you free, and be not wrung up again in the yoked bondage, that is to say, to go from God by wicked life, or serve God another way than he hath commanded in his holy Word.

C c c c

Romish Affairs, and in withstanding the truth of the pure Evangelical Gospel. So the time that this good poor Woman was under their hands, he had many fore conflicts by them. And the said Blaas having a Conscience, which sundry times referred to him with other of his Gospels, always when they came, this said good Woman was called forth to his house, and there to make his Minion with the rest of his company some mirth, he would examine her with such mocking manner, deriding the Truth, that it would have vexed any Christian Soul to have seen it. Then when he had long used his foolishness in this sort, and had spent himself enough in deriding this Christian Martyr, in the end he sent her to Prison again, and there kept her very miserably, having sometimes he would find her, when his forsworn Guel came to him, to use with her his accustomed folly abroad. But in fine, the vile Wretches (after many complaints and scoffing persuasions) when they had played the part of a Cat with a Moult, at length they condemned her, and delivered her over to the cruel Powers, who within short space after most cruelly brought her forth to the place where he should suffer, and there in contempt of the Truth (which he most constantly confessed) they consumed her Carcase immediately with fire into Ashes, which the very patient suffered and most joyfully received, yielding her Soul and Life unto the Lord and her Body to the Tormentors; for the which the Lords Name therefore be praised, Amen.

The Martyrdom of one Snel, burned about Richmond in Queen Maries time, omitted in this History.

AT Bedale a Market Town in Yorkshire, were two Men in the later days of Queen Mary, the one named John Snel and the other Richard Seal. Who being suspected for Religion were sent unto Richmond, where Dr. Dakins had Commission from the Bishop of Chester to have the Examination of them.

This Dr. Dakins many times conferred with them, sometimes threatening Fire and Fagot if they would not recant, and sometimes flattering them with fair Fables if they would return into the holy Catholick Church. But they stood constantly to the pure Rock Jesus Christ, in whom they put their whole trust and confidence, whilst at last being so fore importuned, that their Tees rooted off, and the one of them could not go without Crouches, they brought them to the Church by compulsion, where the one of them heard their abominable Mass, having a certain firm of many given him by the benevolence of the People, and so departed thence: but the first News that was heard of him within three or four days, was, that he had drowned himself in a River running by Richmond, called Swale.

Immediately after, Dr. Dakins giving Sentence that the other should be burnt, came home to his house and never joyed after, but died. The Comptroller of Richmond, named Hilings, preached at his burning, exhorting him to return to the Church, but his labour was in vain, the constant Martyr standing strongly to the Faith which he professed.

Then being brought to the Stake, whereunto he was tied by a Girdle of Iron, there was given unto him Gunpowder, and a little Straw was laid under his feet and set round about with small Wood and Tarr-burres; the fire was put in the Straw, which by and by flaming about his head, he cried thrice together, *Christ help me*: In fomuch that one Robert Atkinson being present, said, Hold fast there, and we will all pray for thee. Thus this blessed Martyr ended his life.

A Story of one Laremouth, omitted in the body of this Story.

ALiech I am loth to infer any thing in this Book which may seem incredible or strange to ordinary working for quarrelling Adversaries, which do nothing but try what they may avail: yet forasmuch as besides other Reporters, the person is yet alive, called Thorne, a godly Minister, which heard it of the mouth of the very himself, I thought therefore fit for the incredible Transcripts thereof, neither to place this Story in the

body of these Acts and Monuments, and yet in some out-corner of the Book not utterly to pass it untouched for the Reader to consider it, and to credit it as he feels cause. The Story is this: There was one Laremouth, otherwise called William, Chaplain to the Lady Anne of Cleve, a Scottishman, to whom being in Prison in Queen Maries days, it was said (as he thought) thus founding in his ears, Arise and go thy ways. Whereunto when he gave no great heed at the first, the second time it was said to him again in the same words. Upon this, as he fell to his Prayers, it was said the third time likewise to him, Arise and go thy ways, which was about half an hour after. So he arising upon the flame, immediately a piece of the Prison-wall fell down, and as the Officers came in at the outward Gate of the Castle or Prison, he leaping over the Ditch escaped, and in the way meeting a certain Beggar changed his Coat with him, and coming to the Sea-shore, where he found a Vessel ready to go over, was taken in, and escaped the search, which was finally laid for him in all the Country over.

A little short Letter of William Hunter sent out of Prison to his Mother a little before his Martyrdom, to be referred and placed in his Story.

Most reverend and loving Mother, after my most humble wish I have not most heartily commended unto you, desiring you to pray unto God most heartily for me, that I may have his Blessing and yours, the which I believe will be most worth unto me than any worldly Treasure. In this present Letter you shall understand the cause of my writing unto you at this time, that I am in good health and prosperity, as ever I was in this present life. Wherefore I render thanks unto Almighty God for it, who alone is most worthy of all praise, visiting in God you in health and life. Furthermore, I certify you wherefore my Father continueth here, to the intent he hear some godly and joyful tidings both for Soul and Body, which I trust it shall be to your singular comfort and consolation, and to the great rejoicing of all other of my Friends. Therefore I desire you to gentle letters to admonish my Brethren, to study with diligent attendance, and to pray for me, considering his bounden duty, that God may by your faithful Prayer aid and strengthen me in this my prosperous journey and course which I run, trusting to obtain a Crown of everlasting Life, which shall ever endure.

No more unto you at this time, but God preserve you unto everlasting Life.
So be it.

The Oration in effect of Sir Nicholas Bacon Knight, Lord Keeper of the Great Seal of England, spoken in the Star-Chamber the 29th of December, in the 10th year of the Reign of our Sovereign Lady Elizabeth by the Grace of God, of England, France and Ireland, Queen, Defender of the Faith, &c. And in the year of our Lord God 1567. Then being present.

Matthew Archbishop of Canterbury.

William Marquis of Northampton.

Francis Earl of Bedford.

Lord Clinton Admiral of England.

William Howard Lord Chamberlain.

Bishop of London.

Lord Gray of Wilton.

Sir Edward Rogers Knight.

Sir Ambrose Cowe Kt. Chancellor of the Duchy.

Sir William Cecil Knight, Principal Secretary.

Sir Francis Knolls Knight, Vice-Chamberlain.

Sir Francis Maitland Kt. Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Lord Cardwell Chief Justice of the King's Bench.

Lord Dyer Chief Justice of the Common Pleas.

Sir William Cordale Knight, Master of the Rolls.

Justice Weston, Justice Phipps, Justice Southcotes, Justice Carwens.

It is given to the Queens Majesty to understand, that certain of her Subjects by their evil disposition do

do foul and spread abroad divers seditions, to the derogation and dishonour, first of Almighty God, in the Estate of Religion established by the Laws of this Realm, and also to the dishonour of her Highness, in depriving her lawful right of Supremacy amongst her Subjects. And that they do, is not done as in felony or by stealth, but openly avouched, and in all Company disputed on. And thus by their bold attempts they seem not to obey or regard the Authority of Laws, nor the quiet of her Subjects. As for example, by bringing in and spreading abroad divers lewd Libels, and seditious Books from beyond the Seas, and in such boldness, that they do commend those writers in their Seditious Books, containing manifest matter against the estate established. Which boldness of men, so universally and every where seen and heard, cannot be thought to be done but by the comfort and aid, or at the least way winked at by them whom the Queens Highness hath placed in Authority to repress these insolencies. And the Queens Highness cannot more justly charge any for this disorder, than such who be in Commissions chosen to repress these disorders. If it be answered me, that they cannot fee such open boldness and Factions disorders, I must say that they have no eyes to see? and they hear not of such contemptuous talk and speech, I may say that they have no ears. I would have those men judge what will come of these unbridled speeches in the end, if reformations be not had thereof. What cometh of Factions and Seditions, we have been taught of late years, and what the fruits thereof be, which I beseech God long to defend us from. If such disorders be not repressed by Laws, then must force and violence reform. Which when they take place may fortune to fall as soon on them that seem to have least consideration in this matter. If force and violence prevail, then ye know what Law is put to silence, and cannot be executed, which should only maintain good order. If it be replied against me, that to the suppressing of these open talks there is no Law, which by special Letter can charge any man offender; I must say, that whatsoever the Letter of the Law be, the measure of the Law was as clear contrary to the liberty of these doings. If it be said, that no man can be charged by the Law, except it can be proved against him, that his speech and deeds be done maliciously; what ye call malice I cannot tell. But if the bringing in of these Seditious Books make mens minds to be at variance one with another, distraction of minds maketh Seditions, Seditions bring in Tumults, Tumults work Insurrections and Rebellion, Insurrections make Depopulations and Defolations, and bring in utter ruine and destruction of mens Bodies, Goods, and Lands: And if any foul the Root, wherof their men come, and yet it can be said that he hath no malice, or that he do not maliciously labour to destroy both publick and private wealth, I cannot tell what Act may be thought to be done maliciously. And further, if it be said to me, that the man which should be charged with offences, must be proved to have done his Act advicfully: To that I answer, if any bring in those Books, distribute them to others, commend and defend them, and yet cannot be charged to have done advicfully, I have no skill of their advicfulness. If it be said, that the Law extendeth of such Acts as be directly derogatory and of none other, what is direct overthrowing the Laws, when the contrary thereof is plainly treated, holden, and defended, and the Truth by Arguments commended? It may be said again, that the world doth not now live extremity in Laws. First and calleth them bloody Laws as for extreme and bloody Laws, I have never liked of them; But where the execution of such Laws toucheth half a dozen offenders, and the not execution may bring in danger half a 100, I think this Law nor the execution thereof may justly be called extreme and bloody in such like comparison. I may after my meanings take a difference between whipping and hanging. Indeed, though whipping may be thought extreme, yet if by whipping a man may escape hanging, in this respect, not whipping bringeth in this bloodiness and extremity, and not the execution of the Law; and better it were, a man to be twice whipped, then once hanged. The pains do differ, but wile men will from consider the diversity. The Truth is, to suffer

disobedient Subjects to take boldness against the Laws of God and their Prince, to wink at the obnoxious means of such as be unbridled in their affections; to maintain a foran power of the Bishop of Rome, directly against the Princes Prerogative established by Laws, is not this to hatch Diffinition, and to cherish Sedition? To extol the writings of such, who by all their wile devise to supplant the Prince lawful Authority? If these things be not means to the disturbance and utter ruine of the Realm, I know not what is good governance. If these be not the sparks of Rebellion, what be they? Thus much having spoken to your Widdoms, I doubt not of your assisting with me, the rather also because I utter them unto you as from the Queens Majesty by commandment, who doth require of us all a more diligence in execution of Laws, than is spied commonly abroad: Whereby we shall do our duties to Almighty God the better, declare our allegiance to our Sovereign, regard the Majesty of the Laws, love the quiet of our Country, and procure the safety of our selves.

God save the Queen.

And here I trust, we are now come to an end of all our English Martyrs, which hitherto have been burnt for the verity of the Gospel; yet I add beside the same a godly Countryman of ourns named Richard Atkins an Harfordshire man, who was laid about two years past in the Reign of this our gracious Queen, Anno 1581 most miserably was tormented at Babylon, that is, in the City of Rome. The cause and manner of whole suffering and Martyrdom here ensue, taken out of a certain late printed Story, and testified by such as were present witnesses and beholders of the same most tragical execution. The purport of which Story in words, as it is put down by the said Reporter, here under followeth.

A true report of the horrible and mercelless Martyrdom of one Richard Atkins an Englishman, with extreme Torments, and most cruel rage of furious Tyrants, Persecutors, put to death at Rome.

ABout the month of July, Anno 1581. one Richard Atkins born in Harfordshire, an Englishman, came to Rome, and having found the English College, knocked at the door, To whom divers of the Students there came out, to welcome him understanding that he was an Englishman. Among other talk had with him they willed him, to go to the Hospital, and there to receive his meat and Lodging, according as the order was appointed: whereunto he answered, I come not (my Countrymen) to any such intent, as you judges, but I come lovingly to rebuke the great misorder of your lives, which I grieve to hear, and pray to behold: I come likewise to let your proud Antichrist understand, that he doth offend the heavenly Majesty, rob God of his honour, and poysoneth the whole world with his abominable blasphemies, making them do homage to Stocks and Stones, and that filthy Sacrament, which is nothing else but a foolish Idol. When they heard these words, one Hugh Griffin, a Welchman, and Student in the College, caused him to be put in the Inquisition? where, how they examined him, and how he answered them I know not, but after certain days he was first at liberty again. And one day going in the street, he met a Priest carrying the Sacrament, which offending his Conscience, to see the People so crouch and bow down to it, he caught at it to have thrown it down, but mislaid of his purpose, and it being judged by the People, that he did catch at the holiness that (they say) cometh from the Sacrament, upon mere devotion, he was let pass, and nothing said to him: few days after he came to St. Peters Church, where divers Gentlemen and other were hearing Mass, and the Priest at the elevation; he was using no reverence, as among the People to the Altar, and threw down the Chalice with the Wine, striving likewise to have pulled the Cake out of the Priests hands; for which divers rage up and beat him with their fists, and one drew his Rapier, and would have slain him: so that in brief he was carried to Prison, where he was examined, wherefore he had committed such a naughty offence; whereunto he answered, that he came purposely for that intent, to rebuke the Popes wickedness and their Idolatry. Upon

this he was condemned to be burned; which Sentence (he said) he was right willing to suffer, and the rather, because the fun of his offence pertained to the glory of God. During the time he remained in Prison, sundry English men came unto him, willing him to be sorry for that he had done; and to recant from his damnable Opinion; but all the means they used were in vain, he confuted their dealings by divers places of Scripture, and would them to be sorry for their wickedness, while God did permit them time, else they were in danger of everlasting damnation; these words made the Englishmen depart: for they could not abide to hear them. Within a while after, he was set upon an Aff without any Saddle, he being from the middle upward naked, having some English Priests with him to talk with him, but he regarded them not, but spake to the People in good Language as he could, and told them they were in a wrong way, and therefore would them for Christs sake, to have regard to the saving of their Souls. All the way as he went, there were four that did nothing else but thrust at his Body with burning Torches, whereat he never moved, nor shrunk one jot, but with a cheerful countenance laboured to persuade the People, often bending his body to meet the Torches as they were thrust at him, and would take them in his own hand, and hold them burning till his Body, in Man the People thought not a little wonder. Thus he continued all the space of half a mile, till he came before St. Peters, where the place of Execution was. When he was come to the place of execution, there they had made a device, not to make the fire about him, but to burn his Legs first, which they did, he not suffering any wile, but suffered all marvelously cheerfully; which moved the People to such a quondary as was not in Rome many a day. Then they offered him a Crofs, and would him to imbrace it, in token that he died a Christian; but he put it away with his hand, telling them that they were evil men to trouble him with such pelfery, when he was preparing himself to God, whom he beheld in Majesty and glory, ready to receive him into eternal rest. They seeing him in this mind, departed, saying, Let us go and leave him to the Devil, whom he serves. Thus ended this faithful Soldier and Martyr of Christ, who was crowned in glory with his Master: whereunto God draw us all to come, Amen.

This is faithfully avouched by John Young, who was at that time, and a good while after in Rome, in Service with Master Doctor Morton; who seeing the Martyrdom of this man, when he came home to his house, in the presence of Master Smith his Son, Mr. Creed, and the said John Young, spake as follows. Surely this Fellow was marvellously obstinate, he nothing regarded the good counsel which was used to him, nor shrunk all the way when the Torches were thrust at his naked Body. Besides, in the place of execution he did not faint nor cry one jot in the fire, albeit they tormented him very cruelly, and burned him by degrees, as his Legs first put him to the greater pain; yet all this he did with smile at. Doubtless, but that the Word of God cannot be but true, else we might have seen this Fellow to be of such a sort, for who could have suffered so much pain as he did? but truly I believe the Devil was in him.

The cursed Life and bloody End of Dr. Story, a cruel Persecutor of Christ in his Members.

I had thought (Christian Reader) here to have made an end, and to have concluded the Volume of this Book, had not the remembrance of Dr. Story, an Arch-enemy to Christs Gospel, and bloody Persecutor of Gods People, come into my mind. The discourse of whose life and doings, I thought good here briefly to lay open to the view of the world, as follows. This Dr. Story being an English man by birth, and from his infancy not only nured in Papistry, but also even as it were by nature afflicted to those fane and growing some what to ripe years, in the days of Queen Mary became a bloody Tyrant, and cruel Persecutor of Christ in his Members (as all the Stories in this Book almost do declare.) Thus he raging all the Reign of the forefear'd Queen Mary against the infallible Truth of Christs

Gospel, and the true professors thereof, never ceased till he had consumed to Ashes two or three hundred blessed Martyrs, who willingly gave their lives for the Testimony of his Truth; and thinking their punishment in the fire not cruel enough, he went about to invent new Torments for the holy Martyrs of Christs, such as was his hatred to the Truth of Christs Gospel: but in the end the Lord God looking upon the affliction and cruel bloodshedding of his Servants, took away Queen Mary the great Pillar of Papistry. After whom succeeded Lady Elizabeth now Queen of England, who staying the bloody Sword of Persecution form raging any further, caused the same Doctor Story to be apprehended, and committed to ward, with many other his complices, sworn enemies to Christs glorious Gospel. The said Story having been a while detained in Prison, at the last, by what means I know not, brake forth of hold, and conveyed himself over the Seas, where he continued a most bloody Persecutor, till raging against Gods Saints and his faith and Sword. Infomuch as he growing to be familiar and right dear to Duke De Rosa in Antwerp, received special Commendation from him to search the Ships for goods forfeited, and for English Books, and such like.

And in this favour and authority he continued there for a while, by the which means he did much hurt, and brought many good Men and Women to trouble and extreme Peril of life through his bloody-thirsty cruelty; but at the last the Lord (when the measure of his iniquity was full) proceeded in judgment against him, and cut him off from the face of the earth, according to the prayers of many a good man; which came to pass in order as follows. It being certainly known (for he had built thereof was gone forth into all Lands) that he not only intended the subversion and overthrow of his native Country of England, by bringing in forain Heterosities, if by any means he might compass it; but also daily and hourly murdering Gods People, there was this day the English Heretical Books (as he called them) and going forth with a Merchant should find into Antwerp, and by some means convey Story into England.

This Parker arriving at Antwerp, suborned certain a Platform to repair to Dr. Story, and to signify unto him, that there was an English Ship come, fraught with Merchant-Sizes, and that if he would make search thereof himself, he should find store of English Books, and other things for his purpose. Story hearing this, and suspecting nothing, made haste towards the Ship, thinking to make the same his Prey; and coming aboard, searched for the English Heretical Books (as he called them) and going down under the Hatches, because he would be sure to have his Blood if he could, they clapped down to him, and Hatches, hoisted up their Sails, having (as God would) a good gale, and sailed away into England; where they arrived, presenting this bloody Butcher, and Traitorous Rebel Story to the no little rejoicing of many an English heart. He being now committed to Prison, continued there a good space: during all which time he was laboured and solicited daily by wile and learned Fathers to recant his devilish and erroneous opinions, to conform his Priests to the knowledge of the Queens Supremacy. All which he utterly denied to the death, saying, that he was sworn Subject to the King of Spain, and was subject to the Queen of England, nor his his Sovereign Queen; and therefore (as he well deserved) he was condemned (as a Traitor to God, the Queens Majesty, and the Realm) to be drawn, hanged, and quartered; which was performed accordingly, he being laid upon a Hurdle, and drawn from the Tower along the streets to Tiborn where he being hanged till his head was half dead, was cut down and stripped; and (which is not to be forgot) when the executioner had cut off his privy Members, he rubbing upon a fustian, gave him a blow upon the ear, to the great wonder of all that stood by: and thus ended this bloody Nimrod his wretched life, whose judgment I leave to the Lord.

A Note of Ralph Lurdane, Persecutor of George Eagle.

In the history of George Eagle, alias Trudgeon, over-the-world, mention is made of his apprehension in a corn field, where, by the benefit of the height of

the corn, and breadth of the field, he had escaped, had not one of his persecutors with more malicious craft climbed a high tree to view over the place, and so descended him. This persecutor named Ralph Lurdane, a despicable fellow of life for their we have since learned, a level fellow of life for their whoredom, was, within few years after he had apprehended the forefear'd George Eagle for gain of Money, attached of felony for stealing an horse, condemned, and hanged in the same place and Town of Chelmsford, where George Eagle before suffered Martyrdom.

A brief Note concerning the horrible Massacre in France, Anno 1572.

Here, before the closing up of this Book, in no case would be unremembered the tragical and furious Massacre in France, wherein were murdered by many hundreds and thousands of Gods good Martyrs. But because the true narration of this lamentable story is set forth in English at large, in a Book by it self, extant in print already, I shall left need now to discourse that matter with any new repetition; only a brief touch of summary notes for remembrance may suffice. And first for brevity sake to overspread the bloody butchery of the Romish Catholics in Orange against the Protestants, most fiercely and unawares breaking into their houses, and there, without mercy, killing Men, Women, and Child; of whom some being spoiled and naked, they threw out of their lofty into the streets; some they smothered in their houses with smokes, with sword and weapon sparing none, the Carriages of some they threw to the water, Anno 1570. in the Reign of Charles IX. Likewise to pass over the cruel slaughter at Rouen, where the Protestants being at a Sermon without the City Walls upon the Kings Edict, the Catholics in fury rann upon them coming home, and slew of them above 400. at least, many more they wounded. This example at Rouen, flung up the Papists in hope to produce the like rage also against the Christians there returning from the Sermon; whose slaughter had been the greater, had they not more wisely before been provided of weapons for their own defence at need. All which happened about the same time, as before said Anno 1570. But theft with such like I briefly overspread, to enter now into the matter above proposed, that is, briefly to entreat of the horrible and most barbarous Massacre wrought in Paris, such as I suppose was never heard of before in any Civil dissension amongst the very Heathen. In few words to touch the substance of the slaughter.

After long troubles in France, the Catholic side, forcing no more to be done against the Protestants by open force, began to devise how by crafty means to entrap them. And that by two manner of ways: The one by pretending a power to be sent into the lower part of the Kingdom, to enter now into the matter above proposed, that is, briefly to entreat of the horrible and most barbarous Massacre wrought in Paris, such as I suppose was never heard of before in any Civil dissension amongst the very Heathen. In few words to touch the substance of the slaughter.

After this notwithstanding the marriage still going forward, the Admiral, a Prince of Navarre, came, with divers other chief States of the Protestants, induced by the Kings Letters and many fair promises, at last were brought to Paris. Where with great solemnity they

were received, but especially the Admiral. To make the matter short. The day of the marriage came, which was the eighteenth of August, Anno 1572. (Which marriage being celebrate and solemnized by the Cardinal of Bourbon, upon an high stage set up of purpose without the Church Walls, the Prince of Navarre and Condit came down, waiting for the Kings Sister being then at Mass. This done, they resorted all together to the Bishops Palace to dinner. At evening they where had to a Palace in the middle of Paris to supper. Not long after this, being the two and twentieth of August, the Admiral coming from the Council Table by the way was struck with a Phillet; charged with three hundred Pellets, as with his Arms. He being thus wounded, and yet still remaining in Paris, although the Vidam gave a Writ the Admiral should to flee away, it fo fell out that certain Soul-diers were appointed in divers places of the City to be ready at a Watch-word at the commandment of the Princes. Upon which Watch-word given, they burst out against to the slaughter of the Protestants, first beginning with the Admiral himself, who being wounded with many force, and with spires to call out of the Window into the street, where his Head being first shaken off, and embalm'd with spices he sent to the Pope, the savage people raging against him, cut off his Arms and Privy Members, and so drawing him three days through the streets of Paris, they dragged him unto the place of execution out of the City, and there hanged him up by his heels to the greater view and scorn of him.

After the Martyrdom of this good Man, the armed Soldiers with rage and violence ran upon all other of the same profession, slaying and killing all the Protestants they knew or could find within the City gates included. This bloody slaughter continued the space of many days, but especially the greatest slaughter was in the three first days, in which were numbered to be slain, at the young wretches, above ten thousand Men, Women, old and young, of all sorts and conditions. The Bodies of the dead were carried in Carts to be thrown in the River: but so not only the River was all stained therewith, but also whole streams in certain places of the City did run with gore Blood of the slain Bodies. So great was the outrage of that Heathenish Persecution, that not only the Protestants, but also certain, whom they thought indifferent Papists, they put to the sword in feed of Protestants. In the number of them that were slain of the more learned sort, was Petrus Ramus, also Lambinus, another notorious learned man; Platanus, Lomenius, Chappellus, with others.

And not only within the Walls of Paris this uproar was continued, but it extended further into other Cities and quarters of the Realm, especially Lyons, Orleans, Tholous, and Rouen. In this it is almost incredible carnage ever heard of in any nation, what cruelty was shewed, what numbers of good men were destroyed, inasmuch that within the space of one Month thirty thousand at least of Religious Protestants are numbered to be slain, as is credibly reported and storied in the Commentaries of them which testify purposely of the matter.

Furthermore here is to be noted, that when the first heard of this bloody stir, he was then Cardinal and Churchy made sich joy at Rome, with their Procession, with their gunshot, and singing of Te Deum, that in honour of that festival act, a Jubile was commanded by the Pope with great indulgence, and much solemnity. Whereby thou hast here to discern and judge, with what Spirit and Chastity these Catholics are moved to maintain their Religion, which otherwise would fall to the ground without all hope of recovery. Likewise in France no less rejoicing there was upon the 28. day of the said Month, the Kings commanding publick Processions through the whole City, to be made, with howells, ringing, and singing of Psalms, where the King himself, with the Queens his Mother, and his whole Court resorting together to the Church gave thanks and laud to God, for that so worthy victory achieved upon St. Bartholomew day against the Protestants, whom they thought to be utterly overthrow and vanquished in all the Realm for ever.

And

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And in very deed to man thinking it might appear, no less after such a great destruction of the Protestants, having left so many worthy and Noble Captains as then were cut off, wherupon many, for fear of coming to their Religion, returned to the Pope, divers did follow the Realm, such as would not turn, & saying that it was fives secret, durst not be known nor told, so that it was said all hope of man, that the Gospel should ever have put any more place in France: but such help and hope most working of the Lord, whereunto help and hope most faithful, there he felt most worth to be noted. For whereas the little as here is to be seen and noted. For whereas the little small remnant of the Gospel side, being now brought to utter depuration, were now ready to give over unto the Pope, were now already againe Conscience

King, and many were slain. The Lord of his goodness wrought, yielding to time, yet the Lord of his greatness, and reclaims again through the occasion first of them in *Rachel*: Who hearing of the cruel Murther in *Paris*, and laughter at *Thebes*, murthered Murtherers with valiant hearts (the Lord so working) thought to give his hand to their defence against the Kings power. For such a fine example certain other Cities hearing thought to follow little courage to do the like: as namely *Montpelier*, *Albi*, *Avignon*, the City called *Nemarus*, *Sanjer* in Occitania, *Millidun*, *Murevellum*, *Eudaxia*, with other Towns. And Cities more: who being confederate together, thought red one another to be Circumvented, and take the first head of the false dissembling practices not to be trusted, but the merciful Papists, intending nothing but Blood and

[illegible][illegible]

affaults were given to the people, and the power that *France* could make. In all which ever the Popes Cardinals fide had the worst. Come the first assault thus I find written, that within the space of 26. days were charged against the walls and shot of *Rochel*, by the number of thirty thousand shot of Iron bullets and Globes, whereby a great breach was made the Adversary to invade the City: but such was the courage of them within , not men only, but the Women, Matrons, and Maidens, with spits, fire, such other weapon as came to hand, that the Adversary was driven back, with no small slaughter of their Souldiers. Only of the Townsmen were slain and wounded the number of sixty persons. Likewise in the assault 2000. great Field-pieces were laid again

Town ; whereupon the Adversary attempted the next day to invade the Town, but through the industry of the Militaries and Citizens, and also-of the Women and Maids, the Invaders were forced at length to flee away farther then they came. No better fuccels had all the attempts that followed : whereby confidered the good men were, with thy self, in what great diffirels these good men were, nor of *Rachel* only, but great diffirels these good men were, during these seven Months above mentioned , had not the mighty hand of the Lord almighty sustained them. Concerning this very wondrous operation for his Servants in these hard diffirels, three memorable things I find in History to be noted.

The one concerning the siege of *Sasser*, which they being terribly battered and razed with Gunhott of great Canons, and Field-pieces, having at onee figne no less then three thousand Bullets and Gunstones flying upon them, wherewith the crests of their helmets were pierced, their fleeces, their hose, their hats pierced, their weaponns in their hands broken, their wals shaken, their houfes rent down; yet not one person slain nor wounded with all this, save onely at the first a certain Maiden, with the blast of the shot flying by her, was stricken down, and died.

The second thing to be noted is this, that in the same City during all the time of the siege, which lasted seven Months and a half, for all the Ordinance and Battering-pieces discharged against them, which are numbered to six thousand, not so much as 25. persons in all were slain.

The third example, no less memorable, is the story of the blind men and an elephant. One of the blind men felt the side of the elephant and said, "This is like a wall." Another felt the leg and said, "This is like a pillar." A third felt the ear and said, "This is like a fan." A fourth felt the tail and said, "This is like a rope." A fifth felt the horn and said, "This is like a tusk." A sixth felt the head and said, "This is like a tree trunk." A seventh felt the back and said, "This is like a bridge." An eighth felt the belly and said, "This is like a floor." A ninth felt the feet and said, "This is like a pillar." A tenth felt the trunk and said, "This is like a tree trunk." The story illustrates the importance of perspective and the danger of drawing conclusions based on limited information.

What number was lost on both sides during all this seven Months Warr, it is not certainly known. Of the Kings camp what number was slain, by this it may be conjectured, that 132. of their Captains were killed and slain, of whom the chieft was Duke-Damoule.

To close up this Tragical Story, concerning the death of the Duke of Anjou, I will briefly relate the following: To clofe up this seven Months Siege: this it fell out, that shortly after the seventh assault given against *Rebel*, which was *Anno 1573.* about the Month of *June*, a word came to the Camp, that Duke *Anjou* the Kings Brother was proclaimed King of *Polonia*. Whereat the great joy was in the Camp. By occasion whereof the New King, more willing to have peace, entred talk with *Rebel*: who, as he fliewed himself to them not uncomfor-table, so found he them again to him not uncomfortable. Whereupon a certain agreement pacificatory was

concluded between them upon conditions, which¹ Yes
the great *Polemic King* chieftains preferred to the² Yes
French King his Brother, not without com-³ Yes
pensation to have it ratified. The King⁴ himself, Yes
therefore to have it ratified. Wars, was the⁵ Yes
partly being weary of their chargeable Wars, and thus at length,⁶ Yes
more willing to give up the same, the Kings Royal⁷ Yes
through the Lords great strength, the Kings Royal⁸ Yes
of Arms of an Edict was let down in writing, and⁹ Yes
confirmed by the King following 25 Articles. In¹⁰ Yes
also were included certain other Cities of the Protestant¹¹ Yes
granting to them benefit of Peace and liberty, the King¹² Yes
giving. This Edict or Mandate sent down by the King¹³ Yes
by his Herald at Arms, *Biron*, the Duke of the Kings name¹⁴ Yes
at Paris, the 18th of April, 1598. *Edict of Nantes*, April 13, 1598.

The year next following, 1574, for two things; first, the death of *Charles* the ninth French King, also most of all for the death of *Charles*, Cardinal *de Lorraine*, brother to *Guise*. Of the manner, the Cardinals death, I find little mention in *Florio*. Touching the Kings death, although *Fr. Diodorus* faith nothing, yet for better like, because he being a French-man, his name is exprest and known: but another writer (whom the said *Diodorus* doth follow) bearing no name, faith thus: That he died the 25. day of *May*, upon *Whitsun* even, being of the age of 25. years. His death more; *Profructu jurgantium illum laborasse certum est*. Certain

ANNO Certain it is, that his sickness came of Bleeding, And faith
1588. further : *Confessis fere famam, illum dum i curvis corpore*
portibus emansum enervatum, in letto seque volutatum
inter horribillum blasphemiarum daras, tantam sanguinis
etiam percussit, ut paucas post horas mortuus fuisset. This
is the Transcendent report to goeth, that his Blood gushing
out by divers parts of his Body, he tossing in his Bed,
uttering some very horrible Blasphemies, laid upon
Pillows with his Head towards the Wall, & afterwards
voided so much blood at his mouth that in few hours he
died. Which story, if it be true, as is recorded and test-
fied, may be a Spectacle and Example to all persecuting
Kings and Princes polluted with the Blood of Christian
Martyrs. And thus much briefly touching the late ter-
rible Persecution in France.

A The Conclusion of the Work.
 And thus to unbind *good Christian Reader* the
present Translation, yet for lack of matter, but in
 shorter rather the matter for largeness of the Volume,
 here say for this *present time*, without further addition
 of more discourse, either to *enrich* the *well thought*
reader, or to *correct* the *errors* of the *former*,
 having *hitherto* *set forth* the *Acts* and *Proceedings* of
 the *whole Church of Christianity* within the *Church of England*
 although not in *such particular perfection*, that nothing
 may be *supposed* as *yet* *perfectly* *settled*, but *yet*
trust not *very much* has *escaped* me *useless* to
 be *known*, touching the *principal affairs*, *done* and *pro-*
ceedings of the *Church and Churchmen*. Wherein may
 be *seen* the *whole past*, *order*, *discipline*, *consent* and *con-*
sensus of the *time*, the *increase* and *decrease* of *true*
Religion, the *creeping* in of *Superstition*, the *horribil-*

Edward Bulkley to the Christian Reader.

WHereas that excellent Man, hath for harrning
worthy Work with this (per declaration of
Servants in France; I have thought good
afterward to add therunto a Declaration
Favours; and Followers of the Church of Rome upon
All faithfully collected and taken out of the History of
the Parliament of Parly, and Counsellor of State to
us done, that we may thereby be the more moved to hate and
loathe, that by us and contempts of Gods holy Word,
into the cruel claus; thereof, have since this day, of such
great mercy had not proceeded that Grege, barbarous,
cruel Deliverance God make us mindful, and truly thank
and righteous[ne] all the days of our life, Amen.

John. 8. 12.
1 John. 1. 9.
Heb. 11. 17.
Pag. 18.

When the Admiral was wounded in both his Arms he immediately thereupon said to *Maurice* Preacher to the *Queen of Navarre* deceased; O my Brother, I do now perceive that I am beloved of my God, seeing that for his most holy Name I take I suffer these wounds: Then he whispred in the ear one of them that bare up his Arm, that he should deliver an hundred Crowns to *Marlin* his Preacher, to be given to the Poor of the Church of *Paris*.

Fig. 16. The Admiral was slain by *Bomjus*, of whom *Aline* (one of them that came to kill him) did afterwards report, that he never saw man in so present peril, so constantly and confidently suffer death.

Fig. 11. Many honourable Men and great Personages were
then murdered, as Count Rochefoucauld, Telmus the A
mirals Son-in-Law, Antonius Claromontus Marquis
Fig. 12. Ravely, Lewis Buffius, Baulineus, Pluvialius, Bernius, &
Francis Nonpar Caumontius, being in Bed with
Fig. 13. two Sons, was slain with one of them: the other w
strangely preserved, who after came to great honour a

Pg 41: Stephen Cutleria Prime, chief Treasurer to the King in Rujm, a very good man, and careful of the Common-wealth, after he had paid for his life a good sum of Money, was cruelly murdered by some Cut-throats whom Stephen Fergen Patandary, that gaped for Office, had sent for that purpose.

Pg 41: Margaret Briffon, an excellent Woman and learned, the Widow of Isoramus, Master of Requests to the King, flying out of the City in poor apparel, was taken cruelly murdered, and cast into the River.

troubles of Persecution, the wonderful assistance of the
 Almighty in maintaining his Truth, & the glorious com-
 plicity of Christ's Admirers, the rage of the Enemies, the
 rage of the Tyrants, the rage of the cruel and bloody
 Church, from the first Primitive age of Christianity, to
 the end of Queen Mary and the beginning of this our
 gracious Queen Elizabeth. During the time of her
 happy Reign, which hath hitherto continued (through the
 goodness of God) above the space of thirty and four
 years, as with my life I would be glad the good will
 of the Lord were so, that no more matter of specta-
 culable Stories may ever be offered hereafter: to write
 upon this subject, I can tell how, the elder the World
 waxeth, the longer it continueth in the same. And
 to its end, the more Satan rageeth, groweth his new matter
 of writing Books and Volumes: Injunctum that if all
 were recorded and committid to History, that within
 the compass of the space of thirty and four years, hap-
 pened, in Scotland, Flanders, France, England, &c.
 Besides this our own Country of England and Ireland,
 and other Countries more, & surely I suppose no Eu-
 ropean, or Christian, who writeth of, would not suffice
 themselves with one of these, but would needs write
 after more, as if thus please the Lord to grace grace
 and Grace. In the mean time the Grace of the Lord Jesus
 work witheth (gentle Reader) in all thy studious Read-
 ing, & while thou hast thus far employ'd thy self,
 that by reading thus far, thou hast had the grace
 which may profit thy Soul, may teach thee experience,
 may arm thee with patience, and instruct thee in all
 Spiritual knowledge more and more to thy perpetual
 service and satisfaction, I leave thee to the Lord, to
 whom be all glory in Secula Seculorum, amen.

Two thousand were murdered in one day; and the same liberty of killing and spoiling continued certain days after.

At *Meldis* two hundred were cast into Prison, and being brought out as Sheep to the slaughter, were cruelly murdered. There also a Woman was slain. Page 62.

At Orleans a thousand of Men, Women and Children were murdered. Page 61.

The Citizens of *Augustobona*, when they heard of the Massacre at *Paris*, shut the Gates of their Town that no Protestant might escape, and cast all that they suspected into Prison, which afterward were brought

Page 64.

At *Avaricum* in like manner the suspected for Religion were cast into Prison, and afterward murdered. Pag. 65.

At **Lions** there were 800 most miserably and cruelly murdered; the Children hanging at their Fathers necks, and the Fathers embracing their Children &c. There

At Romanium seven were killed, *Pag. 71.*

At *Rean* 500 were put to death. At the last *Thuanus* writeth thus; This example passed unto other Cities, and from Cities to Towns and Villages, so that it is by many published, that in all the Kingdom above 30000 were in these tumults divers ways destroyed; although I think the number was somewhat less.

Country	1980	1985	1990	1995	2000	2005	2010	2015	2020
Japan	18.5	19.5	20.5	21.5	22.5	23.5	24.5	25.5	26.5
France	15.5	16.5	17.5	18.5	19.5	20.5	21.5	22.5	23.5
Germany	14.5	15.5	16.5	17.5	18.5	19.5	20.5	21.5	22.5
Italy	13.5	14.5	15.5	16.5	17.5	18.5	19.5	20.5	21.5
Spain	12.5	13.5	14.5	15.5	16.5	17.5	18.5	19.5	20.5
United Kingdom	11.5	12.5	13.5	14.5	15.5	16.5	17.5	18.5	19.5
Sweden	10.5	11.5	12.5	13.5	14.5	15.5	16.5	17.5	18.5
United States	9.5	10.5	11.5	12.5	13.5	14.5	15.5	16.5	17.5

A little before this Mattheus Vian, Nuric, and Istant carried to be baptized, were in Rome for this purpose.

There was wonderful great joy in Rome for this purpose, and the Pope with his Cardinals went in solemn Procession to the Church of Saint Mark, to give thanks unto God for this great benefit bestowed upon the French, and the Christian world. And the Monday following there was solemn Service in the Church of Minerva, at which the Pope and the Cardinals were present. A Jubile also was published, and in the evening, the great Ordinance was put off in the Cathedral of St. Andrew.

The Cardinal of Lorain gave a Chawdron to him that brought News of it.

Brucanensis a noble Man of twenty years, and Carvagnus, were laid upon Hurdles and drawn unto Execution: and being in the way reviled, and defiled with dirt cast upon them, they were hanged. Brucanensis might have been pardoned; if he would publicly confess, that the Admiral had conspired against the King; which he refused to do.

After a City in the County of the Albignois, held by the Protestants, being upon the Kings great offer of their safety, delivered up into the hands of Cécile a Noble man, was notwithstanding with murders and spoil cruelly wasted.

At Bordeaux, by the instigation of a Monk, called Enimund Augerius, were 254 cruelly murdered, whom some were Senators. This Monk continually provoked them in his Sermons to the slaughter.

There was great rejoicing in the Camp of the Duke Alva, for the murder in Paris.

I have thought good to add herewith the like Cruelty, committed at Jandy the same time before this Mattheus, by the Followers of the Church of Rome, against the true Professors of Christ his Gospel, taken also out of the Histories of the said honourable man James August Thuanus, who in the first part of his second Tome, lib. 29. writeth thus.

At Agdenium in Maine, a cruel slaughter of the Protestants was committed by the instigation of A. Maturus, Inquisitor of Criminal causes, Cardinal Gule (as was thought) not being ignorant thereof, being Archbishop of that City, who, to the stirring up of the more hatred against him, was accused to have been at the fire and laughter at Vassy. A rumour being spread abroad, that the Protestants had taken fence Countrol to invade and spoil the Churches, about a hundred of every estate and sex were by the enraged People killed or drowned in the River Agne, which runneth by the City, the houses of many were spoiled; the Church without the City where the Protestants assembled, was pulled down and made equal to the ground, and their vines pulled up by the Roots.

The Duke of Guise entered into Blois; which although he got without any fight, yet all furor of liberty was permitted to the Souldiers, houses were spoiled, many Protestants which had remained there, or drowned in the River; neither were Women spared, of whom some were defiled, and more murdered. Amongst whom one Maron of good birth, having escaped drowning in Water, could not escape from the hands of the murderers. From thence he went to Metz, a Town two Leagues from Blois, where Protestants had frequent assembly at Sermons; which for many days together was spoiled, and many killed, and Caladinius the Pastor was drowned in the next River.

At Legallum certain men were strangled, the Preachers pulled out, and he burned by a stork and low fire.

At Anjou, Albicani the Pastor was murdered, certain Women slain, and some defiled; amongst which, two Sisters were abused in the fight of their Father, who was bound to a Well to behold that sight.

John Turry a Preacher, above 70. years old, being taken was drowned in the River Clavium.

An hundred and twenty being put into the Church at Cefardum, were cruelly murdered and drowned in the River Liger. Many more Men and Women, which would not go to Mass, were slain by the procurement of

one Antonio Plesiac Richel, who had been a Monk, and was then a leader of footmen. Children that had been baptized by the Protestants, were by them rebaptized.

John Purgensis, Resident of Tours, an old man, being suspected to be a Protestant, having bought with a great sum of money his life and safety, was notwithstanding taken and beaten cruelly with Clubs and Staves, and being stripped of his Cloaths, was brought to the Bank of the River Liger, and was hanged his feet upwards, and head downward in the Water up to his breast; then (he yet alive) they opened his Belly, pulled out his Guts, and threw them into the River, and taking his heart, put it upon a spear, carrying it with contumacious words about the City.

Renaus Campanus did throw above fifty whom either for Religion he suspected, or otherwise hated, into his great Water Pond, which in jest he used to call his great Cup. In the Water Pools of one Bojardus were found above fifty Bodies of men that had been cruelly flung.

At Samarobrige certain were slain, Bibles in the French Tongue and other Books were burned, and the Pulpit overthrowen.

At Abbatville, Robert Sandeliscus Alleurus was slain, and his Son Francis, who first was wounded and left in the way for dead, and after being alive, carried into an Inn, was taken out and killed. Francis Cantalega Secoreville, and Antony Cancelevis Alleurus, six Kinfolmen flying away, were taken and killed.

At Valencia a Tumult of purpose was raised; Hosiellus and Cosavill dwelling, thereby were slain with certain men of the Town, of whom was one John Gifford, who being overwhelmed with Souldiers, being supposed to be dead, yet after lifting up his head, and calling for help, was with Spits and Spears thrust thorow and killed; the hatred of the furious People being fiercely fastidied with his double death.

In Adamarbridge the Pastor or Preaching sick, was taken, and having his eyes put out, and his right ear cut, was slain, and his Body was drawn thorow the Town unto the Gallows.

Three Women were drawn thorow the streets and cast into the River, and drowned.

The Town of Barre being taken by the Papists, all kind of cruelty was there used, Children were cut up, and the Guts of some of them and hearts pulled out, which in rage they gnawed with their Teeth. They that were in the Castle, when they had yielded themselves to the will of the Conquerors, were almost all hanged. One Ratis spared not his own Son, but suffered him in that Tumult to be hanged.

The Italians which served the King did for hatred of Religion break forth into such fury, that they did rip up a living Child, did take his Livers, being as yet red hot, and eat it as meat.

A young Maid of 16. years old was murdered. When the City Matiscum was taken by corrupting the Keeper of the Keys, whom they killed, great cruelty was shewed, for that they counted it a point to cut off men Legs and Arms.

Anonymous inviting Gentlewomen to Supper, would walk with them, and having his Souldiers about him used to cast some of his Prisoners (of which he had many) from the Bridge into the River; and with that Spectacle did satiate the eyes of his guests; of whose multitude would ask, whether they did ever see him leap before.

When Gondrinus a follower of the Duke of Guise was slain, there were found among his Papers Letters of the said Duke; wherein he gave commandment for slaying of the Protestants in every City of his Government.

Servantius having taken without bloodshed the Town of Cisterion, yet obtained not from shedding of Blood; but having killed above 200. of them that did not resist him spoiled the Town.

At Calors upon the Lords day the 16. kal. of December, the Papists at the ringing of a Bell did break open the doors, where the Protestants were assembled, and killed without difference, some in the place, some as they were fleeing away, were here and there slain, among whom was one Guterius a Rich Merchant; who

anno who being drawn into his own house, was with his Wife and Children murdered, and his house spoiled. About 1558. 45. were at that Tumult murdered, and their bodies contemptuously used.

As Gallium, which is a Town by the River Tarnus, a great slaughter of Protestants was committed by the means of Laurence Striffus Cardinal, Bishop of Albien, in which, above 150. were murdered: of which, some were drawn thorow the streets, and after death cast into the fields, to be eaten of Rites; other were drowned in the River, or cast head-long from an high place. Protestants houses were marked with Chalk to be murdered.

In a Town called Penna, 300. (notwithstanding the safety of their lives was promised to them) were cruelly murdered by Spaniards, which were newly come to serve the French King; who also killed certain Women there scoffingly saying, that they were Lutheran men, defilinging their Sex by their apparel.

Calmaribus was slain in the siege of Montalbano, whose cruelty had been so great, that he counted it but a sport to burn Women, Children, and old Men in an house together.

The Town of Nonne being yielded to the Papists, upon condition, that the forain Souldiers should depart safe with their Armour, leaving their Ensigns, and that the Enemies Souldiers that were footmen should not enter into the Town, and that no harm should be done to the Townsmen; but that they might (if they would) go into the Castle: after the yielding of it, the Gates were set open, and straight they came to murdering and spoiling without any regard of the former condition. Men and Women without difference were killed; the streets founded with miserable mourning, Blood flowing in the ways, and the lascivious Souldiers Swords shining in the flames of the fire, which they had cast upon the houses. Many were cruelly killed, being thrown down headlong from the high. Among others, then example of inordinate filthiness and cruelty is reported. A certain Woman being drawn out of a privy place, into which to avoid the rage of the Souldiers she had fled with her Husband, was in his sight shamefully defiled: and then being commanded to draw a Sword, not knowing to what end was forced by others, who ordered her hand, to give her Husband a deadly wound, whereof he died; the Souldiers not being content to defile her Body, but also to make her to defile her hands with the slaughter of her Husband.

Thuanus in his 36. Book, maketh a false declaration of a horrible conspiracy of some in France with King Philip, for the taking and destruction of the Queen of Navarre, her Son Henry, and Katherine her Daughter, which was by Gods providence strangely discovered and defeated, but the Conspirators not punished.

In Farsine the Protestants being assembled to hear a Sermon, some were beaten, and some slain; the preacher in the Pulpit thrust thorow and slain.

Philibert Cureus, a noble and virtuous man, and an earnest Protestant, was by Conspiracy of adversaries slain, as he was hunting and going to his Brother.

Anonymous Friar called Falscardine, coming to the Town Fuxium, and falsly lying, in saying that the Protestants, whom he called Hagenites, had killed all the Catholics in Apamea, caused 35. Protestants to be pulled out of their houses, and to be murdered.

At Samarbridge in Flordy, in the time of Peace, above six hundred Protestants were murdered. and at Aulfadore, which the Protestants having held in the last War, had now yielded up, 150. were cruelly killed, and their dead Bodies were drawn, and cast partly into Jakes, and partly into the River.

Cyprian, the Count of Tenda his Son, as he was returning from the Duke of Savoy his Kinfolmen, was with his retinue, to the number of 35. cruelly murdered at Forum Julii.

Within the space of three months, in time of Peace were above 1000. murdered.

Bardis a Captain under the Prince of Conde at Mirabellum, was contrary to promise cruelly killed, and his naked Body cast into the street, that being unbared the Dogs might eat it.

The Prince of Conde being taken Prisoner, and his life promised him, was that in the Neck by Memonius, Captain of the Duke of Arizon Guard of whom Thuanus writeth thus: *He exitus fuit Ludovici Borbonis Captivus regis fipissimus fopra aulium fpendens magnitudine animi ac virtute illuftriffimus, qui attitudinem confiantia, ingenio, fcleria, rerum ufu, comitate, facundia, liberalitate, quae omnes fimal virtutes in illo adeo excellenter, paces aequales, nomen fua etate, vel infortiorum confpiffum, fuperventum habuit:* That is, This was the end of Lewis Bourbon Prince of Conde, of the Kings Blood, a man above the honour of his birth most honourable in courage and virtue; who in valency, constancy, wit, wisdom, experience, courtesy, eloquence, and liberality, all which virtues excelled in him, had few his equals, and none, even by the confidion of his Enemies, superior to him.

Robert Stuart (a valiant Scottish Gentleman) being taken Prisoner, was notwithstanding flayed with Daggers, and killed.

At Orleans an hundred Men and Women being committed to Prison, were by the furious Papists killed in most cruelly murdered.

Nactium was yielded up by the Souldiers, upon promise made to them of the saving of their lives; yet most of them being brought to Aggibona, were cruelly slain by the furious People.

Many Men and Women were murdered for the space of 3. daies at Orange.

Hitherto out of the history of Jacobus Augustinus Thuanus (who is reported to be a Catholic) which endeth in the year 1578. wherein I have for shortness sake omitted sundry particular outrages and murders committed by that bloody Babylonish Generation; from whose bloody hands God in mercy defend and preserve us.

Hereunto I will only add the murdering of Henry the third, and Henry the fourth, late French Kings; by Papists: the former murdered by Clements Monks; the other by Francis Ravallia a Franciscan Friar: and to make up the full measure of impiety and cruelty, the Barbarous and monstrous Power Plot fallow; whereby it was intended and purposed to have blown up the Parliament house, when our gracious King James Prince Henry, all the Nobility, Bishops, Knights and Burgesses should be assembled therein. To the effecting of which devilish device, about thirty four Barrels of Gunpowder were laid under the said Parliament house and there found. This bloody conspiracy was practised by precise Papists, whose Confessions would not permit them to come to our Churches; but did easily flatter and allow them to attempt this savage and horrible practice: Viz. Francis Trithemius two Winters, Sir Edward Digby, Percy, &c. Hereunto also three Jesuits (or rather Jesuits) Henry Garnet (who suffered death for it) Oswald Trismund, and John Gerrard were privy and consenting. Trismund encouraged Bates into it, abfolved him; and ministered the Sacrament to him. Gerrard ministered the Oath of secrecy to Cateley, Percy, John Wright, Thomas Winters, and Fawkes; abfolved them, and ministered the Sacrament unto them, as it is more largely declared in the Book intitled, *The Relation of the proceedings against the barbarous Traitors, Garnet a Jesuit, and his confederates*, Page 50. & 62. & 133. This bloody device should have been executed the fifth of November, 1605. but was by Gods great mercy discovered and defeated, to the just destruction of those detestable Traitors, who fell into the Pit that they digged for others, and to the eternal shame and confusion of that bloody Babylon of Rome, and her favours and followers.

John 8. 44.

Ye are of your Father the Devil, and the lusts of your Father ye will do: he hath been a murderer from the beginning, and abode not in the Truth, because there is no Truth in him. When he speaketh a lie, he speaketh he of his own; for he is a liar, and the Father thereof.

F I N I S

A
CONTINUATION
OF THE
HISTORIES
O F

Forreign Martyrs:

From the happy Reign of the most Renowned

QUEEN ELIZABETH,
TO THESE TIMES.

With sundry *RELATIONS* of those Bloody *MASSACRES*
executed upon the *PROTESTANTS* in the Cities
of *FRANCE*, in the Year 1572.

Whereunto are annexed the two famous Deliverances of our *English*
Nation: The one from the *Spanish Invasion* in 1588. The other from the
Gunpowder Treason, in the Year 1605.

Together with the Barbarous Cruelties exercised upon the *PROFESSORS*
of the *GOSPEL* in the *Valtoline*, 1621.



L O N D O N,

Printed by *W. R.* and *S. R.* for the Company of *STATIONERS*.
MDCLXXXIV.

A T R E A T I S E

O F AFFLICTIONS and PERSECUTIONS of the FAITHFUL, preparing them with Pati- ence to suffer Martyrdom.

CHAP. I.

Shewing, That such as will live godly in Christ Jesus, must needs suffer Afflictions.

WE are all prone by Nature to decline Afflictions, each one supposing to find out some back way to escape them. First, Some are of opinion, that they can quit themselves by playing the Temporizers: Secondly, Others, by hiding and concealing themselves: Thirdly, Another sort, by flying from those places where Tyrants vex and domineer: Fourthly, A fourth, thinking to be kept off blows by their dreams and creeds they have gotten in the World. Fifthly and lastly, A fifth sort imagining to find some easiness, either by reason of their Allies, or good Services which they have done, dreaming forsooth, that either these or the like projects should yield them good respect, and preserve them from being called unto question by those that hate them. In a word, which of us hath not some fetch or other to break loose, if he should be either examined or pursued?

This is the true cause that so few are prepared, and careful timely to foresee what belongs to suffering shame and disgrace for the truth, as the commodities of long imprisonment, or what appertains to the constant and patient bearing of hideous torments and death for the Cause of the Gospel. But alas, all these are but as fig-leaves, and vain hopes, which being somewhat pleasing to the flesh do only dull and deceive us, causing us to grow secure and careless, and so unprovided to suffer till we be surprised, and in safe custody in our enemies hands. So that when we should be able to give a reason of the hope that is in us, we have not a word to say.

To prevent these so great inconveniences, let us hold this for a sure Principle, That it is impossible to live godly, and not suffer persecution. For God hath so decreed, That if we will partake of the glory of his Son, we must first be conformed to him in his Sufferings. Yea, this is that strait gate and narrow way which leadeth unto life. Through much tribulation we must enter into the Kingdom of God, Acts 14. 22. and whosoever bears not the Cross of Christ, following him, cannot be his Disciple. The Apostle in the Epistle to the Hebrews plainly tells us, That if we be Children, we must taste of that Discipline which God visiteth his withal in his Family. It is and must be the portion of God's beloved ones, to live in this World as sheep amongst Wolves.

Indeed, if we could live without sin, we might then conceive some hope of freedom from the Cross. But whilst corrupt Nature lives in us, and brings forth such bitter fruits, God hath, and will in all ages raise up some Tyrant or other, as means to mortify and tame the pride and rebellion thereof. Devils may as soon cease to

be, as that enmity should cease between the Seed of the Wo-
man and the Seed of the Serpent. As long as the Church
continues to be Christ's poor Barque in the Salt-Sea of this
World, she must make her account to be tossed with storms
and tempests of Persecutions.

What should I say, no Crown is to be expected in Hea-
ven, if we will not fight the good fight of faith here on
earth; nor to reap in joy, if in this world we refuse to
sow in tears: The life of our Lord Jesus Christ cannot
be manifest in us, except we bear about in our body the
dying of the Lord Jesus.

Let every Christian then hold this for certain, That
when the World ceaseth to hate the Children of God, and
the Devil to annoy them, then may they look, and not be-
fore, to live in the World without Persecutions.

Hath not the Way, the Life, and the Truth said it? John 16. 33.
In the World you shall have tribulation. And therefore
let not the great ones of the World think to be exempted
out of this rank, more than the small: For to the Saints
and Members of the true Church afflictions are even as
ordinary, as is Baptism, Faith, and the Spirit of Adop-
tion.

Was not Moses the adopted Son of Pharaohs Daughter,
fain to fly out of Egypt to save his life? Was not David,
though anointed King, hunted by Saul his persequer, as a
Partridge into the Mountains? Judith and Daniel were of the
blood Royal, yet they escaped not; the one, from be-
ing cruelly rent in sunder with a saw, after he had preach-
ed to his Nation sixty years; nor the other (although next
unto the King he was) the affairs of the Babylonish Em-
pire; he went into the Lyons Den.

In the times of the great Persecutions under Dioclesian,
the Emperour of Rome, who were the first that were fac-
tified, but Nicomede, and the principal Favourites of the
Court? Who is ignorant that two of the most noble Prin-
ces of our times that ever Germany had, notwithstanding
their mention and merit, were taken Prisoners by the
Emperour, or held captive five or six years in great dis-
tress? What should I here mention Lady Jane Gray pro-
claimed Queen of England, and yet cruelly put to death? Or
Thomas Cranmer Primace of England, burned to ashes at
Oxford? Or the Lord Cobham that religious and valiant
Knight, hanged, and burned hanging in S. Giles's in
the Fields? All these, with many more, were apprehended,
and not long after put to death, even then when they might
seem most to have flourished in the World.

Seeing then that neither Age, Sex, Power nor Place can
secure us from sufferings, which are every where foretold
in the holy Scriptures to abide us, whether we be high or
low, let us in the name and fear of God prepare to take up
our Cross, and follow him.

D d d 2

1 Pet. 3. 17.

1 Tim. 3. 12.

Rom. 8. 17.

Math. 7. 14.

John 14. 27.

Heb. 12. 7.

Math. 10. 16.

Gen. 3. 15.

Math. 1. 16.

1 Tim. 4. 7.

Psalm 126.

1 Cor. 9. 10.

John 16. 33.

Exod. 2. 11.

1 Sam. 26.

1 Sam. 31.

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Among others, Abramam proffered more in power and wealthly subsistence among beatitudes and strangers, than ever he had like have done in his own Country. Also Joseph, in his Father's house, by a sly Sephard, being enticed to Egypt, was made a great man, and a great prince, became the Governor of a whole Kingdom, Gen. 42. 6. Did not Daniel also obtain such honors and dignities in Babylon among idolaters, as he could never have expected to be raised to the like in Judea? But to lay no more stress on the former, let us consider the latter, and that of late years. But the former mentioned may suffice; but only this I think, that all of such as have been persecuted for the Truth's sake, there is not one (if he would speak uprightly) but may acknowledge, that he was never unprepared for his afflictions, nor left altogether without necessary; and there is reason to believe, that he will be able to overcome all his persecutions.

eye at Tilt or Turney; let us imitate them in this our spiritual Conflict, earnestly imitating the Lord, if it be his blessed will, that we may fight and dye valiantly in his defence of his Truth, and for the honour of his Son. If worldly minded men can and will suffer many hard adventures, some for their honour, others for their profits and pleasures, though but vain and temporary; with what and pleasures should we assure to that certain and eternal happiness, rest, and glory, wherewith all those shall be crowned who fight manfully and constantly for the cause of Christ?

But the world and worldlings smile at this wisdom, counting it foolishness; the flesh also joyning therewith, thinks all we have said to be either idle phantasies, or mere paradoxes; and no marvel, for both of them being from the earth, can savour nothing but what is earthly, as Christ saith. Between the judgment of the Church, and that of the World, there is a broad difference, when the question is of determining what is true honour, profit, or pleasure; whence it is that in a manner the one scorneth that which the other admires and adores. So as they neither consent in approving or condemning, with one voice, that which is questioned; for the belly hath no ears. If leave the world be given to God.

Ponder we then these things, that so we may be prepared to obey the will of God: let us not wilfully rush into

danger; only if God shall call us forth to suffer, pursuing thereby to conform us to our Head, and so to accompany that great cloud of Witnesses through the narrow way that leads to his Kingdom, yield we our necks to bear the sweet and easie yoke of Christ. Be it that Satan and his Confederates do persecute the Church of Christ, yet hath he an assured hiding place. The faithful may be imprisoned, but in the mean while they leave the world in a worse Prison, viz. shut up under the wrath of God. They may be in bonds, yet is not that so bad as to be bound in the bonds of iniquity; they are set shut up in dark and unfavourable places, but how can darkness be grievous to them who are the children of light, especially when God shines upon them with the light of his countenance? Stinking holes and odious smells cannot so offend and annoy them, but that the sweet savour of a good conscience, purified by faith, surmounts all. They may be put into dungeons, yet have their conversation in heaven, out of the world, they leave their conversation in heaven. Be it that they lose a few commodities here, it is but as if they forsook counters to receive gold, things terrestrial for celestial. A Christian may suffer, but he cannot dye; he may lose his life, but he cannot lose Christ; when he leaves the world he goes to God.

Wherefore let us then put on the whole armour of God, Eph. 6. 11. and as good soldiers of Jesus Christ, ensure our selves to 2 Tim. 2. 3. and as good soldiers of Jesus Christ, ensure our selves to 2 Tim. 2. 3. and as good soldiers of Jesus Christ, ensure our selves to 2 Tim. 2. 3.

THE

HISTORY OF

Four MARTYRS Burnt at Lisle in Flanders, in the Year 1556. whose Names are Robert Ogner, and his Wife, Baudicon and Martin, and their two Sons.

The example which is set before us in this so Godly a Family may well serve for an entrance to the Continuation of the History of foreign Martyrs, in that we may thence learn, what those true Ornaments are wherewith both Parents and their Children ought to be decked and adorned, namely with such a light shining forth from the sound knowledge of the Gospel, as whereby the Church of God may be edified and confirmed in seeing them to hold the profession of their Faith constantly even unto the death.

The City of Lisle may well be placed in the first rank of those Cities of Merchandise in the Low Country of Flanders, *Arras*, and *Huyndun*, upon which the Lord hath multiplied his blessings, so that they have their conversation in heaven. Be it that they lose a few commodities here, it is but as if they forsook counters to receive gold, things terrestrial for celestial. A Christian may suffer, but he cannot dye; he may lose his life, but he cannot lose Christ; when he leaves the world he goes to God.

For, for three years together the Gospel was secretly taught among them, sometime in Houses, then in woods, in Fields, and in Caves of the Earth, not without the hazarding of their dearest life, if they had been discovered: yet could not their apparent dangers under such tyranny cool or abate the burning zeal which almost consumed the heart of this people, hungering and thirsting after the spiritual food of their Souls.

What was among them preached, was accordingly practised: works of mercy and charity were there exercised, not only towards those of the household of Faith, but even towards them which were without, so as many by means hereof were drawn and brought on to the knowledge of Christ. They obtained in their assembly certain Deacons to receive the Alms which were given, men of House to House to collect the Alms of such as they knew to be Faithful: admonishing every one how to carry themselves in their vocations, and of their duty in contributing towards the relief of the poor Saints. And thus each one according to his place endeavoured to express and manifest his Faith by the fruits thereof, namely good works.

In a very short space of time, the Lord by the Ministry of his Word (though preached in secret) erected here a flourishing Church, so as the Congregation consisted of a competent number of Men, Women, and Children, not only of the City, but out of four or five Villages besides bordering nigh unto it, who came also with an eager appetite to be instructed.

In the mean while, you may conceive that Satan and his adherents ceased not to storm and rage heret, not being able long to endure these their holy meetings, but when the time was now come, that God had given them power to prove and try his Church, they forewilled not to exercise their cruelty upon it, which long before they had plotted and contrived.

Upon Saturday then the sixth of March, Anno 1556, between nine and ten of the Clock in the Night, the Provost of the City with his Sergeants Armed themselves to make search, if they could find any met together in Houses; but as then there was no assembly. Therefore they came to the House of one whose Name was Robert Ogner, which was a little Church, for all both great and small, men, servants and maids were familiarly instructed there in the knowledge of God, as the issue well manifested.

Being violently entered into the said House, and seeking here and there for their prey, they found certain Books which they carried away. But he whom they principally aimed at was not then in the House, viz. Baudicon the Son of the said Robert Ogner, who at that time was gone abroad to commune and talk of the Word of God with some of the Brethren, as he oft used to do. Returning home, he knocked at the door: Martin his younger Brother, watching his coming, bad him be gone, willing him not to come in. But Baudicon, thinking his Brother mistook him for some other, said, it is I, open the door with that, the Sergeants approaching nigh unto it, opened the same and causing him to enter in, said, Ah Sir, you are well met, to whom he answered, I thank you my friends, you also are welcome hither.

Then said the Provost, I arrest you all in the Emperor's Name, and with that commanded each of them to be bound, to wit, the Husband and his Wife with their two Sons, leaving their two Daughters to look to the Streets, Baudicon with a Voice somewhat extended (which might easily be heard at that time of the night) said, O Lord, assist us by thy Grace not only to be Prisoners for thy Name sake, but to confess thy holy truth in all purity before Men, so far as to Seal the same with our Bloods for the edification of thy poor Church.

Thus were they brought into several Prisons, where they were severally handled; yet ceased they not to praise and bless the Lord with one consent within a few days after they were preferred before the Magistrates of the City, and examined as touching their course of life, who directed their Speech first to Robert Ogner in these words: It is told us that you never come to Mass, yea, and also dissuade others from coming thereto; we are further informed that you maintain Conventicles in your House, causing erroneous Doctrines to be preached there contrary to the ordinance of our Holy Mother the Church, where

The Prayers
which Baudicon
made as he was led
to Prison.

...to all the golly his Prison-fellows
such ado to stay and comfort him. The blood
and use of his note, he spread abroad his arms; and
and pious queries. What, to drive the truth (said he)
God forbid? Oh that the faithful should conceive fo
ly, nor have this way offended. Then the residue of
Brethren advised him to get a gift of his Indictment,
which if it contained no such thing, then to fend it to the
Church, and to manifest to them his innocency touching
that whereof he was accused: besides making a plain
confession of his Faith, to impart the same to the Council,
and therewithal to show how he was abused by the *Margaree*
and his Parents, which he accordingly did.

The said *Cornelius* being condemned to dye, the *Margaree*
offered him so much more favour as to vyea more
rare kind of death, if he would but give ear to the Priests
whom he had brought with him into the Prison. *Cornelius*
replied, No Sir, God forbid I should do such a
thing: do ye wish my body what ye will. As they bound
him and *Herman Janfen* (who both followed together)
Herman desired to take bread what he did:
for faith he said will not go for payment in Gods gift:
bereaving us thus of our lives with you to repent there-
fore before it be too late, you cannot long continue this
tyrannous course, for the Lord will shortly avenge it.
The *Margaree* commanded they should have a Crofs cut
for *Cornelius* put into their hands, promising *Cornelius* that
if he would do so, he should only be betrayed, and not
burned: but they both rejected the Crofs, saying, *They*
would not give the least sign that might be of betraying
the Truth, and that was all one to them what they death
they put them to, for they died in and for the while, but the
punishment, they said, could last but for a while, but the
glory to come was eternal.

Then were they led towards the Market place, and
Herman rejoicing in the Lord, fang the hundred and
thirtieth Psalm. *Cornelius* followed him, and gave the
people goodly Exhortation. Being come to the place of
Execution, the Sword was laid there ready to be-
come theirs, if they would take the Crofs into their hands, and
admit the Priests into their Company: But because they
would not yield one whit unto them, wood was made
ready to burn them. Then *Cornelius* fell on his knees,
praying God to forgive his Enemies, who had fanned
through ignorance. After which they were put into a
little Lodge made of Fagots, and fringed at the Stake.
But whilst this was a doing, there fell out such a tumult
amongst the People, that they were not at all afraid of
an uprise; the Hangman, he caught hold of his Sword
to defend himself, thinking they would kill him first;
but the business was as suddenly quieted as raised. The
fire being kindled, flamed forth upon the Bodies of these
holy Martyrs. The *Margaree* thought, according to
the usual course, to have quenched the fire, that so con-
suming the Wheels might unto the City, in the accustomed
places where they were to lie, as Spectacles to be gazed
upon. But the peoples wrath being stirred, crucified him in
his purpose, so as his Serjants and Halberdiers leaving
him, he stood as one astonied, causing the Executioner
to finish out the rest of this Tragedy.

Notes upon the occasion of a Sedition at Paris, the fifth
of March, 1559.

The fifth day of March, there was a great uprise
raised in the Church of S. Innocents in Paris. The
Preachers all the Lent never ceased to move the people
to kill all the *Lutherans* they could meet withal, and
not leave the execution thereof to the Magistrate. At
Church, spent all his Sermons upon that Subject. The
same day taking his Text out of the eighth of S. Johns
Gospel, concerning the Woman taken in Adultery
being brought to Jesus Christ; he uttered execrable things
against the Magistrate, saying that it was no wonder
if the Judge did not call the first stone at the *Lutherans*,
because they themselves were also *Lutherans*: and there-

fore the people were not to attend them any longer, but
to rise and make open a publick fight. Yes, upon the
chief of them, which were but supposed to hold that
Doctrine. In this garbail a poor Priest (with a brother
of his, a Captain, passing by, and thinking by fair Language
to pacify the disordered Tumult) had his foot no
further out of the Church door, but was set upon by
this Blood-thirsty Crew, who although he asked quarter,
in the name of the Saints, desiring to be confided,
and showed all outward signs of being one of their by the
pride, yet could he of this headless Beast, the Multitude,
obtain no favour, but was stabbed into the belly with
a do of steel, and fell down dead. And yet they were not
Dagger, and the very men amongst them had bloody
fists, but the very men amongst them had bloody
at him, raising with their hands in his wounds, and then
in triumph lifting him up, bragged that they had bathed
their hands in the blood of a *Lutheran*.

The Captain with much ado getting into the Vicars
House, they beset the House lest he should escape their
fingers. And hearing that the Magistrate was coming
to deliver him, they feared not with one voice to say,
That they would spare none, no not the King himself,
though he came in his own Person. For if any more pitiful
than the rest uttered but so much as the least word tend-
ing to compassion, they were cruelly handled on all sides,
as many met with hard usage even for that.

Not fully a year before this, there fell out the like, if
not a worse Spectacle of Cruelty in the Church of Saint
Eustache.

For a Doctor of the Sorbonn, commonly called the
Soul of Picardy, who in his Sermon preached out no-
thing but Fire and Fagots, encouraged the *Parisians* to
slaughter the *Lutherans*, making many goodly promises
to all such as would undertake such a bloody design:
which was not for long propounded, as accepted of by
the people. For a poor School boy, happening (upon some
accident) to laugh at his Fellow Pupils; an old Turncoat
sitting by and observing it, cried out forthwith, That a
Lutheran mocked the Preacher. The people at the
found of this voice began to stir, not knowing upon
what ground: and hailing him out of the Church, vio-
lently mastered him, till they had forced both his eyes
out of his head, buffeting him with their fists; and one
among the rest, caused his Horse to trample upon him
thrice.

John Barbeville of Normandy, being questioned by
three of the Council about the Sacrament; answered,
That in the holy Supper, he received by Faith the Body and
Blood of the Lord, but not after any carnal manner:
forasmuch as being now ascended into Heaven, he shal
not return thence, till he come to judge the quick and
the dead. Upon which Article one of the Council ad-
vised this (saying, Which ascended into Heaven, and drew
the Ladder up after him.

Upon some occasion they said unto him, That he was
but a silly Ass, and therefore could not understand the
Scriptures. Well, said he, he that I am an Ass, yet
did you never read, that God opened the mouth of the
Prophet *Balaams* Ass to reprove him, for loading him
with stripes when he was going to utter his lies against
the Children of God? If God opened the Asses mouth,
do ye now wonder if he opens mine, to cause me to
speak against the falsehood and lies which you spread
broad against the people of God? For as the Ass spake
being overcharged with blows, which the false Prophet
gave him, so now in regard of the heavy burden where-
with in times past you have oppressed me by your Tra-
ditions, I am constrained to speak as I do.

Another Inquirer, a Monk called *Benedict*, told him,
That he was come to comfort and instruct him in the
Truth. How can you, said *Barbeville*, say, you come
to instruct me in the Truth, when your self do wear
the habit of a Lye? I cannot expect it from you; for
no man can gather Figs of Thistles, or Grapes of
Thorns.

Anno
1559.

And thus
the
Martyr
died.

And thus
the
Martyr
died.

And thus
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died.

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And thus
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Martyr
died.

Anno
1559. God so wrought here, and the Truth so prevailed, that
though it was plainly confessed, yet the Prisoners were
delivered Anno 1559.

The Court of the Parliament of Paris, willing to mo-
derate the Cruelties used against those of the Re-
formed Religion, solicited them what they could to dif-
femble and to yield in some points; wherein the well-
tempered of that side were not yetrightly informed: but to
this their advice they would by no means consent. Then
they took another course, and that was simply to examine
them touching the manner of eating Christs Body in the
Sacrament, without mentioning the Transubstantiation, or any
Carnal Prefence; hoping this way to free them from the
Crime of Sacramentaries, upon which point for the most
part the Sentence of Death was pronounced: seeing they
had heard formerly from the Prisoners, That the Churches
of France held, how the Body of Christ was received by
the Faithful, not in imagination, but truly and indeed, and
that the figs were neither naked nor empty Elements, but
exhibited that whereof they were figs.

This was propounded to four young men who were in
the flower of their Age, and lying Prisoners in the Con-
fessory of the Palace: It might be, to satisfy them. Now
when this Confession was presented in the Courts, all that
were well affected were glad of it in regard it was drawn
so favourably; some being of opinion that it would work
their deliverance. Others there were which opposed this
Project, and requested they might be examined what
they thought of the Mass, it being so necessary an Ar-
ticle; provided, that there might be some moderation in
the ordinary course of such Interrogations. Notwithstand-
ing it was thought, that this would rather hinder than
further their deliverance; yet did the better part persist in
their purpose of freeing them.

Being therefore asked again what they thought of the
Mass; they answered, That they would stand to their first
Confession. It was replied, that the Court would rest
satisfied with that Answer, if by so they would now only
go to Mass. But with one voice they affirmed, That they
would never yield to come thence where God was so dis-
honoured. The Court, to make it appear that no advantage
should be taken against them for this their Answer, gave
them leave severally to enter their Reasons. This pleased
the Prisoners well, and therefore they spared not to paint
forth the Mass in its lively colours; that all might per-
ceive there was cause sufficient why they should detest it.
First, one of them by way of opposition showed how
contrary the Mass was to the Lords Supper. The second
declared, it was Blasphemy to affirm, that there was any
other Propitiatory Sacrifice for sins than the Blood of
Christ. The third avouched, That if the Article of
Transubstantiation (whereon the Mass depends) were al-
lowed, Christ his Deity and his Humanity should be
abolished, and therefore it must be flat Idolatry to worship
Almighty God in a corruptible piece of Paste. The fourth
took note, that the fruits of the Sacrament could not be
received where the Word was not joynted with the figs,
where one of the figs were withheld, or where there
was no Communion.

Thus was the Mass anatomized, with the abominati-
on thereof, with all boldness; so as some of the Judges
were constrained to aver openly, That there was a great
abuse in it, being a manifest wrong done to the
Institution of Christ; as also that the Laity were there
deprived of the Cup, and the Bread only given, the
whole being performed in a Language which the poor
people understood not.

It was beyond the expectation of all men, that so free
a Confession would have passed for current in that place,
in which whoever came before them formerly, and made
the like, was condemned to dye. But now the Truth so
prevailed, that against all hope and ordinary proceedings
in times past, yea, contrary to the minds of those which
were Gods chiefest enemies, the order was this, That how-
soever Sentence of Death had been pronounced, against
three others of this Company, by the inferior Judges, yet
these four should have their lives saved; provided, that
they departed the Country within fifteen days. Which
exception, though it favoured of some Injustice, yet was

it nothing in comparison of the former Cruelties; and this
banishment turned rather for a benefit to them, than
an hurt; for by this means they had liberty to go to such
places where God was purely served.

The Story of Peter Chevet, Martyr.

Being asked whether he durst affirm that he had the
Spirit of God? Yes, said he, for I am one of Gods
Children, and therefore have the Spirit of God given un-
to me, as the earnest of my Adoption.

It is to be feared, said some, that you will bring your
self in danger of the Law, and to be burned. Truly, said
he, I do not think to escape better cheap; and though
you forth and roast me alive, yet will I never renounce
Jesus Christ. Is it not written, *He that shall confess me*
before men, him will I confess before my Father which
is in Heaven, &c. Being asked whether he desired not
to be absolved, confessed, and to receive Pardon, having stood
excommunicate now three years: He answered, I confess
my faults every day to my God; but where is that god-
ly Abolisher that will take upon him to pardon me? The
Official answering, said, That is even I. Now poor man,
said Peter, it is a question whether thou canst save thy
self, and wilt thou take upon thee then to save others?
The Official finding himself called with this Answer,
threatened him with longer Imprisonment. Alas, said
faithful, though I should rot in Prison, yet shall you still
find me the same man.

Being come to the place where he was to suffer, the
Executioner would not take the pains to help him from
the Cart, but tumbled him down with his head for-
ward. Notwithstanding all this and other Cruelties, he was
manfully overcome the same with invincible Confancy. And
when they pulled off his Clothes, he was heard to say
intelligibly, *How happy, how happy, O how happy am I*
in my eyes I shall live up to Heaven.

He was buried in the place called *Mauvert*, nigh to the
City of Paris, the 11. of March, 1559.

A notable Speech uttered by Anne du Burg, a Counselor
for the King in Parliament, in the Month of June,
Anno 1559.

Among the rest there was a Counselor called *Anne*
du Burg, a man of singular understanding and
knowledge, bred and nursed up in the bosom of the
Church of Christ. This man having rendered thanks to
God, for moving the Kings heart to be present at the
decision of so weighty a cause as that of Religion is, and
having exhorted himself well to consider thereof, being
the Cause of Christ himself, which of good right ought
to be maintained by Princes, pake boldly thereto, as God
gave him utterance: It is not, faith he, a matter of small
consequence, to condemn such as in the midst of the
fury flames call upon the Name of Jesus Christ. This I do
but note here by the way, because the consequence is
touching before by Master John Foxe, where he menti-
ons the terrible end of such as were Persecutors of the
Truth.

Only one thing more touching the said *Anne du Burg* is to be
noted here, and it is this: A certain woman in the
being Prisoner (for the same Cause) right over against
him, had a little window in her Chamber which opened
towards that where *Anne du Burg* lay; from whence
either by words or figs (when he was not observed
letter) the encouraged him to persevere constantly in the
Truth; by whom he was so comforted, that the same
Anne du Burg, being importuned by some of his Friends to
recant, said these words: *Nay, I love not, said he, for*
a woman hath taught me my Lesson, how I ought to carry
my self in this business to which God hath called me
feeling in himself, as it seemed, the force and power of the
good admonitions of this poor woman.

Whereof godly zeal was such as that her story may not
(as I think) be well omitted, but fully set down as I find
it recorded in the Volume of the French Martyrs. Her the Cause of
name was *Margaret Rich*, who suffered the nineteenth
of August in the place called *Mauvert*, not far from the
City of Paris in France.

Christian women, faith the Historian, behold here the courage and zeal of this *Margaret* your Sister, who let be have you for a pattern to imitate: she encouraged both great and small, who at the same time were Prisoners with her.

Margaret Rich was born in *Paris*, the wife of *Anthony Kiant* Bookbinder, dwelling in *Paris*, in the place called the *Mans of Saint Hilary*, at the sign of the great *Quail*. This woman was as verily disposed as could be; she had gotten some small insight into the mystery of iniquity, by means of her husband, who yet suffered her to observe the Superstitions of Popery, without urging her any further; for he was a man indifferent in the matter of Gods Service; but yet her Confidence gave her, that knowing her course to be evil, it was not sufficient to forsake that, unless she did cleave to the contrary good which leads to life and salvation, namely to serve God according to his Word. Understanding then, that there were godly meetings of good Christians, which came in amongst them, and profited so well thereby, that she resolved in her self never to go again to Mass, but to dye rather.

At length, being hardly used by her husband because of this her sudden change, he threatened her for so far as to carry her himself to the Mass, (the next day which was *Feast Sunday*) rather than that she should not go. After he had endured much from this man, who would have her to play the dilettante, he to preserve her self therefrom, being also afraid of her husbands fury, upon the *Feast-day* withdrew her self to friends house of hers: thinking it fitter to displease her husband, than God, to whom she had dedicated her self.

This day being past, because she would not over-long absent her self from her own home, she determined to return back again to him, whom God had bound and conjoined her with, though she could not but foresee the great evils and inconveniences which would follow thereupon, in regard of her laid husbands crooked disposition. She came no sooner home, but she was discovered by the Curate of *S. Hilary*, committed Prisoner, and brought into the *Conspiracy*. They first asked her where she had kept her *Feast*; she without feigning told them, she absented her self from home, that the might abide a while with some of her loving Friends; left she should be urged to prophane the Supper of the Lord, as others usually did; and therefore had kept the same according to Gods Ordinance, in the Assembly of faithful and devout Christians. Being asked whether indeed he had been present at those secret Meetings: she answered, Yea, and esteemed her self happy that ever she came among them. And thus being questioned by the Council, with other Prisoners about the Mass, Purgatory, Auricular Confession, and such other points, she freely told them what she had learned concerning the same out of Gods Word; so as the fifth of *May* she was ordered to be sent to the Chieftain or his Official, to see if by any means the might be reclaimed. But the Official prevailing nothing with her, because she persisted constant in the profession of the Truth, he pronounced Sentence against her, declaring her to be a pernicious and obnoxious Heretic; yea, such a one as was to be redelivered over to the Secular Power, and thence to be sent back to the *Conspiracy*.

Being brought back into the Court, certain Doctors and others were sent to reason with her: yet her faith for all that flattered not, but remained victorious, notwithstanding all their batteries laid against it.

Then by the Sentence of the Court she was condemned to be carried in a Dung-cart to the place called *Mauverts*, a pegg to be put into her mouth, and there to be burned and consumed to dust. But before she should suffer death, she was sentenced to be put to the extraordinary Torture, to make her confess whom she knew, and was conversant withal, and to name the House where she received the Communion: yet did this woman undergo all these her afflictions, with incredible joy, singing Psalms, and praising God continually: she was never seen to shrink at her imprisonments, she daily exhorted the women who were Prisoners with her, and comforted them. Such of the Martyrs as went from the *Conspiracy* to suffer death, passed by the Chamber where she lay, yet was

she not deterred to see them in the hands of their Executioners, but cried to them, exhorting them to rejoice, and with patience to bear the reproach of Christ.

But to return to the manner of her death; after Sentence she was led to the Chappel, as the manner is; yet she ceased not all the way to exhort the people, and to sing Psalms, till she was put into a Dung-cart to be conveyed to the place of Execution. The renown of her constancy was so famous from the beginning of her troubles, that no small multitude of people were gathered together in the streets, for the desire they had to behold her: God so appointing that the great and more than ordinary graces of his Spirit (which were in this woman) might be manifested before so great a confluence of Spectators and Eye-witnesses. She passed on then, as it were triumphing, through the midst of this Assembly, not shewing any sign of the fear of death, but with a fresh colour and cheerful countenance passed on with her eyes lifted up to Heaven, nor did her Gagg to disfigure her, but that she shewed an amiable aspect upon all that viewed her. So as even the rude and obdurate Multitude admired her, laying one to another, *Do you see how this Heretic smiles and laughs?*

Coming to the place of her Martyrdom, they told her, if she would recant, she should be strangled. She answered, That her Resolution was so rightly founded upon the Word of God, that she never meant to change. And to let them see that Death terrified her not, she began to disrobe her self without troubling the Hangman at all: being naked up in the air, they asked her again, if she would not accept of the grace which the Court offered her, to be strangled. She gave them a sign, that she would not. Then was the fire kindled, and so she yielded up her Soul into the hands of God.

How one Soul was naturally edified himself.

It is recorded of *John Bessy* a Locksmith, dwelling in *Paris*, that he had a long time behaved himself very religiously, never denying his House for Christ Mees; his neighbours, what danger forever might ensue thereupon. He had been often tempted to prebly by the preaching of the Gospel. And therefore being hindered by a natural infirmity of deafness to understand what was spoken, he used this help, commanding a Lad which he kept to hearken to the Sermon attentively, and at his return home made him the said Boy to tell him in his ear all that he had heard, inasmuch that he became exceedingly expert in the knowledge of the Truth, wherein he persisted constantly to the death, and was (after he had received the extraordinary Torture) burned for the same in the place called the *Graves*, in the Month of *September*, Anno 1549.

Another Relation of Anne du Burg.

Du Burg being asked if he had conferred with any about certain Articles formerly mentioned, answered, That he had conferred with his Books, but especially the holy Scriptures.

Having framed a Confession of his Faith which he intended to have presented to the Court of Parliament, certain Counsellors which were Advocates in the said Court, pretending Friendship towards him, being yet but time-servers, shewing themselves also disaffected to the said Confession, desired him to make another Confession, not directly contrary to the Truth, but somewhat ambiguous and doubtful, so as it might give satisfaction to his Judges. *Du Burg* having of a long time refuted, was in a manner overcome (by their intreaties) to consent to their counsel; it is sufficient that he did understand his own telling him, that it sufficed that he understood his own true meaning, though ambiguously expressed; as also that his Judges would not stand strictly to examine such a Confession as had only an outward appearance of consenting to their Doctrine. Now this disguised Confession was no sooner come into the hands of his Judges, but great hopes were conceived of his intanglement. But when the Assembly had got a true Copy thereof, they were greatly grieved, being more careful of the saving his soul, of Gods glory, and the edification of his Church, than of such a deliverance, which could not be obtained without great dishonour to God.

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And therefore they gave order to *M. Augustin* * *Martore* to write a large discourse concerning the duty of such as were called of God to bear witness to his eternal truth before the Magistrates, wherein were also set down Gods threatenings and Judgments against such as either directly or indirectly in what kind soever did disavow the same. Exhorting him more highly to prize the Glory of God, than his own liberty, the truth of the Gospel, than a short and transitory life. That it befel him not now to give overbearing already made him happy a beginning, and to good a progress in his Christian course. That the report of his constancy was spread not only through the Kingdom of *France*, but throughout all Christendom. That he had been a means to confirm many weak ones, and caused others to enquire after the means of Salvation. That the eyes of all were fixed on him, to expect the manner of his coming out of Prison. So as if now through fear, or faint heartedness he should enterprise ought that might contradict his first confession, he would thus become an occasion of much scandal and offence. And there exhorted him to give glory to God, to dilate his Church, assuring him that God would never leave nor forsake him. These Letters wrought in the Confidence of *Du Burg* sense of his Sin: for which asking pardon of God, without any further delay, he sent a petition to his Judges, in which retracing this his last Confession he proceeded to stand upon his first.

Slanders raised by the Sorbonists against the Protestants of *Rome* in *France*, and what was the issue thereof.

These Doctors of the *Sorbonist*, whose Names were *Secard, Columelli, and Prancillon* in their Collation to their Parishioners accused those of the Religion with their wonted slanders, as that they committed Whoredom one with another after the candles were put out, and were taught to rebel against their King and Governors, which Governors also these *Sorbonists* accused to commit and hold with them, inciting the people to run upon those of the Religion, since the Magistrates forbore to do their duty. But her God caught the wife in their own craftiness, for by means thereof many began to look into these matters, whereby the *Gallicans* were awakened. Namely, to inquire both what they did and spoke in their Assemblies. Where seeing and finding the clean contrary to those accusations before mentioned, they were drawn to abhor their lying Spirits, and by little and little came to cleave unto the said Assemblies themselves; yea many who were lately given, and came in among them to another end.

But these accusers, not content herewith, went in the night into Churches, not sparing to deface the Images that stood therein, and then charged the Protestants to be the only authors thereof. Whereupon the Cardinal of *Burges* Archbishop of *Rome* was often fain to repair them with many Ceremonies. But at last a Monk of *Magdalen* Hospital was taken with the manner of breaking down these Images in the Churchyard of *Saint Mark*. For which he received no correction, excusing the matter, by saying, that whatsoever he had done therein he took from a good measure. Yet among all these disorders the Church of *Rome* still subsisted, though not without great peril and danger.

The Story of a Locksmith, Martyr, who being dry had holy Water given him to drink.

About this time was a Locksmith burnt in the City of *Agen*, upon the clamorous and Seditious Sermons of a Friar called *Melchior Flavin*, who denounced this Locksmith to be an Heretic, because he had made a Christian and good confession, and thereupon purified him unto death. A little before he was to dye, *Reuben* the Lieutenant of *Agen* asked him if he would drink. Sir, faith the Prisoner, if you please to give me drink, I will. Then the Lieutenant brought him a glass of Water, of which he drank a little. Now, said the other unto him, what halt thou drink? the Prisoner answered, Water. Saith the other, Thou hast drunk holy-water, which I gave thee to drive the Devil out of thee. I know, faith the poor Man, that every Creature of God is good in its own nature; but had you told me it had been such as now you say it is, I would

not have drunk it, for it is defiled with Idolatry. At this answer the Lieutenant hurried the glass of Water at the poor Mans face with such force, that the glass breaking to pieces hurt him, with which intumescence he was reproved by his fellows, and amerced to pay ten pounds. But the Locksmith took his death patiently, and endured it constantly.

The miserable death of a Confid who was both an Accuser and a Judge.

Ofias Simley, a learned Divine of our time, in the Life of *Master Henry Bullinger*, a worthy Servant of God, and a Faithful Minister of the Church of *Zurich*, recorded an History which he faith happened in a City of *Switzerland* among the papists, Anno 1559. He expresseth neither the Confid's Name, nor the City, the thing being sufficiently known to the Inhabitants thereabout. This Confid, being a rich and potent Man, intending to build a brave and magnificent House, sent far and near for the rarest and most exquisite Workmen he could hear tell of. Amongst the rest he sent to the City of *Trent* (so much renowned among Papists in regard of the last Council the Pope had there) for an excellent carver and Master Builder called *John*, a Man very Religious, and a lover of the Truth: for which cause the said *John* refused at the first to go thither, alleging for himself that he was of a contrary Religion, to that which the Confid professed, and therefore could not lawfully inhabit among such as would observe his contempt of the Mass and other their Ceremonies. The Confid promised him safety in respect of his person, and that he should be referred to nothing against his Confidence. Upon this his promise, *John* came and wrought a long time with the Confid, but when he came to demand his wages they entered into some terms of discontent. In the end at the command of this Confid, *John* was committed to Prison, and by the same Confid accused for a sleight of the Romish Religion, yea, to have spoken untruthfully thereof; wherefore he was Condemned to be beheaded.

As they led him to Execution he went towards it with undaunted courage, and dyed very constantly, professing in the presence of all the Spectators, that he most gladly laid down this life, present, for the maintenance of that Religion whereof he had made profession, believing undoubtedly that it was the Truth; but added, that the Confid who was the Author of his Death should himself dye within three days, and appear before Gods Judgment Seat to render an account of his Sentence. Which came to pass according to this pious Man foretold: For the Confid being then in the prime of his youth, and of an healthful disposition of Body, from that day began to be afflicted with an exceeding heat, and then with an extraordinary cold; and thus was he smitten with a new kind of sickness, so as within three days he followed him of whom he had bin both the most unjust Accuser and Judge.

The speech of a poor Porter called Chevillon, who died for the Truth, and after confined to the Gallies.

Being whippor through the Streets of *Rome*, he said to him that lashed him, Lay on my friend, lay it on and spare not, chastise this Flesh which hath so often rebelled against his God: thinking himself happy that he suffered in so good a quarrel.

The miserable end of one called Aubespine, a Counsellor of *Grenoble*, and a persecutor.

After these Bloody Persecutions, this *Aubespine* fell in love with a Gentlewoman, and therein gave such way to his passion, that he forsook his calling, casting off all care of his own welfare, to follow her whithersoever she went. But the disregarding him, he took it so to heart, that he neglected his own person: by reason whereof swearing full of lice, he could by no means be rid of them, for they increased upon him, and came out at all the parts of his body, they are seen to issue out of a dead carcass. It was not long before his death, but feeling himself smitten with Gods hand, he began to despair of his mercy, and

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This Mafacre continued a full hour, the Dukes Trumpets founding the whilst two several times. When any of the desired to have mercy threwed them into the fire of Jethu Christ, the Murderers in scorn would say unto them, you use the Name of Christ, but where is your Christ now become? And when they said Lord God, they blasphemously would say, Lord Devil.

There died in this Mafacre within a few days fifty or three score persons; besides these, there were about two hundred and fifty others, as well Men as Women, who were maimed and spoiled, whereof some died, some were maimed, losing some a Leg, some an Arm; some their Fingers cut off from their Hands and carried away. The Pious Box, which was fastened to the Door of the Church with two Iron-hooks, was wrested thence, with twelve pounds thereon, and never restored again. Nothing was to be seen in the Streets but Women with their hair hanging about their ears, faces befouled with blood, being wounded in many places with Swords and Daggers, with weepings and lamentations. Barbers and Chirurgians were to be seen there, that he that had leath had thereunder under his hand to be dressed, and many perished for want thereof.

The Minister was kept close Prisoner, so as for four and twenty hours none were permitted to supply him with any necessities at all, nor any suffered to see him or speak with him, and was oft threatened by his Keepers to be towed up in a Sack and drowned. Fain would they have drawn him to have kept his Easter, after the Popish guild, under fair promises of his enlargement; but he would by no means consent thereto. This continued he Prisoner until the eighth day of May 1562, at which time he was set free by the suit of the most illustrious Prince of Portien.

Whilst the Duke was at Eclairan, the Lackeys and other of their sort put to sale, unto such as would give moul, Cloaks, Hats, Girdles, Coats, Kerchiefs, with other things which they had spoiled the murdered of; crying them with a loud voice, as if a common Crier had cried Household stuff to be sold.

A memorable Deliverance.

One called John of the Gardens, having lived a long time with his Wife and Child (in regard of the present Troubles) abroad in the fields near to a City called Seaulx in France, at length determining to go back again into the City, calling himself and his upon the Providence of God, were met in the Suburbs by two of the City, who willed the Soldiers to put them to the Sword. The Mother of the Child kneeling down asked not her own life, but requested that if they must needs die, they would first kill her Child, because seeing it die before her, the might die with the less sorrow, fearing lest the poor Babe should otherwise (in such a time of trouble) be left to shift for itself; which speech of hers wrought upon the Soldiers, that they saved all their lives.

The strange deliverance of a golly Minister of the Church of Chalons in Champagne called Fournier, after he had endured many hard usage.

First, being apprehended and spoiled of all that he had, they stripped him of his good Apparel, and put an old three-bar Cloak upon him, and carried him away in a Cart, in regard of a hurt which he had formerly gotten in one of his feet; by reason whereof he was disabled to go, and so was conducted with infinite Jests broken upon him, and at every moment in danger of his life for six months together, till he came to Metz, where he had like to have been pulled in pieces by the rude multitude, but was preserved notwithstanding even by those who had already determined to be his death, the Prisoner also being into the Gate of the City.

The 13th of September, a Captain called Fraiher came to the Prison where he was detained, accompanied with many Soldiers, who with mauls and threats mingled together swore that within three hours he should be hacked and hewed to pieces, and so should be made a Maygame to all the City, with which words he left him. Goler the Kings Lieutenant with other of the Justices

came in after him, demanding wherefore he was brought Anno to St. Marston, and forthwith commanded the Gaoler to 1562. load him with Irons, telling him in scorn, you are no better than St. Peter I am sure; whom they laid in Iron. But if you have as much faith as he, God will then deliver you as he did him, by sending an Angel unto you. I will not, said the Prisoner, compare myself with St. Peter; yet it is not 12 years ago since (for preaching the false Doctrine that St. Peter did) I was imprisoned at Toulouse, and yet admirably delivered; and though St. Peter was delivered out of Prison, yet in the end he glorified God by his death. And if I should be counted worthy to suffer with him for the Truth, may it not be said that I have the same precious Faith as St. Peter had? but for that time he escaped those bolts, having hurt his foot and leg very sore at his apprehension: his Shackles at that time were turned into a far more braight Prison.

The Duke of Nevers was a good Friend unto this Fournier, by whose mediation he was the rather spared. But the said Duke receiving an hurt at Dreux whereof he died, and the Duke of Guise succeeding him in the government of Champagne, his Enemies began to renew their former grudge against him, who brought him to be examined by torture.

Where first they drained both his Thumbs to hard with a small Cord, that the blood came forth. Then turning his Arms behind his Back, they hoisted him with a Rope put between his Thumbs to fast; twisting him up five or six times thereby, sometimes letting him down, and then letting him hang again till his spirits and flesh failed him. But not content therewith they tied a great Stone to both the great Toes of his Feet, and then examined him; first if he had not a purpose to preach at Verdun, if the Company who conducted him thither came together; his answer was, The he could not determine to do that which he had no hope to perform, nor came it into his thought.

Then they asked him what he had thofe Cloaths he wore, seeing he was but barely clothed when he came into Prison? He answered, That the Marquis d'Alençon the first of Chalons, gave them unto him by his Tutor. Being further asked who taught him to refuse his Judge; his answer was, That his own reason counselled him to do so, and none else. This was the effect of that for which he was miserably tortured, and in conclusion they let him fall with such violence on his face, that he was grievously hurt thereon.

Being from thence removed to another Prison according to their custom for two or three hours, and then returned to that he was in before, he could not be permitted to have his much as a Chirurgion to cure him of the gashes the Cords had made in his Flesh, even to the bare Bones: by reason whereof he continued in exceeding torment and anguish, not being able to bring his hands to his mouth, which were also so wrong, that he thought if God should grant him life, yet he should yet be deprived of the use of his Limbs.

His Indictment being framed, and his condemnation published by sundry Judges thereunto appointed, some other being of another opinion disappointed that determination. The News also of the Duke of Guise death coming in the neck of it, changed these Fates into their shape. The Names of the principal whereof were *Coeur and Buffi*. Some that had been his Judges coming into the Prison, demanded of him if he bare them then ill will: He answered that men of his Profession and Religion ought not to malice any nor their Enemies, being rather enjoyed by God to love and pray for those that persecuted them; heaving furthermore, that whatsoever God had before ordained for the setting forth of his own glory; for which he esteemed himself most happy: only he warned them to bethink themselves well what wrong they had offered him, lest the vengeance of God might sometime or other overtake them.

The next day, being the twelfth of April, Buffi, having received Letters from the Contable for the enlavingment of Fournier, being solicited thereto by the Captain of La Tourneille; instead of obeying the Contable's command (whereas he should be delivered indeed, that is to say, into the hands of the Multitude: and thus

stiffly refusing either the publication of the Letters, or to oblige the Edict, caused three of his Prisoners of the Religion to be put into the Dangoon, because he heard them sing Psalms.

In the mean while the Prince of Portien bringing back the German Soldiers, and passing by Chalons, the chief men of that City, fearing to be over-run, met him, whom he threatened to leave neither Village nor house in safety. Which they promising to do at their return they so far prevailed with Buffi, that he consented to what they had so promised. And thus on the 14th of April (which was eight Months since Fournier was first imprisoned) the Lieutenant Guise, and the Abbot of All-saints, with some others resorted to him, declaring that they were willing now to set him at liberty; yet he was now to forgive and forget that which was past: that the Prince might see how forward they were to that the Captain of the City with a great Company of armed men ready to conduct him out of the Town. But the place was forthwith beset with People whom Buffi had that purpose had hired up, so that had it not been for those who defended him within, and an extraordinary flower of Rain coming from long continuance, which caused the greater part of the Seditions to depart, Fournier had hardly escaped their hands, if a means had not been found to let him out by a back door.

It here to be noted, that upon the eighth day of October the Bishop of Chalons calling Fournier into his Garden, endeavoring to turn him from the faith, said, I marvel how you, being an ancient Doctor Divinity, of the age of fifty eight years, and so well learned in the Tongues, should thus be led aside with these Opinions, giving credit so suddenly to the writings of Calvin and others. To Calvin? said Fournier, you Calvin and others. To Calvin? said Fournier, you should rather have said, by believing and giving credit to the Word of God.

Gods bestriving him, and being now far more willing to save the said Fournier's life, than he had been formerly to preserve him if, in the evening bringing him to his own house, and lodging him in his own Bed, did him what he could the next day very early to send for the Keys of the City Gates. Which when he could not obtain, he then endeavored to bring the said Fournier secretly by a back way, to an house near to the Gate of the said City; so as at eleven of the Clock, quarter of nine, he was by and by received by a quarter of a mile; where he was by and by received by those who attended there for him, with a charge to bring him to their Prince, who at that time was in the Castle of Senze; Where he was kindly welcomed of the said Lord, and of all his Friends besides, having compassion on him, in regard that now being fifty eight years old, he had suffered so many hard encounters. And within two days after he preached before the Prince and all his Followers, and the day following, at the instant request of those of Paris, went thither to preach and baptize for him. At length Fournier, gathering a Church together at a place called Ver, spent some small portion of time among his flock there, with wonderful fruit. being forewarned when he was in Prison, (what with that dyet and the extremity of the torture) he soon after finished his course, leaving to Posterity a rare memory of his constancy and piety.

Savage cruelties committed upon the Persons of the golly at Bar upon Seine.

Such was the cruelty of the Executioners after they had slain those of the Religion, that cleaving their bodies in twain, they stuck not to pluck their hearts thence, as they lay upon the ground, gnawing them between their Teeth, and so reaching them from one to another, saying, now they knew they had eaten the heart of an Augustin before they died.

The violent rage of the Soldiers at Mondon, who proceeded so far as to baptize the young Children of Protestants after the Popish manner.

The Soldiers in this City of Mondon took little Children who had been baptized by the Ministers of the Church there, and caused them to be re-baptized by their Priests, imposing upon them other names; yea, they re-baptized a Girl of thirteen years old; whom they presented stark naked to the Font. Yet the young Infants which began only to speak declared both by evident signs and words that they would not be re-baptized, as of a Girl of two years old, being brought naked to the Font, with much struggling crying with a loud voice, that their doings were too shameful; saying that she would not be baptized again, and therewithal struck the Priest with all the Power he had. Also the Son of Jean Hais, of the same age, took the Priests by the beard, and defended it self as well as it could. But for all this the Priests would not give over.

Another barbarous cruelty committed by the Priests of Freday in the County of Maine.

In the Village of Freday, distant about ten miles from the City of Mans, a little after that those of the Religion had forsaken the City, a certain Weaver called Hegennot, who was wont to read the prayers in the Assembly among some few of the golly in this place, was haled in the night out of his house by the Priests, who having cut his throat afterward killed him there, with the Leaves of a New Testament which they found about him.

Execrable blasphemies and outrages committed in the City of Angiers.

A Company of Rake-hels breaking into Merchants houses, found there many Bibles, which they burned in the City; but choosing out a great Bible and opening the rest, gilt and fair ruled, they falsly upon the Point of an Halberd and going thence, went in Procession thence, with through the High Streets of the City, with a great cry, saying, Lo, here the Truth hangeth, the verity of the Huguenots, the Truth of all the Devils; this is the Word of God, the mighty God hath spoken. And in this manner they pulled along until they came to the Bridge, where they threw it into the River, saying, Behold the Truth of all the Devils drowned.

A strange curse to make Victuals Cheap.

In the City of Blay, whilst those of the Religion were cruelly handled, it so fell out, that in such a disorder even the Roman Catholics themselves drank with them of the same Cup; in regard whereof complaint was made on both parts to the Duke of Guise, in hope of some redress. His answer was, that the Kingdom was but too much replenished with People, and therefore his purpose was to cut off as many as he could, that so all kind of Victuals might be sold better cheap.

An outrage done to poor Women, who met together to comfort one another.

There was an honest Woman of the City of Blay, whose name was Nichole, the Wife of one Jehu le Manché, a maker of Sun-Dials, in whose house certain Neighbours meeting together to comfort and edify one another, and to pray one for and for another, to the number of 9 or thereabouts, with their Daughters, these Murderers hearing of it ran violently in among them, thinking to have found a Minister preaching to them, but when they saw they were mistaken, they dragged them out by the hair of the head into the middle of the street; where loading them with abundance of stripes they cast them into the River: in which calamity God shewed them with such strength and skill, being bound, that endeavouring to swim, at length they arrived at an Isle: where being seized upon again by certain

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Ferrinen they were stripped naked, and then thrown again into the River, and thinking yet to live themselves, they were in the end knocked down by the Sedition in the Suburbs of Vienna.

A pious and Tragical Spectacle.

A certain poor Woman of *Tours*, whose Husband they had not long before drowned, having an Infant about six or seven weeks old sucking at her breasts, and holding by the hand a Daughter of hers, very beautiful to look upon, of the Age of 15 or 16 years, was by many infolencies led to the River side, where having made her Prayer upon her knees, the Child sucking at her breast, she flung it there in the Sun and water laid it upon the grass, then kneeling down again, commended it to God. Mean while this hellish-able used many words to turn the young Maiden from her Religion, some using free threats, others making her many fair promises. One of the Soldiers, being a braver gallant than the rest, promised her marriage, so as the poor wench took it in a mammering, not knowing what to do. Her Mother seeing her wavering, earnestly exhorted her to persist in the Truth, her self being at that instant ready to be plunged into the Water. The Daughter beholding such an outrage, crying out used these words (all which was afterwards testified by those who were confenting to this murder, being also converted themselves by such a rare example of constancy) I will, said she, live and die with my Mother, whom I know to be a virtuous Woman; as for your threats and promises I regard them not, do with me as you please. The Mother was not yet dead when these merciful wretches threw in the Daughter after her, who making towards her Mother and they both embracing each other, yielded up their Souls into the hands of God. The poor Infant was taken up by a Soldier, who, having kept it a day and a night from the Breast, laid it the next day in a Church-porch, whence being taken up, and given to a Nurse to keep it, would never take the Breast after, but within two days it died.

An History containing the singular constancy of a Christian Woman, together with her gracious Answers to her adversaries.

In the same City of *Tours*, the death of an honest Matron called *Grise* is very remarkable. This Woman having much profited in the knowledge of Gods Word, was presented before *Chavigny*, before whom she gave a reason of her Faith, confirmed by Testimonies of Scripture, with such constancy in the preference of certain Priests and Priests, that in the end they gave her no other answer but that, that was in a damnable error. It seems so indeed, said she, being now in your hands, but I have a God that will neither leave nor forsake me for all that. Thou hast, said they, renounced the Faith. It is true said she, I have renounced your Faith; which I am able to show is rejected and scorned of God, and therefore deserves not so much as to be called Faith. Upon this they committed her to Prison, where she was again solicited to recant; and to that purpose they sent certain Women upon into the Prison; but all in vain: for on the contrary she spake her mind freely, and comforted the Prisoners which were in the time Prison with her for Religion.

Now it happened one morning, as she was about to take food bodily refreshing, News was brought her that she was condemned to be hanged with three men also. Which News she received with such joy and rejoicing, that the Officer had no sooner called his midwife, but forthwith the kneeling on her knees began to praise and magnify the name of God, in that he had shewed her so much mercy, as to deliver her by such a kind of death out of the troubles of this wretched world; as also for that she pleased the Lord to honour her for as to die for his Truth, and to wear his Livert, meaning the Plaster which the Hangman had now put about her neck. Then sitting down at Table to break her faith with the rest of the Company, giving thanks to God, she exhorted them to be of good courage, and to trust unto the end in his free and only mercy. Lastly, having lent her

Children some such small trifles as she then had about her, she called for a clean Linen Walfetter, making her farewell, as if she had been going to a Wedding.

Being conducted thus with the rest of the Prisoners about two of the Clock in the afternoon, and passing by St. Martins Church, she was commanded to receive a Torch into her hand, and to acknowledge the had of the King, and the Kings Away said she, with it; I have neither offended God nor the King; accordingly to your meaning, nor in respect of the cause for which I suffer. I am, I confess, a sinful Woman; but I need no such light, for helping me to ask forgiveness of God for my sins past or present: use such things of your selves, who sit and walk in the darkness of ignorance and error.

Then one of her kinsfolks met her in the way, and presented unto her view her little Children, praying her to have compassion on them, seeing that by renouncing her Religion she might yet preserve her life, and see them provided for. Upon this meeting her motherly affection could not for to shed plenty of Tears; but by and by taking upon her new courage, I must needs tell you, said she, that I love my Children dearly: but yet neither for love I bear to them or any thing else in this world, will I renounce the Truth, or my God, who is and will be a Father unto them, to provide better for them than I can. I have done; and therefore to his providence and protection I commend and leave them; and so I passed on cheerfully without being any further daunted.

Drawing him to the place of execution, the called upon God without ceasing, lifting her hands up to Heaven. Now the men which came with her being ready to suffer, when she saw them about to die, and not to call on God, she exhorted them thereto, and began aloud to rehearse the Confession of sins, which begins thus, Lord God Almighty and everlasting Father, &c. and so continuing forth the ordinary prayers, reciting also the Lords Prayer, and the Articles of the Creed, she with much peace and joy in the holy Ghost finished her life.

A Note touching the King of Navarre that then was.

During the siege of *Revan*, *Anthony de Bourbon King of Navarre*, being forsaken of his faithful Followers and Servants for conspiring with the Camp of *Tram- Zirat*, was shot into the right shoulder with an Harquebush, the fifteenth day of October, whereof he died the seventeenth day following. Now many hours before his death, with Tears in his eyes, he asked pardon of God, making confession of his Faith, according to the form and then used amongst those of the Religion; protesting that if he might be cured of his wound he would cause the Gospel to be preached throughout all the Kingdom of France. He was a Prince endowed with many good gifts of God, naturally of a gentle disposition, and yet a valourous and courageous Warrior, but to addicted to follow his pleasures and delights, that to enjoy them, he easily abandoned the care of his more weighty affairs, and so was subject to no small inconvenience, namely to be ill served and obeyed; in the mean while neglecting the Services of such as had been his loyal and affectionate Subjects: An interposition which hath cost France a million of men's lives, with innumerable riches besides; in an end whereof it is not suddenly to be expected.

The death and Martyrdom of *Augustine Marlarot*, one of the Ministers of the reformed Church in *Rovan* as also of three other Persons, who suffered with him at the same time, Anno. 1562.

Amongst the perjuries, which by the Seditious were perpetrated at *Rovan*, Captain *Saint Eustache* seized upon the bodies of *Augustine Marlarot*, of *Du-Bisac*, *Sieur de Mandreville*, *Cruchet*, *Sieur de Sequance*, and *Niel Coton*. *Mandreville* perceiving this Captain to be no well willer of theirs, yet promised him a thousand Crowns, if he would save his life and the life of *Marlarot*, one of their Ministers; which he having promised to do, by and by he shewed him the place whereunto *Marlarot*, was retired, namely a Tower into which himself, his Wife and Children were put, with some others. Thus being both brought together, the door was presently fast shut upon them.

The seven and twentieth of October the Constable (so called with the Duke of *Guise*) coming to view the place, desired to see *Marlarot*, to whom he said, you are he who have seduced the People. To which he replied, That if he had seduced them, it was God that had been the doer of it rather than he; for, said he, I have preached nothing unto them but his Divine Truth. The Constable told him, that he was a Seditious person, and the cause of the rite of that City. To which he answered, As for that imputation, I refer my self to all that have heard me preach, be they Papists or Protestants, whether I ever meddled with matters of Politick State or no; but contrariwise have according to my ability, laboured to instruct them out of the holy Scriptures. The Constable with an Oath replied, That he and his adherents plotted together to make the Prince of *Conde*, King, the Admiral Duke of *Normandy*, and *Andelo* Duke of *Brittain*. To which *Marlarot* answering and testifying the innocency of those Noble Personages, gave only this for his labour, the Constable told him (confirming it with a solemn Oath, that within a few days he should see whether his God could deliver him out of his hands or no; and so departed in great rage.

Not long after, these four, to wit, *Marlarot*, *Mandreville*, *Sequance*, and *Coton*, and other chief men of the Church were brought into the Palace. But the names of the four above specified were only taken, and forthwith their Indictment drawn; whence presently succeeded the Sentence at the instance of *Bisot* Advocate for the King; which Sentence was as follows.

The Court having been informed by the Interrogatories and confessions of the Seditious in the City of *Rovan*, and other parts of the Country, namely by Mr. *J. de Bois de Mandreville*, President of the Court of Requests in *Rovan*, *Vincent Gruchet* Seigneur of *Sequance*, an ancient Gentleman in the said City, *Niel Coton* Seigneur of *Barbenville*, the Kings Notary and Secretary, and Councillor also of the said City with *Augustine Marlarot* sra. Preacher and Minister in the said City, Monk and Priest, having a wife, being all Prisoners in the Court of the said City; conclusions against them being taken by the Kings Attorney General, all and every thing and circumstance considered, the Court hath and doth declare the four Persons aforesaid guilty and convicted of high Treason in every particular: for the punishment and satisfaction whereof the Court hath adjudged and doth adjudge the said *Bois* to be drawn naked, only a shirt upon him, on a Sled or Hurdle, into the old Market place, and there to be beheld upon the Scaffold of the City; which done, his head to be set upon a Pole and placed upon the Bridge of the said City; and his Body divided into four parts to be set upon four Gibbets, for a Spectacle to the beholders. And as touching *Cruchet* and *Coton* it is decreed, that they shall also be drawn in like manner upon a Sled before the Town-house of the City, there to be hanged upon a Gibbet, and afterwards their heads, being separated from their bodies, to be affixed and set upon the Bridge of the said City, and afterwards to be carried to the Gibbet.

And as touching the said *Marlarot*, the Court testifies that he is attainted and guilty of being one of the Authors of the great assemblies, which have been the cause of Rebellion and Civil Wars. And orders are given, punishment, to satisfy the Law for these Crimes, the Court hath condemned and doth condemn the said *Marlarot* otherwise called *Falguier*, to be drawn upon a Sled, and to be hanged upon a Gibbet before our Ladies Church in *Rovan*: this done, his head to be broken off from his Body, and set upon a Pole upon a Bridge of the said City. All their Goods and heritages to be confiscated to the Kings use, &c.

And underneath it was written;

This present Sentence was pronounced and executed in the presence of the Lords and Commissaries.

Alexander Moysi, Morteruel, and Siend Messengers, the last of October, Anno. 1562.

Andreucelle at his death shewed a wonderful constancy, expecting the stroke without being bound, calling earnestly upon God, speaking in the just defence of the reformed Churches, in the Faith of which Doctrine he professed he was now pre to yield up his Soul into the hands of God.

As touching *Augustine Marlarot*, a man excellently learned, and of an unblamable life, who had the Testimony even of the Papists themselves, that in his Sermons he never uttered words that tended to Sedition or Rebellion: they were not content to see him drawn upon a Hurdle with shame and contempt, but also the Constable loaded him with a thousand disgraceful outrages; as also a Son of his called *Nombrin* slain from execution, after in the Battle of *Dreux*. Besides, *Villebon* gave him a switch with a Wand, not without reproachful speeches also. But he notwithstanding bare all indignities very meekly and patiently.

When he was come to the place where he should suffer, he made an excellent speech, according as his hands permitted him; exhorting *Cruchet* and *Coton*, who were to be suffered with him, to stand fast in the Faith unto the end; which they also did. And yet the rage of the People not being herewith satisfied, a Soldier with his Sword brook at *Marlarot* Legs, being already dead. Upon which infolencies God within a while executed his just vengeance; for the Captain who furnished *Marlarot* with arms during the space of three weeks by one of the half Soldiers in all the band. And as concerning his Judges, two of them died soon after frangely; namely one of them, to wit the President, by a flux of Blood, which they could by no means flanch at the other (which was a Councillor) making Water at his Fundament, with such flux, that none could endure to come nigh him.

As for *Villebon*, he escaped at no better rate; for the 16th day of February the Marshal *Vauil* of *Ville*, coming to *Rovan* to take order about the affairs of *Diepe*, having invited him to Dinner, amongst other talk between them, firing together after they had dined, *Marlarot* lamenting the miserable estate of that City, exhorted *Villebon* to use some means for the redress of such disorders, being the Kings Lieutenant there. Which words *Villebon* took very hardly, saying, That if any would dare to tax him for not carrying himself as he ought in his place, he would again tell him to his face he lied. Which words (with often repetitions) he used after such a manner, as the Marshal being therewith very much moved, was forced for saving of his honour to draw his Sword, wherewith he let drive with such violence at *Villebon*, that if he had not received the blow with his hand, he had cleave his head down to his Teeth. So *Villebon* escaped at that time with the loss of his hand, wherewith he had dishonorably smitten *Marlarot* at the place of execution. Which hand he could not be buried with greater solemnity than himself could attain unto afterwards.

A relation of such troubles and persecutions as happened to those of the Religion in the City of Caen and other Cities of France, as hereafter follow in the year 1562.

Caen.

Such and so long continued the Troubles in the City of *Rovan*, that many were driven to escape for their lives into this City of *Caen*; For albeit the King had commanded, that the pillaging and sacking of *Rovan* should not last above twenty four hours, the Seditious there continued it above twenty four weeks; and albeit they were forbidden to carry any goods out of that City, yet the Merchants of *Paris*, of *Orleans*, *Bourdeaux*, and others besides, could not to lead Carts by Land, and Vessels by Water: which some of them notwithstanding enjoyed not long; for such as were the receivers of these spoils were spoiled thereof by Thieves which met them upon the way.

¶ ¶ ¶ ¶

Valogne

Valangins.

THe Body of *Cocqueville* being stripped naked, was dragged by the Murderers (of this Town, being in *Low Normandy*) up and down his house with all derision into a Chamber of his, where the Exhortations were wont to be made; and there spurning the dead Body with their feet, they *bid him now pray to his God, and preach if he could*; Yes, the Priests who were then present stuck not with the points of their Halberds to fluff the mouths and wounds of the Dead with the Leaves of Bibles, saying to the poor dead Corps, *Preach the truth of your God, and call upon him now to help you.*

Thalouffe.

A Trumpeter and the Common Crier in the City called *Nicholas Bofche*, being commanded by the Seditious to *say Ave Maria*, answered with a feditious countenance, *Abs, the blessed Virgin; where is he that I might salute her?* Then looking about him this way and that way, he said, *I fee he is not here, he is in Heaven, and thither will I go to find her; and so being brought to the place of Execution, he died contently.*

Gailles.

THe Murderers which were committed in this place were cruel and horrible; inasmuch as some were forced to go up to the top of an high and great Rock, whereon the Abbey of *St Michael* was built, having underneath it the River of *Tar* very deep, into which they were thrown down headlong, meeting in the passage with another Rock, on whom some were buried and dashed all to pieces; and if any fell into the River escaping with life, he was knocked down immediately by the Murderers, who attended waiting in Boats upon such occasions.

Among the rest *Peter Dome*, the Servant of an Apothecary, requested he might have leave to call himself from a place higher than that from which others were thrown down; on condition that if God should in the fall preserve him from being hurt he might then escape with life. He was carried up upon the top of the Abbey, where having made his Prayers unto God, fetching his leap, he flew in the right, that misting the Rock, he fell safely into the River, whence endeavouring to swim out he also was knocked down, notwithstanding their Promise made to him as touching the contrary.

Souraze.

A Poor Woman called *Caillie Rogues* being a Widow, aged about sixty years, being in her poor Cottage in the City of *Souraze*, was let upon by Captain *Durre*, having at his command three hundred men. He caused this Widow to be laid bound with Cords, with another fastened about her neck all night. The next day having half flanged her here and there, he asked how oft she had played the Whore with those of her Religion: to whom the boldly answered, That in their Christian meeting no such Villanies were committed. *Durre*, fretting and fuming at this, her answer, took her by both the Cheeks, forcing her Head against a Wall with such violence, and so often therewithal, that he had almost beaten out her Brains, and then would her to give him seven hundred pieces of Gold, which the said had hidden: to which the replying told him, she was a poor Woman, and had only a French Penny; he chafing thereat drew her again by the Neck with the Cord, and then applied rattled Eggs even as they came hot out of the fire under her Arm-holes, so as they were much blistered therewith, and afterwards in derision bade her cry to her Father which is in Heaven. She answered, *I will not cry aloud for thee, and yet I can bear me well enough, and when his will be, he will also deliver me out of thy hands*; being more afflicted with the Blasphemies which this Varlet uttered, than with all the tortments which he endured on her Body. He having bemoaned her Shins with the Patent he wore upon her Feet, he told him his cruelty far exceeded that of the Turks and Infidels.

Whereupon he calling her *Huguenot* Whore, told her, That there were but the beginnings of her torments, so as if she did not dilate unto him seven hundred pieces of Gold, he would draw her Cheeks and Breasts with Lard, and then fatten her to a Form and burn her quick, and after mount her up to the highest Steeple in the City, and call her thence down headlong, *Well, said she, though my Body full never so long, that shall not be my Soul from being carried up into Heaven*. This Captain being herewith more inflamed with ire than before, seeing that none of these Cruelties could shake the faith and constancy of this poor Woman, he said unto her, Eat this Sugar-taking Loam or Mortar from off the Wall, causing her to open her mouth with his Dagger, and to swallow it down. But not contenting himself therewith, the Villain forced her to drink a glass of Urine, which himself had made in her presence, and then threw the Glass, with what remained therein, in her face. Lastly, he caused her to pass along through the Troop of Soldiers, with intention to have had her slain among them: yet compassion moving them to spare her, he brought her into his Lodging, where this enraged Wolf by strange Cruelties would have caused her to lose her life, had not some of the Inhabitants by giving him sin, Crowned redeemed her, and conveyed her to her own house, where within a short time after the finished her days.

One buried alive.

Peter Rock, Servant to the Lieutenant of *Digne*, being withal in the Country, was buried alive; they constrained him to dig his own Grave himself, and to tried whether it were large enough or no; unto which he was compelled by *Bartholomew Chaus-gresse* and his Complices.

Provence.

Two Women Crowned with Thorns.

THe Wife of *Andrew Renaud* being brought through *St. Martin* of *Calizon* was stripped stark naked; and resisting such as would have violated her Chastity, she was whipped outrageously, then wounded with Swords, crowned with Thorns, then cast into the River, and lastly forth to death with Harquebushes.

Jametta Calvoin, of the place of *Colde*, being of the age of Eighty years, brought into the City of *Brignole* with a crown of Thorns platted upon her head, being whipped till the blood came exceedingly, was first stoned and then burned alive.

Macon.

THe Murderers in this City having staid upon the Body of *Bonnet Bor* in *Macon*, one of the most noble Houses of the fame, a man of great Learning and of an unblameable life, who in other places had served in the Ministry 20 years, having been ransomed several times, was carried along with a thousand flocks and frumps, smitten with fists through the Corners of the Streets, with crying, *Tha wholover would bear this devout and holy man preach, should come to the Slaughter-house*. Whither having brought him, they buffeted him and mocked him two full hours.

He only requested before he died, that they would permit him to make his Prayers to God. Whereupon cutting off the one half of his Nose, and one of his Ears, they said, *Now pray as long as thou wilt, and then we will send thee to all the Devils*. Then he knelt down, and lifting up his eyes to heaven prayed with such fervency of Spirit, that he caused some of his Murders to sigh within themselves.

Then directing his Speech to him who had cut off his Nose, he said, *Friends, I am here ready to suffer what thou hast yet farther to inflict upon me. But this I intreat of thee and thy Companions, to think you well of the outrages committed by you against this poor City; for know there is a God before whose Tribunal you must give an account of these your Cruelties*. At these words the blood issued forth out of his Nose, that he kindled him from proceeding on that he was about to have said.

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Anno 1566.

A Captain passing by cried to the Soldiers, Send this wretched man to the Devil. While one of them hearing, took him by the hand, and brought him to the brim of the River *Saone*, somewhat above the Slaughter house, pretending to wash and cleanse him from the Blood whereby his village was befouled, conducting him to a Boat for this purpose into which he was no sooner entered, but he there presently turned him over into the River; wherein he striving for life, and crying to God for mercy, these Tyrants battered him with stones till he sunk under the water and so died.

He here in part (saith the Historiographer) the lamentable effects of the Poor Churches of France, during the first troubles, which ended with the end of the Duke of *Guisse*, the principal actor therein; who was slain at the Siege of *Orleans*, not without the immediate Hand of God, in the year 1562, by a poor gentleman whose name was *John Poltro*, a man very desperate, but of firm stature, and therefore commonly called the little *Spaniard*; who shooting the Duke into the Shoulder with a Pistol, as he was riding to his Tent in an evening upon a little Naggy, was for the same fact adjudged to be drawn in pieces by four horses, his head to be cut off, and his torn Body to be burnt to ashes.

A very comfortable Letter written by Wouter Oom Prisoner and Martyr in the City of Antwerp, and full of Consolation against the fear of persecution: directed to a Brother and Sister of his.

Grace and Peace from God the Father, and from his Son Jesus Christ our Lord Amen.

Welbeloved Brother and Sister, whom I love dearly by the truths false and for your Faith in Christ Jesus. These are to certify you that I am in Bodily health, and enjoy the comfort of a good Conscience, I praise my Lord God therefore, who is able to increase the fame more and more, by the powerful operation of his holy Spirit. Whether they be that will forsake this present evil world, and become followers of their Captain Christ, must account to meet with many persecutions and afflictions: for Christ hath told us aforesaid, that we should be hated, persecuted, and banished out of the world, for his names sake. And this they will do, faith he, because they have neither known the Father, nor me. But be not afraid, faith he, for I have overcome the world. *St. Paul* also witnesseth the same thing, saying, all that will live godly in Christ Jesus must suffer persecution. And again, to you it is given for Jesus Christ not only to believe in him, but also to suffer for his sake.

Mat. 10. 12

John 16. 1

2 Tim. 3. 12

Phil. 1. 29

Mat. 5. 11

10.

1 Pet. 2. 21

Rom. 12. 10

Rom. 12. 1

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Jerusalem. Let us then fly with Saint Paul, Christ unto me is life and in death advantage. Let us cry out with him, O wretched creatures that we are, who shall deliver us from this Body of death? See here how the faithful have desired to be with Christ: for with Abraham they had an eye to that holy City, which hath foundations, whose builder and maker is God. Let us then, my beloved, cheerfully and willingly follow the Lord, posessing our Souls by patience. For it is a good thing, as faith the Prophet *Jeremias*, both to hope and quietly to wait for the Salvation of the Lord; and good also it is for a man to bear the yoke in his youth, for such the Lord will comfort in the end, and restore unto them the joy of his Salvation.

Loe here dear Brother and Sister, what Consolations our God hath treasured up for us in his holy word; for us I say, whilst desire it to fear the Lord, and to trust in his grace and mercy. For the Salvation of the Righteous is of the Lord: he is their Strength in the time of trouble. Wherefore (q) giving all luggage, let us add to Faith vertue, and to verue knowledge, and to knowledge patience, and to temperance patience, and to patient godliness, and to godliness Brotherly kindness, and to Brotherly kindness love; for if these things be in us and abound, they will cause us neither to be idle nor unfruitful in the knowledge of our Lord Jesus Christ: The which God our Father grant us for his Sons sake our Lord, Amen.

Out of my hole, December the eleventh, 1562.

Wouter Oom Prisoner for the Truth.

Now because ye may see that this Letter was not without its effect, bearken to the Relation of the History following.

There was one *John Wolfe* of the City of *Ayrdaurd*, who because he could no longer inhabit there without either the danger of his life, or wounding of Conscience, his Wife being great with Child, and as yet but weak in the knowledge of the Gospel, he was forced for these respects to jurn himself to the assembly of the Church in *Antwerp*, where thinking himself in safety, a Neighbour of his owing him ill will accused him to the Margrave about the Baptizing of his Child. Whereupon being then committed, and examined where and in whose presence his Child was Baptized, he without fragring answered, that he had it Baptized according to the institution of Christ, by a Minister set apart to that Office. The Margrave, not content with this answer, often pressed him with sundry threats of the Torture to accuse him as he knew. But the sharp combat he endured was from his own Folly. Consoling him during his Imprisonment, for the safeguard of his life, to diffemble and halt between two opinions. The cause was from the inward affliction he bore towards his Wife and Child, being yet but young and of singular beauty; in regard whereof many of the Congregation expected no other but that he would sink under this Tryal.

But in the midst of these Afflicts hee was heard, with Prayers and sighs, to cry mightily to God to be delivered from the temptation. Which Prayers of his were heard in due season, even then when in the judgment of man he was supposed to be overcome thereof, means might to be as made of bringing to his hands consolatory Letters; as also the said *Wouter Oom* then Prisoner with him, comforted him not a little by his Letters. Whereby in the end he continued to strong in the Lord, as also constant in the Confession of the truth, till his conclusion he received the sentence of Death with the aforesaid *Wouter*. After which his Wife came unto him, and they were permitted to talk together, burying out each of them him such abundance of tears, that it would have moved the most stony heart that ever was. As parting, with a bitter cry hee commended her to Gods mighty protection, and his Child to be trained up in the True Religion. Soon after, hee was drowned in the Tub or Fat of the Prison.

and

With this godly Personage Guy de Brez, was one Peregrine de la Grange joined as his *Prison-fellow* and *Fellow-labourer* in the work of the Ministry.

Whose learned disputes with Richardot Bishop of Arras do here follow, written with his own hand.

The Bishop at his coming into the Prison being informed of the Prisoners name, and of his gentle disposition, began thus with him.

Bishop. I am much grieved *Monsieur de la Grange* to see you in this mean condition, and could wish it were far otherwise with you than now I see it is.

La Grange. Sir I humbly thank you for your love and kindness shewed towards me, altogether I confess without any desert of mine: and as for the base estate in which you now see me, God hath so comforted me therein with his grace, that I do without any great difficulty patiently suffer what he hath pleased to lay upon me; yes, I praise and bless his name, that he hath balanced the weight of my afflictions according to the strength which he hath given me, so as I link not under the burthen: for as my sufferings in Christ abound, he also

1 Cor. 13.1, causeth his consolations by Christ to abound in me also.

Bishop. It is usual with such as you are to glory in this kind of speech: for as soon as any afflictions befall you, you by and by file them the sufferings of Christ. And if any of you be put to death, then ye boast that it is for Gods 'Truth, but when things are laid to the Touchstone, the matter is nothing but for you.

La Grange. Sir, if your meaning be of such as have died for the Doctrine for which I am bound with this Chain, and thus fettered with Irons: I doubt not but they have given such a reason of their Faith, that whoever shall read their answers, and weigh the same without partiality, must needs judge thereof even as we do. And for my own part I am ready to make it good before any man who concerns, that the Doctrine I now hold and teach is according to Godliness taken out of the pure Fountains of the holy Scriptures, without adding, dimming, or varying any thing therefrom.

Bishop. We read that in all times men have been wont to shelter themselves under the Title of Gods Word, in so much that all the old Heresies maintained by Hereticks have run to this covert; so as great heed is to be taken, lest under this pretence men run into errors.

La Grange. I am not ignorant, Sir, heretofore, in regard that Satan knows how to transform himself into an Angel of Light, thereby to establish his delusions, causing darkness thereby to be taken for light. But the Holy Ghost, who is the Spirit of Truth, hath in such wise discovered his jugglings, that none are deluded thereby, but those who at noon day close their eyes that they may not behold the light.

Bishop. Do you think that the holy Ghost hath given you such an Illumination, that the Truth should only be revealed to you, and to none other?

La Grange. Good lord, Sir, I should have any such thought. I am not of the mind of those dreamers, who at this day brag of their having particular Revelations of the holy Spirit. But I speak of an ordinary and general Revelation, such as is taught us out of the Bible, which we call the holy Scriptures, according as it is therein declared unto us by the Prophets and Apostles.

This was the effect of the Bishops first communication with *de la Grange*; after which he was heard to say twice or thrice to the Kings Commissioners, that he had no will to meddle any further with him. Being called for to be examined elsewhere before the said Commissioners, *Peregrine* took his leave of the Bishop, entreating him to intercede for him, that he might be eased of his chains, alleging that the Prison was strong enough and sufficiently guarded.

The second time they met together, the Bishop having a prompt memory, made a rehearsal of what passed between them the day before, and after began thus with the said *Peregrine*.

Bishop. Seeing that which I hold as touching the Anno Sacrament of the Altar is agreeable to the Scriptures, 1566.

confirmed so long since by the consent of all the ancient Fathers, therefore do you not agree with us therein: I Had you rather hold with these Novelists, as with Calvin and with the confession of *Aufpauge*.

Grange. Sir, I am neither Calvinist nor Papist; I am a Christian, and what I hold concerning Religion, I take out of Christs Doctrine, who is the only Doctor of his Church. What Calvin hath taught conformable to the Word of God, I am of the same mind with him; and whereas you call your Religion, the old Religion, and ours the new, it troubles me not at all, since the Father of Lies hath long since forged the fame, to disgrace the Truth, and to establish and maintain the multitudes of falsehoods and absurdities of your Tenets which you hold. For example, because Christ in giving his Disciples Bread in the Sacrament, said, *This is my Body*, thence they would make us believe that the Bread it become the Body of Christ, as if the Verb of signified a change of the Bread into another Substance, which is found in no Language whatsoever.

Bishop. We maintain not the Transubstantiation of the Bread from this Verb *est*, knowing that the Hebrews use the Participle of the present tense in stead of a Verb; but rather from hence, because Christ said, *This is my Body*.

La Grange. I told you that Jesus Christ in his Supper gives us that body which was conceived by the holy Spirit in the Womb of the Virgin Mary; which was crucified, dead and buried, raised again the third day, and is ascended into Heaven; yet we utterly deny that there is any change made of the Bread. Therefore if you would have us believe it, let us have some proof of Scripture for it.

Bishop. To speak properly, the Transubstantiation of the Bread cannot be proved by the word of God, and yet we must believe it for the reasons above said.

La Grange. Your glorying then that you have the Word of God on your side is (as you see) come to nothing. And why have you then turned to many of Gods Saints for denying that which you cannot maintain by the Scriptures? For our parts, we should blush to affirm, that the Substance of Bread remains after the words of Consecration, if we could not prove the same from the very form of the Institution of the Sacrament, wherein Christ took Bread, and having giving thanks he brake bread, and gave to his Disciples Bread, and they took and did eat Bread: yea, Saint Paul rehearsing the Institution calls it Bread thrice.

Bishop. You know that in the Hebrew-Tongue Bread is taken for the remainders of what was eaten; Paul therefore in that place speaks of those vials which the *Corinthians* did eat in their Love-feasts, reproving their abuse. So also, howsoever Paul calls it Bread there, and that in the second of the A.D.s of the Apostles, mention is made of the breaking of Bread, all this serves none your turn.

La Grange. I grant that Bread is taken in the Scripture in this sense; but be it that Bread be taken for the meat that was left, yet you read not that the Substance was changed into the Substance of other meat, or lost the property thereof. It is certain that the Scripture useth not this Phrase of breaking of Bread in the use of the Lords Supper, for nothing; for thereby we are given to understand, that it is not a sign only in appearance or shew, but the true Substance of Bread.

Bishop. Let it be what it will; we hold close to the words of Jesus Christ, where he saith, *This is my Body*; and therefore also believe what we speak. I care not if I be deceived in this matter, nor for bearing reproach of the same, either before God or men; for before God himself I will plead thus, *Lord, thou hast said it, and I believe it*.

La Grange. We rest in the same thing also; but whilst we have an eye unto Christs meaning and intent, which was to establish a Sacrament: we also receive from his mouth the same words as well as you, but sacramentally, where the outward sign bears the name of the thing signified.

Bishop.

Anno 1566.

Reed. 14.43. Go. 71.12.

Bishop. As touching the Sacraments in the Old Testament (which had but one only to the coming of Christ, and no further) we indeed do hold, that the sign bears the name of the thing signified thereby; and thus the Paschal Lamb was called the *Pasover*, and Circumcision was called *Gods Covenant*, being but a sign thereof; but it is otherwise now in the Sacraments of the New Testament, which have their continuance unto the end of the world, containing in them the thing signified.

La Grange. Your distinction will be but idle if we come to the Sacraments of the New Testament, which are only two, (howsoever the Church of Rome holds seven) to wit, Baptism and the Lords Supper. The Scripture calls Baptism the washing of Regeneration, because it is a sign thereof, yet bearing the name of that whereof it is but a sign. Nor among your own Writers do we find, that the Water in Baptism is changed into the Blood of Christ; which is notwithstanding the true Law of Regeneration. All the Cup is called the New Testament, because it is a sign thereof.

Dare you now affirm that the Cup is the New Testament? But because you seem to bring in for confirmation of your Opinion the ancient Fathers, we are contented to be tried thereby by themselves in our cause also, and it shall appear that they are not so contrary to us as you suppose; and this will clear our Doctrine from the crime of Novelty, wherewith ye slander it. Afterwards we will come to touch such inconveniences and absurdities as flow from your Doctrine.

The Bishop answering that he was content, *La Grange* began as followed.

La Grange. *Gelasius*, who was an ancient Doctor, yea, and a Pope also, said in a Council held at Rome, That the substance and nature of Bread and Wine remained in the Sacrament of the Lords Supper, even as the human Nature of our Lord Jesus Christ was united unto his divine Essence. *Cyril* an ancient Dr. in his imperfect work upon St. Matthew, denies that the Body of Christ is included under the Bread in the Sacrament, but holds that it is only an outward sign thereof.

Bishop. I have as yet to be answered that Sentence of *Gelasius*, and then I told you that he was not seen in Philosophy, and therefore could not dispute substantially of the substance of the Bread; yet I verily think he understood not what this word Substance meant, but took it for that which we call Accidents; as sometimes by this word Accident we understand Substance; witness *Julian*, who takes it in this sense.

La Grange. Sir, I cannot conceive that such a learned Father could be so ignorant, as to know what the substance of Bread should mean, or at least the nature thereof, seeing he eat of it daily. St. Augustine hath this saying on the third *John*, That Christ shewed admirable patience in receiving *Judas* to that Banquet, in which he instituted and gave to his Disciples the sign of his Body and Blood.

Bishop. I doubt not but many such Sentences are to be found in St. Augustine which seem to favour your Opinion; as where he saith to *Adimantus* the *Manichee*, That Jesus Christ did not shun to call it his Body, albeit he gave but the sign thereof. But such kind of speeches must be expounded by conferring one place with another.

La Grange. Nay Sir, we have not only St. Augustine, but also the most part of the ancient Fathers (all which you say are against us) on our side.

Bishop. Well, but come now to the absurdities and inconveniences of our Doctrine, wherof you speak.

La Grange. Amongst others, I will instance in this one; By the Doctrine which you teach you forever disjoin that which it is self is joined and united together.

In the Supper of the Lord the Son of God gives us his Flesh for our meat and his Blood for our drink; which are coupled together by outward Sacramental signs, Bread and Wine: now according to your Doctrine the Bread is converted into flesh and Wine into blood, and ye separate the Flesh from the Blood of Christ.

Bishop. We separate not the Flesh from the Blood, seeing that by concomitancy the Flesh is never without blood, nor blood without flesh.

La Grange. If this be so, we should in one and the same action receive the Flesh and Blood of Christ twice;

for taking the Bread, which you say hath Blood accompanying it by your Concomitancy, you receive whole Christ in flesh, and then again in blood; and thus we receive the Flesh twice and the Blood twice.

Bishop. What inconvenience cometh of receiving the same twice in one action?

La Grange. Christ did not institute his Supper to be received twice in one action, but faith in the singular number, *Take, eat, this is my Body*; he said not in the plural, *These are my Bodies*. This only absurdity if there were no more, overturns the Lords Institution.

To this the Bishop made no answer.

La Grange. If we mark Christs words, it will appear that the altarifier in your Doctrine do crook this Commandment, *Eat*; for what eat you Sir, I pray you, in this Sacrament?

Bishop. The Accidents of Bread.

La Grange. Eat you nothing but the Accidents? It is said, *Eat this is my Body*.

Bishop. We receive the Body and Blood:

La Grange. When you eat the Body, do you not bruise it with your Teeth?

Bishop. No, for Christs Body is infinite; so as when we eat or bruise the Cake, the Body is not bruised thereby, whilst the Form; the Body is not diminished, but every bit is the Body of Christ.

La Grange. Sir, you still fall into the former Absurdities; for making three pieces of your Cake in the flesh, and ever eating thereof the whole Body of Christ, it thereupon follows, that in taking three pieces you swallow down three Bodies of Christ together.

Bishop. We must not be led thus by humane sense.

La Grange. Sir, that which I say is manifest enough, and so that which you affirm of your Form cannot stand for Christs faith, nor, *Eat the Form, but Eat this is my Body*. Now we cannot eat, unless we gnaw with our Teeth, in bruising that we eat. If you say that the Bread, which is Flesh as you hold, is conveyed under the Tongue and gently swallowed; then I answer, This is not eating but swallowing; for, can he be said to eat, who being half pined with hunger, swalloweth Bread and Meat without chewing? Nay, he may rather be said to devour it. Moreover, if the Bread, which as you affirm is Flesh, be put into a mans Mouth and swallowed, then how will you answer that which Christ said in St. Matthew, That whatsoever enters into the mouth goeth into the belly, and is cast out into the Draught, or Back-chamber, as we call it.

Bishop. These words must be taken of our ordinary eating, which is *cast* (aving your preference) after it is eaten into the Draught.

La Grange. What comes then of this swallowed Flesh?

Bishop. The Forms are turned into it, and the Flesh of Jesus Christ is gone; but these things must not be too curiously examined.

La Grange. This Answer cannot stand; the Accidents, which you call kinds, cannot be changed thereto; it is the Substance which is changed. But let us come to a more substantial Argument: you teach, That whoever receives this Bread, which you call Flesh, receives Jesus Christ. Now it is written that St. Paul saith, *He that eateth and drinketh unworthily, eats and drinks damnation to himself*.

Bishop. This Argument hath some weight in it; for thus you reason, he that receives Christ doth therewithal receive eternal life; but by our Doctrine all receive Christ in the Sacrament, therefore they must needs have eternal life.

I confess it is true according to your Minor Proposition, that they receive him: But I deny that all receive him unto life everlasting; for if they receive not the Flesh by the Holy Ghost, it profits them nothing.

La Grange. I have taken the first part of my Proposition out of St. John, where Christ saith, *He is the life*; John 11.25. but being we cannot receive so much as a common Heir without the virtue of it, much less can we receive Christ without that life which is comprehended in him; otherwise we should receive a dead Body without efficacy, and not Jesus Christ, who causeth those that eat him to live eternally. For this Sacrament was instituted

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Mr. Anthony Ricetto, Martyr.

A Monk others who were condemned to be drowned, there was one *Mr. Anthony Ricetto* of *Finence* having a Son about twelve years old, who coming to visit his Father, according to the direction of Children, besought him with tears to yield to those who had condemned him, and to save his life, that he might not be left Fatherless.

A True Christian (said his Father) is bound to forgive his enemies, yes, and life is self, for the Masses gods, Children, and Glory, and they which cause the awe of Gods Honour and Glory to lay it down, the Lord afflicting him.

The Lords of *Venice* offered to restore unto him his Patrimony, which was partly mortgaged and sold, if he would submit himself to the Church of *Rome*. But he refused whatsoever conditions they this way tendered unto him. Some that were Prisoners with him, namely one *Mr. Julius Forlan* hath reported much of the abstinence, patience, and holiness of this excellent man, so far as to parallel him to another *John Baptist*. On the fifteenth day of *February 1565*, which according to our computation of *February 1566*, Captain *Clairmont* came unto him, and told him, that *Francis Segna* was resolved to recant. To which

Ricetto by and by replied, What tell me of *Sega*? I will perform my Vows unto the Lord my God; and if he was led bound forth to them, whereby, A Certain Priest, who accompanied him, presented unto him a wooden Crucifix, exhorting him to return and to die in the favour of God, reconciling himself unto the Church of *Rome*, the holy Spouse of Christ. But *Ricetto*, rejecting that Crucifix, besought the Priest and those that followed him to come out of the house of the Devil, to cleave to Jesus Christ; and to live, not according to the Flesh, but after the Spirit; for if you do otherwise, said he, assure your selves your unbelt will bring you into that lake of fire that shall never be quenched. For though you confess with your mouth that you know Jesus Christ, yet you not only deny him by your works, but you persecute him in his members, being seduced, and bewitched by the Pope, who is the open enemy of the Son of God.

When they were come nigh to the two Gallies, the Captain bound his hands; now, because it was very cold, he called for his cloak which they had taken from him. Then said the *Werryman*, fearst thou a little cold? What wilt thou do when thou art cast into the Sea? Why art thou not careful to save thy self from drowning? Dost thou not see that the poor Flea skips hither and thither to save her life? To whom he answered, And I am now flying to escape eternal death.

Being arrived at the place where he was to suffer, the Captain put a Chain of Iron about his middle with a very heavy stone fastened thereto. Then *Ricetto*, lifting his eyes to Heaven, said, Father forgive them, for they know not what they do. And being laid on the plank, he said, Lord Jesus into thy Hands I commend my Spirit; and then pulling this weighty stone towards him, not waiting till the Boats were fired one from another, as in such kind of executions they were wont to do, this holy man slept in the *Low*, which was no small error to the Magistrate, in that there was never any error to the kind of death before, with so much constancy and resolution.

Mr. Francis Spinola, Martyr.

The Sunday following, Master *Francis Spinola* of *Milaine*, being about the age of six and forty years, was apprehended and brought into the Prison, called *Des clefs de dex*. That afternoon, where he was found, poor *Francis Segna*. Two days after (which was the eighth and twentieth day of *February*) *Spinola* was brought before his Judges, where they delivered into his hands a little Treatise of the *Low* Supper, of which he opinionally confided he was the Author; shewing that the opinion which he there maintained was this, That the Bread and Wine were the signs, and not the things signified, and therefore must not be adored. He was questioned with touching the power of the Pope, prayer to Saints, and

about Purgatory. He answered that the Pope power was from man, which the Roman Confirmit and certain Princes had given him: but that God the Father had given Jesus Christ to be the Head of the Church, and to have all power in Heaven and Earth. What is Peter then, of power in Heaven and Earth? He further added, that he would not pray nor pray to any other but to God only, as it is written. The memorial of the Saints he well approved, as of *Luke 11*, those who were the true Branches ingrafted into the Vine Christ.

Also for his part he acknowledgeth none other Purgatory, but the Blood of Christ, as it is manifest in the Epistle to the *Hebrews*, and in the first Epistle of *John*.

Then as *Spinola* was returned into his Prison *Francis Segna* (whom he was ignorant of) waited his coming, holding a Candle in his hand and puffing by with his Keeper, fumed him by his name; whence it came to pass, that they two conferred together about the Doctrine of the Gospel. Now howsoever *Segna* differed from *Spinola*, touching the number of Sacraments, yet he recited of Christ in that behalf. But after that he had learned that *Spinola* had constantly stood to the defence of the Truth, he was very joyful and much comforted, saying, That God had reserved him for such a time as this, to make him partner with him of 16 great consolation.

He wrote consolatory Letters to *Spinola*, committing his writings into his hands, wherof some were preserved, and the rest left by the carelessness of a false Brother. Upon the three and twentieth day of *February*, 1567, the Keepers of the Prison told *Segna* that he was to die within one hour after the flouting in of the evening. At the hearing of which news he interested *Spinola* to pray with him. After prayer, *Segna* telling him that his Soul was heavy to the death; *Spinola* gave him this answer, Fear not, for it will not be long before I shall feel those joys which shall endure for ever.

Being brought out of his dark Dungeon, according to the time limited, he took his leave of *Spinola* and the rest of the Prisoners. As he was entered into the Boat, a certain Friar began to persuade him to return into the right way. *Segna* answered that he was already in the way of our Lord Jesus Christ, and passing on he called upon the name of God. He seemed not to be much moved at the binding of his Hands, but was a little amazed at the fastening of his Body to the Chain. Yet by and by taking unto him a Christian resolution, he took whatsoever they did unto him patiently. Being laid upon the board or plank, he commended his Soul into the Hands of God, and being left of the two Boats (upon the edges whereof the plank was stayed) the one declining this way and the other that way, he fell into his Sepulchre the Sea, and died patiently.

Spinola soon after was presented the second time before his Judges, namely the tenth of *March*, where he repented the Pope's Legate with his Clergy there present, as also the Lords of *Venice* who sat in judgment upon him, because contrary to their Conferences they persecuted the Truth of God, calling them the offspring of the Pharisees, *Capitans*, and the Gentiles, who now, said he, kill Jesus Christ in his members. The nine and twentieth of *March* following, he was the third time brought before them, where they asked him if he would not recant his Errors. He answered that the Doctrine he maintained was not Erroneous, but the very same Truth which Jesus Christ and his holy Apostles taught and preached, and for which all the Martyrs, as well of old time as now have willingly layd down their lives, and endured the pains of death.

After all this, *Spinola* became so weak, that he determined to strike Sail (as they say) and to comply himself to the time; being brought herewith by the advice of some, namely that he should find a giving of his consent to what the Magistrate required of him, by means whereof he might escape their Hands. But about the tenth of *September*, coming again to himself, and spying whereunto this determination tended, he protested before all that he would stand in the confession he had made from the first of *April* last past. Wherefore on the ninth of *August* he was brought again before the same Judges, where he openly confirmed the same.

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His Judges said, that he should either be drowned or burned alive. Then on the thirteenth of *January 1566*, (according to the *Venician* account, which according to ours was 1567) on *Tuesday* morning being come before the Tribunal, Sentence was pronounced upon him that he should be drowned as an Heretic. To which he gave them this answer, I am no Heretic, but the Servant of Jesus Christ. At which words the Pope's Legate commanded him to hold his peace, telling him that he lied. The next day in the morning (which was the last of *January*) he was brought into *St. Peters Chapel*, where he was degraded, because he had been a Priest; and the night following he was conducted unto the Sea, and there drowned in the place appointed; who died praying and blessing God with invincible constancy.

A Relation of such things as fell out under the Government of the Duke of *Alva*, and of many men put to death, 1567.

The Afflictions of the Protestants in the Low-Countries were multiplied this year under the dominion of *Ferdinando* Duke of *Alva*. It is well known that the Spaniards, using all their endeavours to rule over this Country at their pleasures, had no better opportunity to accomplish their design, than to establish among them their Inquisition, thereby to dominate over the goods, honors, and lives of every one. The Nobles, Citizens, and Commons did every they could to oppose the same: to which purpose they had instantly besought the King, to afford him his Royal presence, that hearing once their complaints, his Majesty might take some order for matters of so great importance; alleging to this end the example of the Emperor *Charles* his Father: who upon a business far inferior to this, adventured himself with much diligence to see through the *Flemish* Country, who were but a while before reconciled; only to lay some mutinies begun in the City of *Gand*. These things had so moved his Majesty, that he made them a promissory Letters of his coming. But his intention was broken off by such as were the upholders of the Inquisition, that they might with the more facility attain the end of their desires. In stead of their King then, they had sent unto them the Duke of *Alva*, who at his entrance found the Prisoners replenished with Gentlemen and other persons of note, whom the *Duchess of Parma* had left in bonds after her death.

Long did they languish in this Captivity, whilst the Duke of *Alva* by fair promises dissembled a kind of meek and gentle carriage of mind towards them, giving them some hope of a general pardon, proceeding from the Kings clemency; that thus he might catch the Lords and Governors the more cunningly into his nets, whereof the Lord *Lemoral* Earl of *Egmond*, Prince of *Gand*, Governor of *Flanders*, and *Artois*, and others of quality gave but too lamentable experience; who being fed with vain hopes were at length inhumanely put to death.

The sixteen Provinces also subjected themselves under this new government, lost their ancient liberties and privileges; which evidently appeared by the exploits done from the year 1567, hitherto by a new Council of twelve, elected and settled there by the Duke; the principal of which were *Vergas* and *Delrio*, the Fathers of the Inquisition, which Council was commonly called the Council of *Blond*.

The death of two Barons of *Battenburg*, the one called *Gybrecht*, and the other *Thierry*, Brethren, with certain other Gentlemen executed the same day at *Brussels*, 1568.

Among many Gentlemen and Captains who were apprehended after the discomfiture of the Assembly in *Holland*, whom the *Duchess of Parma* had imprisoned in the Castle of *Wylford*, the two Brethren of *Battenburg*, a most ancient Barony situated upon *Arden*, about two miles off from *Nieuwmege*, did manifest above others how much they had profited by being intruded in the Church of *Geneva*. The elder of them was *Gybrecht*, and the other *Dietrich* or *Thierry*; who from the flower

of their youth had constantly professed and confided the pure Doctrine of the Gospel.

On *Tuesday* the first of *June*, Anno 1568, the Duke of *Alva* began to declare to the world his finished meekness, putting to death the same day these two Brethren, besides the Lords, *Daniel*, *Philip* *Wagels*, &c. They were first brought into *Provoost Spelman's* house, near the Horse fair, in the City of *Brussels*, compassed about with a strong guard, and many Drums beating, that none might hear what were their last speeches. As they went to their death, *Battenburg* the elder seemed to be somewhat penitence, whereas *Dietrich* his Brother was very cheerful, comforting the other with his gracious words, saying, Ah Brothers, is not this the day we have so much desired? Be not sorrowful now; for it is the highest honor that can befall us here to suffer for the Doctrine of the Son of God. It may be for the love you bear me, you grieve to see me dye first: I am content that you should drink of that cup before me, in regard you are the elder; if not, all is one, fearing we are going to our God.

Gybrecht by and by replied, Think not, dear Brothers, that the joy of the holy Ghost is taken from me now. I am drawing nigh to the Lord, being ready to dye for his holy name.

Then ascending the scaffold, after he had made his fervent Prayers to God, the Executioner taking off his head, he slept happily and sweetly in the Lord. His Brother following him next with such alacrity, as much astonished the spectators.

He desired, as some say, to see his Brother and when he had spied his head, he cried, I shall be glad by his death, my Brother. So after he had ended his prayers, he was a quick dispatch united unto him.

Those who refuted these things report, That the other Gentlemen had so much favour as to be buried; but these two Brethren were made a spectacle, being hanged up to the caufe was, for that in the very same morning they suffered, as also before, they directly felt themselves against the Idolatries which were propounded unto them.

The *Saturday* after, the fifth of *June*, the Earls of *Egmond* and *Horne* were beheaded, and there made a public gazing flock. Of which two, the Earl of *Horne*, who died last, gave an evident proof of that true knowledge of God wherewith he was induced, and in which he had more especially increased in the time of his troubles and afflictions.

An extract of a complaint with a protestation of the Prince of *Orange* and the Gentlemen of the Low Countries, touching their oppression.

This year in the Month of *July*, the Prince of *Orange*, and *Gentlemen of the Low-Countries*, all professors of the Gospel, for prevention of the flanders and pretences of Rebellion put upon them by the enemies thereof, published in writing a Declaration; that it might appear to all, that they were so far off from plotting any Treason against the Kings Majesty, that on the contrary, they did by all the means they could acknowledge him to be their natural Prince and Sovereign. The true causes indeed for which they took up Arms under the Authority of their Prince, for his own defence, as also of those who professed the Protestant Religion, were the exactions, the confiscations of Body and goods, with the continual condemnations and putting to death even of the most Noble personages of the Country.

And that the Prince of *Orange* might make known to all, that these unjust and cruel were exercised upon those of the Religion, he discovered the notorious flanders of the Cardinal of *Granvelle* and others, who under the cloaks of the pretended Catholic Religion, fought nothing else thereby but the diminishing of Gods glory, the Kings Authority, and the welfare of the commonwealth, shedding the Blood of many a True Christian, whose death followed the loss of their temporal chares; and all, forthwith, under pretence of Justice.

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words he took occasion to direct his speech in more particular manner unto her, saying:

Madam, do you verily believe that Jesus Christ came into the world to save you? And do you expect the full forgiveness of all your sins, by the shedding of his blood for you?

To which the readily answered the did; believing that he was her only Saviour and Mediator, looking for salvation from none other, knowing that he hath abundantly satisfied for the sins of the whole World, and therefore was assured that God for his sake, according to his gracious promises in him, would have mercy upon her.

Thus she have in part the godly speeches which passed from this religious Lady in the beginning of her sickness; all which was within the space of three or four days. Howsoever before that, and since also, the ceased not to continue the same her fruitful and comfortable communications, now and then sending forth most affectionate sighings to God, as a testimony of that hope and desire she had in enjoying his Presence; often uttering these words, *O my God, in thy good time deliver me from this body of death, and from the miseries of this present life, that I may no more offend thee, and that I may attain to that felicity which thou in thy Word hast promised me.*

Neither did she manifest her passion affection by these her words only, but therewithal the vehemency of her sickness could not but bear witness to all that beheld her, that the fear of death could not drive her from the steadfastness of her Faith.

When she had finished these her consolatory speeches, they usually went to prayer; in which the Lord that he would arm her with constant patience, and have mercy upon her. Which Prayer it shall not be altogether imprudent to infer in this place, serving as a Form of Prayer upon the like occasion.

The Prayer.

O Lord our God, we confess thee before thy Divine Majesty, that we are altogether unworthy of thy infinite mercies, by reason of our manifold iniquities; and that we are so far off from deserving to be heard of thee in our requests, that we are rather worthy than undeserving to be visited with our pains and our sorrows; but seeing it hath pleased thee to make us a gracious promise of hearing and granting our requests, we humbly beseech thee freely to forgive all our offences, and to cover them under the obedience and righteousness of thy dear Son, that through him our persons and poor services may be well pleasing before thee. For, Lord, we acknowledge that all our afflictions are measured out to us by thine hand, who art a most just Judge, in regard we have every way provoked thee to wrath by our infinite sinning against thee; yea, by our rebellions, which now testify against thee; yea, by our life hath no way been an answerable to that perfect obedience which thou in thy holy Law justly requirest at our hands, which we from day to day do transgress; and therefore do thee cast down our persons at this time before thy glorious presence, unfeignedly acknowledging our misery and wickedness from the very bottom of our hearts.

Yet, Lord, mercy is with thee, and because thou art our Father, therefore thou deservest not the death of sinners; but rather that they should convert, and stand before thy Grace, with confidence of obtaining thy wonted mercy which thou hast promised to such as call upon thee in truth: beseeching thee, which art our Father of Mercies, to have compassion on all such whom thou hast humbled under thy mighty Hand, by any of thy Rods and Chastisements; but more especially this thy servant the Queen which lieth here before thee sick of a dangerous Disease, that as thou hast righteously afflicted her for her sin (which she also hath with us acknowledge) so it would please thee in pardoning them all unto her, for thy beloved Son's sake, to grant that she may profit by this thy correcting hand for the time to come. Alas, alas, give her a sweet (say, yea a full) assurance of thy eternal joy, that so she may with the greater patience take down this bitter potion ministered unto her by thine hand, and that the sole desire of enjoying

thy presence may cause her to forget all worldly greatness and magnificence; knowing that she is nothing in respect of the glory which is now set before her. Endeavour also with meekness of mind to bear the tediousness of her affliction; for howsoever the spirit be unwilling, yet the flesh is weak; yea full of resisting and unbelief; that so receiving all things from thee, as from a Father, she may the more willingly submit her will unto thine.

And because, O good God, thou hast made her hitherto an happy instrument for the advancement of thy glory, and the defence of thy poor afflicted people, we pray thee, if it may stand with thy good pleasure, restore her to health again, that so the excellent work which thou hast by her means begun, may not be left imperfect; but by virtue of this her deliverance, she may with renewed force undertake the same in better sort than ever before, especially for the well educating and training up the children which thou hast given her.

But Lord, if thou have a purpose now to call her home to thy self, who are we that we should contradict thy will? only we pray thee that thou wouldst confirm more and more in the knowledge of thy blessed Gospel, and thereby also in the certainty of her salvation, which thou hast given her by faith in thy Son Jesus Christ, that thou mayest not call to judgment and call upon thy holy Name unto her last breath.

As to touching our selves, who are here by thy good Providence gathered together about her, being in bodily health, give us to know the uncertainty and brevity of our life; that so according to our duty, we may behold the same in this mirror which thou hast set before us; as knowing that even the greatest in the world are subject to the same calamities, as well as the small; that so our chief care may be to employ the remainder of our time to thy honour and service; all which we earnestly desire in the Name of Jesus Christ thy Son, our only Mediator and Advocate. Amen.

Thus we have, as near as we could, gathered the form of the Prayer. During which the celestial angels hundreds and eyes fleetly lifted up to Heaven, to fetch many deep sighs, especially when mention was made of that mercy of God in Christ which he extendeth towards poor sinners. So as there was at any time present that might not evidently perceive, that her heart and affections were joyed to the Prayer which we pronounced in her presence.

And while the thus lay, the still continued in her godly resolution to depart hence, that the might be with Christ, taking great delight in the holy and chaste life. Exhortations were usually made unto her by many godly and learned men, who came in to visit her; who the also manifested no small testimony of that Faith, and Hope, which she had in God, touching the salvation of her Soul, by her holy and christian speech, which for brevities sake are here omitted.

Yea, albeit the Lord exercised her much with the sense of her inward Disease, yet could you not at any time discern any speech favouring of discontentment or impatience, to proceed out of her mouth; nay, scarcely a groan, which not only those of her own Family, but many others can testify, even the Queen-mother, with others also, who now and then came in to see her.

But if at any time she felt any refreshings from the violence of her Disease (there being no Malady so vehement which hath not some intermission and breathing time) she manifested to all her willingness to obtain the recovery of her former health, relating to that end no words, when she perceived her sickness to encrease up on her, and that she grew worse and worse, she was no whit appalled thereat, but shewed her self to be armed with an invincible constancy, to undergo the utmost that death could do against her, preparing her self willingly for that last Conflict.

Moreover, seeing her Ladies and Gentlewomen weeping about her bed, she would forthwith rebuke them, saying, *I pray you weep not for me, forasmuch as you see God doth now by this sickness, call me hence; even as you see her lie, and to enter in at the desired haven, towards which*

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this frail Vessel of mine hath for a long time been pining; only the blessed her self somewhat grieved, that the lacked opportunity to reward them, and many more of her Family and Train which had done her faithful services, as she could have wished; excusing her self with these words unto them, *That it was not for want of good will, but by being overtaken, and so prevented by this her unexpected sickness.* But, faith she, *I will not fail to give order concerning the same to my uttermost ability.*

In the end, feeling her strength to decay more and more, she gave order to have her last Will and Testament made, wherein she above all continued, that her Children might have but the grace to honour and fear the Lord, exhorting them constantly to continue in the profession of the Gospel, in which they had been trained up from their youth; ordaining especially that her Daughter, the Princess, should be educated and instructed therein by the four Ladies which she had appointed and brought with her out of Beavre for that end and purpose. And being come to the end of her last Will and Testament, she desired that she might be joyed in marriage to some Prince of the same Religion, by the counsel and advice of the Cardinal of Bourbon and Gaspier Count of Cailly Admiral of France, whom the male Executors and Overseers of her last Testament. But here it may not be omitted briefly to relate another Conference which she had with a Minister of the Gospel before her departure.

The eighth of June, which was the day before her death, she called a Minister of the Gospel to be called, and finding that the was drawing nigher unto her end than before, she desired him to speak somewhat largely of such temptations as Satan is wont to afflict Gods Elect withal in their last Conflict.

To which the Minister answered, That then was the hour indeed wherein that sworn Enemy of all the Faithful did most busily begin to molest, if he could, to deprive them of the comfort of their Salvation; not sparing at that time especially to let upon them with might and main; but yet even then the Lord is not, nor will be wanting to his, filling their hearts with such joy and comfort, that they shall make them, through the fort of the Holy Ghosts, more than Conquerors.

The first Engine then which Satan useth against the Saints to cause them to despair, is to present before their eyes the innumerable heaps of their sins and pollutions; wherewith they have any way been defiled in their whole life; and then presents unto them, if he be pure and which no flesh can be able to fulfill, unless it be pure and holiness; whence he infers, that miserable sinners can expect and look for nothing, but a horrible defolation and condemnation. But against these assaults in the first place, he should be opposed (as David doth) in the One and faithful God, the infinite multitude of Gods compassions, which do infinitely surpass the multitudes of our sins.

And as touching the Justice of God, we confess that no Creature that is defiled with sin, can in any sort abide to be thrice examined by it, if it shall the same be never enter account: but we also know that God will never enter into judgment with those that believe in his Son, but also into them that righteousness or obedience which was accomplished in him, which is only sufficient for us, being imputed unto us, to oppose against the judgment of God with our Human Nature, to bear in the same the punishment due to our sins, and therein acquitted us, then Gods Justice doth in no way fright us, but rather yields us assured comfort, because they make this their full redemption, that forasmuch as God is just, he cannot receive the same satisfaction of him, whom he hath ordained to be our Surety, and paid our debts for us, thence we gather assuredly that he will no more require them of us.

To which purpose the Sentences are to be well observed. *It is Christ who hath borne our griefs, and carried our sorrows. That the chastisement of our peace was upon him, and with his stripes we are healed. That we all like sheep have gone astray, and have turned every one to his own way, and the Lords path laid upon him the iniquity of us all. Christ is our peace, and the propitiation for our sins. The Lamb of God which taketh away the sin of the world.* These with many the like Sentences, the Minister propounded by way of answer to this virtuous Ladies demand: concluding the same thus, that Gods Justice ought not to terrify those that believe in Christ, of whole righteousness and redemption they are partakers, knowing that Jesus Christ who knew no sin, was made sin (that is to say, an Oblation for sin) for us, that we might be made the righteousness of God in him.

I grant, faith she, that these things belong not to all indifferently, but only to such, as believing in the Son of God, do wholly rest themselves fastened in the merit of his Death and Passion; which merit of his, as St. Peter witnesseth, sufficeth for their salvation.

After these matters premised, he asked her whether she placed her whole confidence on Christ crucified, who died Rom. 5. 8. for her sins, and rose again for her justification?

To which the Noble Princess answered, *That she neither expected salvation, nor life, from any other, than from her only Saviour Jesus Christ, being assured that his only merit abundantly sufficed for the full justification of all her sins, albeit they were innumerable.*

This being our Faith, Madam, (said the Minister) you cannot expect unto condemnation, but unto life, and death to life. Then taking an occasion again to refute her former speech, *That she had no cause to be afraid of Gods Throne of Justice, seeing it was turned into a Throne of Grace and Mercy unto her; and that the hour of death should be no exceedingly welcome to her, seeing it could be nothing else but a sweet passage into a far better life, as also the time in which all tears should be wiped away from her eyes: He likewise shewed, that she would do well continually to be thinking on that excellent Sentence, *Blissful are the dead which die in the Lord, because from thenceforth they rest from their labours, and their works follow them.**

Then she said he, the time approaches wherein he should enjoy the visible presence and society of her husband Christ, and have fellowship with the blessed Angels and Celestial Spirits, with the holy Patriarchs, Prophets, Apostles, and Martyrs of the Son of Gods peace with them of the same felicity and glory.

The Minister minding yet further to follow her, whether she were loth to leave this life, and these words; *And now, good Madam, (said he) if I should please God by this your sickness to put an end to this wearisome pilgrimage of yours, where yet you remain with us, and to call you home to himself, whereto he gives us to see some evident signs and tokens, are you willing, I beseech you, to go unto him?* To which the excellent Princess, with great magnanimity and courage, without any allotment replied, *Yes, I assure you.*

Then he once again added, *Good Madam, open the eyes of your Faith, and behold Jesus your great Redeemer sitting at the right hand of his Father, reaching out his hand to receive you unto him. Are you, are you willing to go unto him? Yes, I assure you, faith she, a most willing, and much more willing than I have been in this world, where I see nothing but vanity.*

The Minister, not willing to continue longer in this kind of discourses, asked if she were pleased that they should go to prayer, declaring that godly personages there present would willingly join prayer with her.

To which the comforting, the said Minister prayed by her a good space, whilst this pious Lady manifested her ardent affection to call upon God.

When prayer was ended, the Minister discerning in her the undoubted testimonies of her repentance, and of the sorrow she conceived for the offences which she had committed against God, together with the assured confidence which she had in her mercies, as a Minister of the Gospel, and Ambassador of the Son of God, by the Authority dispensed to him, having committed to him the Word of Reconciliation, he assured her in his Name, that all her sins were forgiven her, and that she should never come into account before his Judgment-seat; yea, that he should no more doubt thereof, than if the Son

But in regard such horrible Massacres were every

Peter Ramus the Kings professor in Logick, a Man renowned among the learned, was not forgotten. He had many enemies; among other, one called *James Carpenter*, who

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of the place began to make an Outcry, as if the Enemies had been at their Gates.

Not many Months after, when all these bloody Tragedies were ended, the Pope sent a Legate to the King, called Cardinal *Ursin*. This Legate was received with great Solemnity at *Lyons*, and the Streets hung with Tapestry. Now having heard Mass at *S. Johns Church*, and returning by the same door which he went in at, and being as he passed by, which they kneeled down for his Absolution. But the Legate not knowing the reason why they kneeled for before him, one of the principal Agents kneeling there among them, told the Legate that they were those who had been the Actors in the Massacre. When the Legate perceived that to be the cause, he absolved them all with making the sign of the Cross.

The Massacre
being
abolished
by the
Pope's
Legate.

Persecution at Angiers in France.

Mr. John Mason, a learned Minister, together with his wife and some others, Martyrs.

A Protest
being made
by the
Gentiles.

As soon as the Massacre was begun at *Paris*, a Gentleman of *Paris*, called *Monjoreau*, obtained a Passport with Letters to massacre those of the Religion at *Angiers*. Who, being disappointed of his Prey in one place, came to the lodging of a reverend and learned Minister, called Mr. *John Mason*, framed de *Launay*, *Sieur de Reuvre*. Meeting his Wife at his entrance into the House, he saluted her and left her, as it is the manner in *France*, especially among the Courtiers, and asked her where her Husband was? She answered him that he was walking in his Garden; and then directed him the way unto him.

Monjoreau having lovingly embraced *La Reuvre*, said unto him, *Do you know wherefore I am come? the King hath commanded me to kill you forthwith, and hath given me express charge to do it, as you shall know by his Letters.* After which he would have thrust him a Pistol ready charged. *Reuvre* replied, *That he knew not where he had offended the King; but seeing, faith he, you seek my life, give me a little leave to cry to God for mercy, and to recommend my spirit into his hands.*

Having made a short Prayer, he willingly presented his Body to the Murderer, who shot him with his Pistol, and he died by and by.

Not long after the King sent *Puygailard*, who drowned nine or ten, and amongst other, the Wife of this Minister de *La Reuvre* above named, who expelled a singular constancy of Faith even to her last breath.

This Minister and Martyr formerly mentioned, framed *Launay*, was the eldest Son of *Sieur de Launay*, a man exceeding rich and wealthy, but an obstinate Papist. When as the old man observed how his Son was inclined to be a Professor of the Gospel, he threatened the dilinient him unless he would abjure, promising on the contrary to bestow great matters upon him, and to marry him honourably, if he would be ruled by him. All which his Son refusing, his Fathers love began to be turned into hatred; inso much that the young man was forced to fly to *Paris*, where in time he was called to be a Minister of the first Reformed Church planted in that City, under the Reign of King *Henry the Second*; in which Reformed Church other Churches in divers Cities in *France* fetched their Light.

Persecution at Roan.

When the Massacres began to play their parts in this City, they counselled those of the Religion to get themselves into the Prisons, as into places of great security from the fury and rage of the People. But such security as this advice, were there even ready to be devoured, as poor Sheep, by their greedy Wolves at their pleasure.

Those who were murdered in the City in a few days, were those who were in the Prisons, amounted to six thousand, besides more than fifty women, upon whom they exercised no less cruelty than upon men.

Their Names for brevities sake are here omitted. The Anno 1572.
dead Bodies being piled together, were conveyed in Tumbrils out of the City, and thrown by heaps one upon another into great Pits digged for that purpose. Their Garments being washed in the River from their Blood, by certain poor women, were afterwards distributed here and there to the poor by the Papists, that they might seem with their unjust cruelty to mingle some works of Justice and Charity.

A Note touching the shameful revols of a Minister called Du Roisier, with the event of it.

Within a mile of *Paris* there is a place where those of the Religion, which dwelt thereabouts, and to participate of the Sacraments. Over this Place was *Huges Bureau* (called *Du Roisier*) placed as Overseer.

Being in times past Minister at *Orleans*, he was discharged from thence, as one of a contentious spirit, and given to affect Novelties.

In process of time he came to be established the Minister of this forefild Church nigh unto *Paris*.

Hearing the News of the Massacre, he fled with the rest for company. Being apprehended, he began to waver-perverting many Prisoners to convert to the faith, which caused him afterwards, if his repentance was found, to utter these words in a Book which I have, wherein he bitterly lamented his woful fall. *The Murderers, faith he, by their cruel hands murdered mens Bodies, whilst their Souls escaped safety; but I by my perjuries have been a killer of Souls, in turning them from the Truth which before they professed.*

The Judge who had him in Bonds sent Letters prefatory to *Paris*, to give notice of his apprehension, as also of some apparent signs which gave him hope of the Ministers Conversion.

The King by and by sent for him, who being brought into his presence, subscribed instantly to an Abjuration with detestation of the *Huguenot* Professions, before the King of *Navarre* and the Prince of *Conde*, maintained the Romish Religion, consented thereto with the *Sovereigns* at that time there present; against whom a few years before he had bitterly defended the Truth.

In this Abjuration he endeavoured to confute many Articles which were maintained by *Calevin* and *Breca* against the Romish Religion. In these disputes, this Minister being of a prompt wit and having ability to express himself well, handled the matter so cunningly, that the King of *Navarre*, the Prince of *Conde*, and the Prince of *Conde* to lay yielded, that within five or six days after they went to Mass, and received Absolution of the Cardinal of *Bourbon*.

The Points about which this *Roisier* disputed, were these: First, Concerning the Marks of the Church; Secondly, Of the Trinity of Persons; Thirdly, Of the Incarnation of *Jesus Christ*; Fourthly, Of *Christ* being sent into Hell; Fifthly, Of Original Sin; Sixthly, Of the Providence of God; Seventhly, Of Predestination and Rejection of Saints; Twelfthly, Of the Sacrifice of the Mass; and, Lastly, Of Transubstantiation. The *Sovereigns* caused this Confession to be printed; to which the Ministers of the Reformed Religion would not vouchsafe an Answer, knowing that he who made it did it contrary to his own Conscience, adding nothing thereto which had not been confuted a thousand times.

All this upon his Repentance he afterwards revoked, as is to be seen by his Book printed here in *London* in the French Tongue, in the year 1573, in which Confession of his, contrary to his Abjuration, Lay in my Custody.

Now touching the Prince of *Conde*, the King propounded to him three things; Either to go to Mass, to dye, or else perpetual Prison; and therefore to betink himself well which of the three he liked best. The Prince answered never chose the first; as for the two latter, he referred himself to the Kings pleasure.

Anno
1527

A Massacre at Tholoute in France.

ON Sunday, which was the eighth day after the Massacre of *Paris*, about eight of the Clock in the morning, the chief of the Papils received advertisement of that which had passed, with Letters directing them what they were to do. Then a Council was called, the breaking up whereof the great Jates of the City were shut, only the Wickets left open, at which there was set such a watch as they thought fitting. Soon after it was notified through all the City, that the Lords and Gentlemen of the Religion were massacred at *Paris*. Which the Protestants at *Tholoute* noting, being gone forth about five of the Clock in the morning to hear the Sermon at *Cassan*, some thought it best not to return, but to resort to some other place; others resolved to go back again, and they might take order about their affairs. These, being ill advised, were suffered to enter in peaceably, leaving their Swords and Daggers at the Gate. At Evening Soldiers were placed here and there; but in regard many Counters were placed here and there (that they might the better entrap them) the next day the Gates were not so carefully looked unto, but who would might come in, and go out at their leisure, without being questioned at. This was done to draw in the simple people who were up and down the fields. The first president called *Dafin*, first the headed man, sent to the Counsellors abroad to come in, promising them their safety upon his word, shewing that their absence did but incense the Inhabitants of *Tholoute* the more against them. It was granted indeed, that there had been a Massacre at *Paris*, but that was upon some private quarrel, so as the King was not minded for that to break his Edict of Pacification.

Some of them were perfwaded and returned; others casting some peril resolved to retire to *Montauban*, *Real-mor*, and elsewhere. On Tuesday following, that they might hold them when they had gotten within the Walls, and draw in such as yet kept themselves without, they caused it to be published with found of Trumpets; That the Kings will was that none of the Religion should be molested, but respectively udd. The President, accompanied with a guard of Soldiers, which caused many of the Religion, especially the Counsellors, to suspect some treachery; who therefore hastened to the first Prisoner to know what they things meant. He answered, it was only to restrain the people from making a tumult, and perceiving that they could not by their cunning catch the Birds who kept aloft off, they wrecked their malice upon those they had in their hands.

On Wednesday next then, about ten of the Clock in the Morning, having separated their Troops into divers quarters, they caused them to enter into the Houses of the Prisoners of the City. This business held them all that day, and the next. The Guard was doubled at the Gates, and one of the Parliament, with a Merchant that was a Papist, deputed as Commanders at the said Gates, to examine all such as went out, and to put back such as meant to do as they pleased.

There was also a charge given, that none should dare to conceal any of the said Religion, as they would answer to the contrary. By means whereof many being discovered, were imprisoned. Among which were five or six Counsellors, men excellently learned, who committed the rest. Thus were they detained three weeks. In the mean while the Massacres set upon the Neighbour Cities.

The three weeks being expired, they put all these Prisoners together into the *Confiscery*, which is a special Prison. After which they began to manifest themselves for the reason why they had deferred the slaughtering of them so long, was that they might obtain Authority from *Paris*; the which was brought them by their Deputies, whose names were *Delpuch* and *Madron*, rich Merchants of the City. These came with a Warrant from the King, that the Massacre was not finished, that they should not defer any longer to put his will in execution. To which they flew themselves but too forward and ready.

On Saturday morning before the Sun was up, certain

Scholars who were Night-walkers; with other few Fellows to the number of seven or eight, armed with Axes and Butchers Knives, entered into the said *Confiscery*, and causing the Prisoners to be called down one after another, they massacred them beneath at the stairs-foot of the *Confiscery*, not permitting them to much leisure as to speak, much less to pray. It was thought that they massacred to the number of three hundred; afterwards spoils were taken of all their lads, stripping them out of their ere in the cloths and shirts, and leaving them naked, their secret parts being only covered with a piece of Paper. They were exposed to the view of all for the space of two days, whilst they digged great pits, wherein the Corps thus cruelly massacred were called naked one upon another. The Counsellors whom they had imprisoned, after they were massacred, were hanged in their long Gowns upon a great Elm which was in the Court of the Palace; and in the mean while the Houses of those of the Religion were sacked and pillaged.

Many among these, by reason of the barbarous cruelties used against their Brethren, abjured daily. Now because the *Sermonist* provided a form of Abjuration to that purpose, for saving the lives of such as recanted, it shall not be impertinent to insert the same in this place; it being imprinted at *Paris* by *Nicholas Roffet*.

The Abjured minding to return into the lap of our holy Mother the Roman Church, must present themselves first to their Parsons or Curats, to be directed by them what they ought to do. Afterward to be sent thence to their Reverend Bishop and Diocesan, who is Official to pronounce the said Abjuration in manner and form following.

The Form of their Abjuration.

I Such a one of such a Diocese, dwelling in such a place, acknowledge by the Grace of God the true Catholic and Apostolic Faith, from which have wilfully gone away and separated my self, and now desiring to return into the true Shipfold, which is the Catholic, Apostolic, and Roman Church, I do profess to have abjured and here before you my Superiors, do abjure and detest all the *Huguenot* Errors of *Lauther*, *Calvin*, and all *Heresies* whatsoever, whereunto heretofore I have been infected and defamed, confessing now to the Doctrine of our holy Mother the Church, touching you in the Name of God, and of his Son *Jesus Christ*, and of the glorious Virgin Mary his Mother, with all the Saints and the Saints in Paradise, that it will please you to receive me into the Fold of the Christian Flock and People of God, who live under the obedience of the Pope, ordained *Christi* Church, submitting my self patiently to bear, and willingly to perform the penance you shall think fit to impose upon me, abjuring me from all Offences committed whilst I lived in such Errors, for which I bear pardon of God, of the said Church, and of you my Pastor (as over me by God the Creator) to absolve me with such Penance as you shall judge to be available for the satisfaction of my sins and offences. And that it may be seen that from the heart I have made, and do make this Abjuration.

2. I further confess, before God and you, that I believe all that is contained in the *Apostles*, *Athanasius* and *Nicene Creeds*, with all the *Confessions* of *Paris*, *Posit*, allowed and approved by the Councils of the *Catholic*, *Apostolic*, and *Roman Church*, and so forth as it followeth in this Creed.

3. I also believe, acknowledge and confess whatsoever is contained in the *Old* and *New Testament*, approved by the said holy *Catholic*, *Apostolic*, *Roman Church*, according to the sense and interpretation of the holy Doctors, and by them received, rejecting wholly all other Interpretations as false and erroneous.

4. I acknowledge the seven Sacraments of the said Church to have been instituted by our Lord *Jesus Christ*, as necessary for the salvation of mankind, although all of them are not of necessity to be conferred upon all men; namely, I acknowledge that the seven Sacraments be, Baptism, Confirmation, the Eucharist, which is the holy Sacrament of the Altar, Penance, extreme Union, Orders, and Marriage; and that of them Baptism, Confirmation, and the Eucharist, are necessary for the salvation of the soul.

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him, for he hath promised never to leave nor forsake those that put their trust in him. God hath endued you with wisdom, govern your own family in such sort, that our Children Samuel, and Manasse may be obedient unto you; whom in the name and authority of God, I command that they obey you, for the blessing of Almighty God shall light upon them.

Dear Wife, be not over passionate for me, for I have had ordained me to attend unto the end of my prayer, and that I must render into the hands of the Almighty my Soul, which so long time he hath lent me; my hope is, that his holy and Divine mercy he will receive into his Kingdom, for his own beloved. Sons like Jesus Christ our Lord, through whom I believe that my sins are forgiven, for the only merit of his holy body and Passion. Alas my prayer is, that he will assist me by the power of his holy Spirit unto my last breath.

Be fervent in Prayer, and in all other parts of Gods worship and services, for this is the way to true blessedness. Take no care about finding any thing unto me for these three weeks, and then I pray you send me some money, if you think good, to give theaylor, and some what more for my new necessities, if it please God I live long. Alas I pray you call to mind what I have often told you, namely how God prolonged King Hezekias life for fifteen years. But he hath preferred my life much longer; for it is many years ago since you saw me at the point of death, and through Gods goodness I am alive; and I hope you I am assured, that he will so long prolong me in life for his glory and my eternal good, through his only free Grace.

From the Prison of A.B. the sixteenth of September, 1601.

The Bishop of A.B. was somewhat troubled about this his Prisoner; for if he had let him go, he feared it would breed some scandal, and many might thereby be emboldened to open their mouths wide against the Roman Religion. Besides, there was a great deal of Comrad made between his Excellency and the People of *Vandis*, which exempted those of the Religion from offence, in these words; And if it shall fall out that they be asked or questioned withal in *Piemont*, about the cause of Religion, by any of his Excellencies Subjects, it shall be lawful for those of the said Religion to answer without suffering any penal or personal punishment for the same.

Now *Copin* had a question put him, in which respect he ought to have been cleared. But the Bishop would by no means hear that he had unjustly imprisoned him; and therefore that his death should not be laid to his charge, nor yet that he should be sent away abed, he sent the cause of his Imprisonment to *Pope Clement* the eighth, to know what should be done with him. We cannot learn what answer the Pope returned to the Bishop; but not long after this good man was found dead in Prison, not without some apparent suspicion of his being strangled there; left if he had executed him in publick, the People should have been edified by his confidence.

Being dead, he was condemned to be burned, and therefore having caused him to be brought out of Prison, they read his Sentence openly, and the Body was cast into the fire.

Thus were you the last among the *Vandis*, which is come to our knowledge, that were persecuted to death for the cause of Religion.

Mention hath heretofore been often made of sundry bloody Massacres in foreign parts; but we are now come to fall upon the report of a bloody near home, which if the most wise and watchful providence of God had not timely and graciously prevented, it would have (to the ruin of our Church and State) proved such a Massacre like whereof the Heart of man never conceived, the Ear of man never heard of, nor the Tongue or Pen of man could scarce ever have uttered; namely at one blow to have blown up not only the King, Queen, and Royal posterity, but the whole body of the State in general. Now as the Church and State had each of them a share in this so admirable a deliverance from God upon the fifth day of November, Anno 1605; so each

of them perceived their care, if it might be, for ever to Anno perpetuate the praise of God for the same on the 1605 day, the only by publishing an Act in Parliament for this end, the other by publishing a form of thanksgiving the better to effect it; some expectation whereof the Reader may hap to meet with at the end of the discourse following.

A discourse touching the manner of the discovery of the Powder-Treason, with the Examination of some of the Prisoners.

W^{hile} this Land and whole Monarchy flourished in a most happy and plentiful peace, as well as some as abroad fulfilled and conducted by their two main Pillars of all good government, Piety and Justice, no foran grudge, nor inward whispering of discontentment any way appearing; the King being upon his return from his hunting exercise at *Roym*, upon occasion of the drawing near of the Parliament time, which had been twice protracted already; partly in regard of the season of the year, and partly of the Term; as the winds are ever filled immediately before a storm; and as the Sun breaks often hottest to foretell a following shower; so at that time of greatness calm did that secretly hatched Thunder begin to call forth the first flames and flaming Lightnings of the approaching Tempest. For the Saturday of the week immediately preceding the Kings return, which was upon a Thursday (being but ten days before the Parliament) the Lord *Montague* (son and heir to the Lord *Morley*, being in his own Lodging ready to go to Supper at seven of the Clock at night, one of his Footmen (whom he had sent of an Errand over the fence) was met by an unknown man of a reasonable tall personage, who delivered him a Letter, charging him to put it in my Lord his Masters hands. Which my Lord no sooner received, but that having broken it up, and perceiving the same to be of an unknown and somewhat unlegible hand, and without either date or subscription, did call one of his men unto him for helping him to read it. But no sooner did he conceive the strange contents thereof, although he was somewhat perplexed what construction to make of it (as whether of a matter of consequence, as indeed it was, or whether some foolish devilish Pasquil by some of his Enemies to scare him from his attendance at the Parliament) yet did he as a most dutiful and loyal Subject conclude, not to conceal it, what ever might come of it. Whereupon, notwithstanding the lateness and darkness of the night in that season of the year, he presently repaired to his Majesties Palace at *White-Hall*, and there delivered the same to the Earl of *Salisbury* his Majesties principal Secretary. Whereupon the said Earl of *Salisbury* having read the Letter, and heard the manner of the coming of it, it to his hands, did greatly encourage and commend my Lord for his discretion, telling him plainly, that whatsoever the purpose of the Letter might prove hereafter, yet did this accident put him in mind of divers advertisements he had received from beyond the Seas, where with he had acquainted as well the King himself, as divers of his privy Counsellors, concerning some belated Papists were in both at home and abroad, making preparation for some combination among them against this Parliament time, for enabling them to deliver at that time to the King some Petition for toleration of Religion; which should be delivered in some fixed order, and so well backed, as the King should be loath to refuse their request. Like the sturdy Beggars, craving Alms with one open hand, but carrying a stone in the other, in case of refusal. And therefore did the Earl of *Salisbury* conclude with the Lord *Montague*, that he would in regard of the Kings absence impart the same Letter to some more of his Majesties Council; whereas my Lord *Montague* liked well; only adding this request by way of protection, that whatsoever the event hereof might prove, it should not be imputed to him, as proceeding from too light and too sudden an apprehension, that he delivered this Letter, being only moved thereunto for demonstration of his ready devotion and care for preservation of his Majesty and the State. And thus did the Earl of *Salisbury* presently acquaint the Lord Chamberlain with the said Letter. Whereupon they two in the presence of the

Monmouth,

Monmouth, calling to mind the former intelligence already mentioned, which seemed to have some relation with this Letter: The tender care which they ever carried to the preservation of his Majesties Person, made them apprehend, that some perilous attempt did thereby appear to be intended against the same; which did move them nearly concern the said Lord Chamberlain to have a care of, in regard that it doth belong to the charge of his Majesty to oversee as well all places of Assembly where his Majesty is to repair, as his Highness own private Houses. And therefore did the said two Counsellors conclude, that they should repair unto themselves three more of the Council, to wit, the Lord *Admiral*, the Earls of *Worcester* and *Northampton*, to be also particularly acquainted with this accident: who having all of them concurred together, the re-examination of the Contents of the said Letter, they did conclude, that how flight a matter it might at the first appear to be, yet was it not absolutely to be contemned, in respect of the care which it behooved them to have of the preservation of his Majesties Person.

Wherefore they resolved for two reasons, first to acquaint the *Kimfield* with the same before they proceeded to any further inquiry in the matter, as well for the expectation and experience they had of his Majesties fortunate Judgment in clearing of obscure Riddles and doubtful Mysteries; as also because the more time wrote in the me a while be given for the Prædict to ripen, if any was, whereby the discovery might be the more clear and evident, and the ground of proceeding thereupon more fully laid, and ease. And so according to their determination did the said Earl of *Salisbury* repair to the King in his Gallery on Friday, being *Salisbury* w-day, in the afternoon, which was the day after his Majesties arrival, and none but himself being present with his Highness at that time, where without any other speech or judgment given the relation first of the Letter, and then of the form of the delivery thereof, he presented it to his Majesty, the Contents whereof follow.

M^Y Lord, one of the loves I bear (some of your Friends, I have a sort of your preference) Therefore, I would advise you, as you tender your life, to devise (next excuse to) just off your attendance at this Parliament. For God and man have conceived to punish the wickedness of this time. And think not flightily of this advertisement, but retire your self into your Country, where you may expect the event in safety. For though there be no appearance of any ill, yet I say, they shall receive a terrible blow this Parliament, and yet they shall not see who hurts them. This counsel is not to be contemned, because it may do you good, and save you from harm. For the danger is past to you as you have burnt the Letter. And I hope God will give you the grace to make good use of it: To woe to be protected I command you.

The King no sooner read the Letter, but after a little pause, and then reading it over again, he delivered his judgment of it in such sort, as he thought it was not to be contemned, for that the file of it seemed to be more quick, and pithy, than is usual to be in any Pasquil, or Libel (the superfluities of idle Brains). But the Earl of *Salisbury* perceiving the King to apprehend it deeper than he looked for, knowing his nature, told him that he thought by one Sentence in it, that it was like to be written by some fool or mad man, reading to him this Sentence in it, *For the danger is past to you as you have burnt the Letter*, which he said was like to be the flying of a fool; for if the danger was past to you as the Letter was burnt, then the warning behooved to be of little avail, when the burning of the Letter might make the danger to be increased. But the King on the contrary considering the former Sentence in the Letter, that they should receive a terrible blow at this Parliament, and yet should not see who hurts them, joining it to the Sentence immediately following, already alleged, did then upon conjecture, That the danger mentioned should be some sudden danger by blowing up of Powder: For he no other late advertisement, Religion, or whatsoever other private and desperate Attempt could be committed or attempted in time of Parliament, and the Authors thereof of unclean, except only it were by a blowing up of Powder,

which might be performed by one safe Knave in a dark Corner; whereupon he was moved to interpret and confute the latter Sentence in the Letter (alleged by the Earl of *Salisbury*) against all ordinary fence and construction in Grammar, as if by these words, *For the danger is past to you as you have burnt the Letter*, should be closely understood the suddenness and quickness of the danger, which should be as quickly performed and at an end, as that Paper should be blazing up in the fire; turning that word of *As soon*, to the sense of, *As quickly*; and therefore withheld, that before his going to the Parliament, the under Rooms of the Parliament-house might be well and narrowly searched. But the Earl of *Salisbury* wondering at this his Majesties Commentary, which he knew to be so far contrary to his Rooms of ordinary and natural disposition, which did rather even in the Parliament-house, than in any other place, not trusting due advertisement of practices and Perils when he was truly informed of them, whereby he had many times drawn himself into many desperate dangers; and interpreting rightly this extraordinary Caution at this time to proceed from the Vigilant care he had of the whole State, more than of his own Person, which could not but have all perilled together, if this delinquent had succeeded: He thought good to defend him self unto the King, that there had been any just cause of apprehension; and ending the purpose with some merry jest on this Subject, as his custom is, took his leave for that time. But though he seemed so to neglect it to his Majesty, yet his custom and watchful care of the King and the State fill boyning within him; And having with the blessed Virgin *Mary* laid up in his heart the Kings strange judgment and construction of it; he could not be at rest till he had acquired the forfeit Lords what had passed between the King and him in private.

Whereupon they were all so content to renew again the memory of the same purpose unto the King, as it was agreed that he should the next day, being Saturday, repair to his Highness which he did in the said privy Gallery, and renewed the memory thereof, the Lord Chamberlain then being present with the King. At this time it was determined, that the said Lord Chamberlain should, according to his custom and Office, view all the Parliament Houses, both above and below, and consider what likelihood or appearance of any such danger might possible begethared by the sight of them: but yet as well for staying of idle Rumors, as for being the more able to discern any mystery, he sencer that things were in readiness, his Journey thither was ordained, to be deferred till the afternoon before the sitting down of the Parliament, which was upon the Monday following. At what time he (according to this conclusion) went to the Parliament house, accompanied with my Lord *Monmouth*, being in Zeal to the Kings Service earnest and curious to see the event of that accident whereof he had the fortune to be the first discoverer: where, having viewed all the lower Rooms, he found in the vault under the upper House great store and provision of Billets, Fagg, by the Cots, and Cakes; and inquiring of *Wynyard* Keeper of his in the *Wardrobe*, to what use he had put those lower Rooms, and Cellars; he told him that *Thomas* Page had hired both the House and part of the Cellar or Vault under the same, and that the Wood and Coal, under which were hidden thirty Barrels of Powder great and small, being great Bars of Iron, pieces of Timber, and maffie Stones covered over with Faggos thereto, was the said Gentleman own provision. Whereupon the Lord Chamberlain, calling his eye aside, perceived a fellow standing in a Corner there, calling himself the said *Peries* man and Keeper of that House for him, but indeed was *Guido Fawkes*, the owner of that hand which should have effected the ruin of the Parliament and Hellish Treason.

The Lord Chamberlain looking upon all things with a heedful intent, yet in outward appearance, with but a careless and careless eye, (as became so wise and diligent a Minister) he presently addressed himself to the King in the privy Gallery, and in the presence of the Lord Treasurer, the Lord Admiral, the Earls of *Worcester*, *Northampton*, and *Salisbury* he made his report, that he had seen and observed there; noting that *Montague* had told him, That he no sooner heard *Thomas* Page named

Gentlemen, such as you shall understand best able for this business, and named unto me Master *Fawkes*. Shortly after I pulled the Sea, and found the Countess at *Berghen* near *Dunkirk*, where by help of Master *Owen* I delivered my message. Whose answer was, that he had first commended from his Master, to do all that he thought the Catholics, and for his own part he good offices for in Confidence to do, and that no good occasion should be omitted, but to fake to him nothing of this matter.

Returning to *Dunkirk* with Master *Owen*, we had speech whether he thought the Countess would faithfully help us, or no. He said, he believed nothing less, and that they sought only their own ends, holding full account of Catholics, I told him that there were many Gentlemen in *England*, who would not forsake their Country until they had tried their utmost, and rather venture their lives, then forsake her in this misery. And to add one more to our number, as a fit man both for Council and execution of whatever we should resolve we wished for Mr. *Fawkes*, whom I had heard good commendations of; he told me the Gentlemen desired no less, but was at *Brussels*, and that he came not, as happily he might, before my departure, he would find him shortly after in *England*. I went soon after to *Offend*, where Sir *William Stanley* as then was not, but came two days later. I remained with him three or four days, in which time I asked him if the Catholics in *England* should do any thing to help themselves, whether he thought the Archduke would second them? He answered, no: for all these parts were to be free of peace with *England*, as they would require no speech of other enterprise; neither were it fit, he said, to set any project afoot now the peace is upon concluding. I told him there was no such resolution, and he fell to discourse of other matters until I came to speak of Master *Fawkes*, whose company I wished over into *England*. I asked of his sufficiency in the Wars, and told him we should need such as he of occasion required; he gave very good Commendations of him. And as we were thus discoursing, and I ready to depart from *Newport*, and taking my leave of Sir *William*, Master *Fawkes* came into our company, newly returned, and saluted us. This was the Gentleman, said Sir *William*, that we wished for, and so we embraced again. I told him some good friends of his wished his company in *England*, and that if he pleased to come to *Dunkirk*, we would have further conference, whither I was then going: so taking my leave of them both, I departed. About two days after came Master *Fawkes* to *Dunkirk*, where I told him that we were upon a resolution to go somewhat with *England*, if the peace with *Spain* helped us not, but had as yet resolved upon nothing; such as he like tells me passed at *Graveling*, where lay for a wind, and when it served we came both in one passage to *Gronzebach*, near which place we took a pair of Oars, and he came up to *London*, and came news from the Countess. I told him, good words, but I feared the deeds would not answer. This was the beginning of *Edwards* Term, and about the middle of the Term (whether it was for by Master *Cately*, or upon some business of his own) up came Master *Thomas Percy*. The first word he spoke (after he came into our company) was, shall we always (Gentlemen) take, and never do any thing? Master *Cately* took him, and King's proceedings, and said, shall we always take an Oath of Secrecy, which we related within two or three days to do; so as there we met behind Sir *Clement*, Mr. *Cately*, Mr. *Percy*, Master *Wright*, Master *Guy Fawkes*, and my self, and having upon a Primer given each other the Oath of Secrecy, a Chamber where no other body was, went after into the next Room, and heard Mass, and received the blessed Sacrament upon the same. Then did Master *Cately* direct us to Master *Percy*, and together with *Jack Wright* told us to Master *Percy* the business for which we took greater advantage, and then did Master *Percy* take the Oath, which they both approved. And then was Master *Percy* sent to take the House which Master *Cately* wished by in mine absence had learned did belong to one *Ferris*, which with some difficulty in the end he obtained, and

came as *Ferris* before was, Tenant to *Whymard*. Anno 1605. *Fawkes* underwent the name of Master *Percy* man, calling him *Johannes*, because it was the most unknown name, and received the keys of the House, until the *February*. At which time we all departed several ways into the Country, to meet again at the beginning at *Michaelmas* Term. Before this time all it was thought convenient to have a House that might answer to Master *Percy*, where we might make provision of Powder and *Percy*, where we might be together in a night made ready, should in a while be conveyed by Boat to the house by the Parliament, because we were loth to foyle that with often going in and out. There was none that we could devise to fit as *Lambeth*, where Master *Cately* often lay; and to be keeper thereof (by Master *Cately* choice) we received into the number, *Keyes*, as a trusty honest man: this was about a Month before *Michaelmas*.

Some fortnight after towards the beginning of the Term, Master *Fawkes* and I came to Master *Cately* at *Moorfields*, where we agreed that now was time to begin and let things in order for the Mine. So Master *Fawkes* went to *London*, and the next day sent for me to come over to him; when I came, the cause was, for that the Scotch Lords were appointed to sit in conference of the Union in Master *Percy*'s House. This hindered our beginning until a fortnight before *Christmas*, by which time both Mr. *Percy* and Master *Wright* were come to *London*, and we again their coming had provided good part of the powder; so as we all five entered with Tools fit to begin our work, having provided our selves of Baked meats, the like to need sending abroad. We entered late in the night, and were never seen, save once by Master *Percy* man, until *Christmas* Eve. In which time we wrought under a little Entry to the wall of the Parliament house, and undertook it, as we went, with wood.

Whilst we were together, we began to fashion our business, and discoursed what we should do after this deed was done. The first question was how we might surprise the next Heir: the Prince happily would be at the Parliament with the King his Father, how should we then be able to seize on the Duke? This Barthen Mr. *Percy* undertook, that by his acquaintance, he, with another Gentlemen, would enter the Chamber without suspicion, and having some dozen others, several Doors to expect his coming, and two or three on Horseback at the Court Gate to receive him, he would undertake (the blow being) to carry him safe away: for he supposed most of the Court would be absent, and such as were there, not expecting, or unprovided for any such matter. For the Lady *Elizabeth*, they were called to supper in the night, by having Friends together at an banquet near the Lord *Harrington*, and *Albany* Mr. *Cately*'s house, being not far off, was a fit place for preparation.

The next was for Money and Horses, which we could provide in any reasonable manner (having the *Heir* apparent, and the first knowledge by four or five days) was odds sufficient.

Then what Horses should we have for the Parliament; which was first agreed in general, as many as we could get were Catholics, or so disposed; But after we could consent to speak of particulars. Next what fortin Princes we should acquaint with that before, or joy in with. For this point we agreed, that first we could not enjoy Princes to that secrecy, nor obligen them by Oaths; so to be secure of their promises, besides we knew not whether they will approve the project or dislike it. And if they do allow thereof, to prepare before we begin before suspicion, and not to provide until the business were acted, the same letter that carried news of the thing done, might also intent their help and furtherance. *Spain* is too slow in his preparations to hope any good from in the first extremities, and *France* too near and too dangerous, with the Shipping of *Holland*, we feared, of all the world might make away with us.

But

Anno 1605.

But while we were in the middle of these discourses, we heard that the Parliament should be anew adjourned until after *Michaelmas*; upon which tidings we broke off both discourse and working until after *Christmas*. About *Christmas* we brought over in a Boat the Powder, which we had provided at *Lambeth*, and laid it in Mr. *Percy*'s House, because we were willing to have all our dangers in one place.

We wrought also another fortnight in the Mine against the Stone-wall, which was very hard to break through; at which time we called in *Kn Wright*; and questioned how this Letter should be sent to my Lord *Montague*, but could not conceive; for Mr. *Tripham* forbore in whom we suspected.

Now by reason that the charge of maintaining us all so long together, besides the number of several houses, which for several uses had been hired, and buying of Powder, &c. had lain heavy upon Mr. *Cately* alone to support; it was necessary for him to call in some others to ease his charge, and to that end desired leave, that he, with Mr. *Percy*, and a third, whom they should call, might acquaint whom they thought fit and willing to the business; For many, said he, may be content that I should know, who would not therefore that all the Company should be acquainted with their names: to this we all agreed.

After this Mr. *Fawkes* laid into the Cellar (which he had newly taken) a thousand of Billes, and five hundred of Fagots, and with that covered the Powder, because we might have the house free, to suffer any one to enter that would. Mr. *Cately* wished us to consider, whether it were not, now necessary to send Mr. *Fawkes* over, both to attend himself for a time, as also to master Sir *William Stanley* and Mr. *Owen* with this matter. We agreed that he should (provided that he gave it them with the same Oath) we had taken before, to keep it secret from all the world. The reason why we desired Sir *William Stanley* should be acquainted herewith, was to have him with us as soon as we could; and for Mr. *Owen*, he might hold good correspondence after with foreign Princes. So Mr. *Fawkes* departed about Easter for *Flanders*, and returned the late end of *August*. He told me that when he arrived at *Brussels*, Sir *William Stanley* was not returned from *Spain*, so as he uttered the matter only to *Owen*, whom he seemed well pleased with the business, but told him that surely Sir *William* would not be acquainted with any Plot as having business now a foot in the Court of *England*; but he himself would be always ready to tell it him, and send him away as soon as it were done.

About this time did Mr. *Percy* and Mr. *Cately* meet at the *Barth*, where they agreed, that the Company being yet but few, Mr. *Cately* should have the others authority to call in whom he thought best; by which Authority he called in after *Everard Digby*, though at what time I know not, and last of all Mr. *Francis Thresham*. The first promise, as I heard Mr. *Cately* say, fifteen hundred pounds; the second two thousand pounds; Mr. *Percy* himself promised all that he could get of the Earl of *Northumberland* Rents, which was about four thousand pounds, and to provide many galloping Horses to the number of ten.

Mean while Mr. *Fawkes* and my self alone bought some new Powder, as suspecting the first to be danked, and conveyed it into the Cellar, and set it in order as we resolved it should stand.

Then was the Parliament anew prorogued until the fifth of *November*, so as we all went down until some ten days before, when Mr. *Cately* came up with Mr. *Fawkes* to an house by *Edwards* called *White-Hole*, whither I came to them, and Mr. *Cately* wished me to enquire whether the young Prince came to the Parliament: I told him, that I heard that his Grace would not be there. Then must we have our Horses, said Mr. *Cately*, beyond the Waters, and provision of more company to surprise the Prince and leave the Duke alone.

Two days after, being Sunday at Night, in came one to my Chamber, and told me that a Letter had been given to my Lord *Montague* to this effect; That he wished his Lordships assistance in the Parliament, because a blow would there be given; which Letter he presently carried to my Lord of *Salisbury*.

On the Morrow I went to *White-Hole*, and told it Mr. *Cately*, assuring him whilst that the matter was disclosed, and willing him in any case to forsake his Country. He told me he would fee further as yet, and referred to send Mr. *Fawkes* to try the utmost, promising that if it were his case, he would try the same adventure.

On *Wednesday* Mr. *Fawkes* went and returned at Night of which we were very glad.

On *Thursday* I came to *London*, and on *Friday* Mr. *Cately*, Mr. *Tripham* and I met at *Barth*, where we questioned how this Letter should be sent to my Lord *Montague*, but could not conceive; for Mr. *Tripham* forbore in whom we suspected.

On *Saturday* Night I met Mr. *Tripham* again in *Lincoln-Inn-Halls*. Where he told his speech, that my Lord of *Salisbury* should lift up the King, as I gave it left the second time, and repeated the same to Mr. *Cately*, who heretofore was resolved to be gone, but stayed to have Mr. *Percy* come up, whose consent herein we wanted. On *Sunday* Mr. *Percy* being dealt with to that end would needs abide the uttermost till.

This suspicion of all hands put us into such confusion, as Mr. *Cately* resolved to go down into the Country the *Monday* that Mr. *Percy* went to *Sim*, and Mr. *Percy* resolved to follow the same Night, or early the next Morning. About five of the Clock being *Tuesday*, came the younger *Wright* to my Chamber, and told me that a Nobleman called the Lord *Montague*, saying, Arise and cometo *Edwards*, for I am going to call up my Lord of *Northumberland*, and he will be with you, as is discovered. Go back Mr. *Wright* (quoth I) and learn what you can about *Edwards*. Shortly he returned and said, Surely all is lost: for *Lepton* is got on Horseback at *Edwards*; and as he parted, he asked if their Lordships would have any more to be said, and being answered no, he rode as fast as Fleetfoot he can ride. Go you then (quoth I) to Mr. *Percy*, for sure it is for them they feek, and bid him be gone, I will stay and for the uttermost. Then went to my Lord *Wright* and found them frantically guarded, so as no body could come thence. I went down towards the *Parliament-House*, and in the middle of *Kingsbridge* found the Guard standing, that would not let me pass. And as I returned I heard one say, There is a Treason discovered, in which the King and the Lords should be slain by blood.

I was fully satisfied that all was known, and went to the Stable where my Gelding stood, and rode into the Country. Mr. *Cately* had appointed our meeting at *Dunwich*, but I could not overtake them until I came to my Brothers, which was *Wednesday* Night. On *Thursday* we took the Armour at my Lord *Windsor*'s, and went that night to one *Stephen Littleton* House, where the next day (being *Friday*) as I was early abroad to discover my man came unto me and said, that heavy misfortune had severed all the Company, for Mr. *Francis Thresham*, the first promise, as I heard Mr. *Cately* say, fifteen hundred pounds; the second two thousand pounds; Mr. *Percy* himself promised all that he could get of the Earl of *Northumberland* Rents, which was about four thousand pounds, and to provide many galloping Horses to the number of ten. Mean while Mr. *Fawkes* and my self alone bought some new Powder, as suspecting the first to be danked, and conveyed it into the Cellar, and set it in order as we resolved it should stand. Then was the Parliament anew prorogued until the fifth of *November*, so as we all went down until some ten days before, when Mr. *Cately* came up with Mr. *Fawkes* to an house by *Edwards* called *White-Hole*, whither I came to them, and Mr. *Cately* wished me to enquire whether the young Prince came to the Parliament: I told him, that I heard that his Grace would not be there. Then must we have our Horses, said Mr. *Cately*, beyond the Waters, and provision of more company to surprise the Prince and leave the Duke alone. Two days after, being Sunday at Night, in came one to my Chamber, and told me that a Letter had been given to my Lord *Montague* to this effect; That he wished his Lordships assistance in the Parliament, because a blow would there be given; which Letter he presently carried to my Lord of *Salisbury*.

And so remain yourself.

Com:

L 111 2 Ther

*which was
to put the
Martyrs to
death pri-
vily, as was
usual in the
beginning
of this
century.

Then threw he down his two burning Torches, one this way and another that way, offering his hands to be tied and bound, which caused a great tumult among the People. *Matthias* was returned back again to Prison. Now Reader, it will not be hard for thee to imagine what entertainment he found there; whether or no the Pope's Decree was executed to the full upon this worthy Confessor, who in the face of the world did nobly triumph over Satan and Antichrist his Lieutenant.

Conclusion.

The invincible Constancy of the Martyrs tried the Persecutors; their fiery burning Zeal dried up the Rivers; the laughter of men Swords seemed to be blunted; the Hangmen's Halberds to be utterly spent and wasted, &c.

ANNO
1620.

A True Narration of a Bloody Massacre committed upon the Protestants by the Papists in the greater part of the *Valtoline*, in the Year 1620. after the New Stile: Published for a necessary Admonition to all Estates, wherein the Gospel is professed amongst the Papists, and for Example to all true Christians of constancy in the Profession of the Holy Gospel.

Matt. 5. 10.

Bliss'd are they that are persecuted for righteous sake, for theirs is the Kingdom of Heaven.

The true declaration of the Massacres of the Valtoline.

As that the *Grison* Lords, being as it were the Sovereign Magistrates, had by sundry Decrees, according to the common liberty of the two Religions in those Countries granted, that in the Country of *Bosole*, a place belonging to the Territory of *Tell*, there should be established a Church for the Religion, which should receive the ordinary stipend which at that present was allowed to other Churches of the *Valaisine*, An. 1619, in the month of May. The Minister of the Church of *Tell* with the Ministers of *Iran* and *Brule*, together with the assistance of the principal Lords of *Tyrane* and *Tegley*, did meet together in the said place of *Bosole*, to preach in the Church of that place. But so great was the multitude and concourse of the Papists in that place in Arms, that they were of necessity obliged to give over their purpose, and at that time was *Mr. Gualtinus Tachet* the Pastor of *Brule* almost beaten to death with Staves, a young man of *Tyrane* was slain outright, and others very cruelly handled by some of these Villains, who by that occasion may worthily be called the first Martyrs of the Country of *Tyrane*.

Within a short time after was murdered a Servant of the Governor of that place, where the rage and fury of those murderers grew unto that height, that they did not only condemn the Proclamations published by the Governor, but in form or despite thereof they pulled up and down before the Palace, threatening to kill the said Governor, and other principal persons of the Church of *France*.

Now for that the ordinary Magistrate of that place was not strong enough to suppress the outrages and insolencies of those Villains, from whom none could be secure either in their Houses abroad, or reason of the frequent attempts which they made upon the Protestants, the rather for that the bearded men upon a foreign jurisdiction, to which they had recourse when they had committed any mischief, the Governor was constrained to make his address for justice to the Sovereign Duke of the Country, who about the middle of February, Anno 1620, granted a Commission, wherein were named these Commissioners, viz. the Lords *Joachim Monistat*, at that time Vicar of the *Valaisine*, *John Baptista Salubi*, a Doctor of Law, *Ja. Rumei* a Captain, *Salomon Condemans Badi*, *Leandrus de Terevi*, in the ten Jurisdictions, *Dietgenus Terremans*, Captain of the Lordship of *Metzfeld*, and *John Andrus Montardio* for the Chancellorship, &c.

By these persons, besides the Proccels framed already by the Lords, *John de Cappadi*, Governour of *Tyrane*, and *Andrus Enderlinus Tegli*, there were again divers Proccels framed anew, and upon imprudent and confessed, there was a resolution made in the same place of *Bosole*, to put to the Sword not only the Preacher if he had preached, but also all the People, as many as professed the Gospel, as they could light upon; yea even the Magistrate himself; besides there were divers persons discovered, and those of principal rank, who were the Authors of those wicked and barbarous practices, and had promised all possible aid and assistance unto them.

And therefore, the importance of the business being of great consequence, it was thought expedient that those Lords Commissioners should return to *Tyrane*, and report to the Court of Justice, which there resided, all the business which related of these Proccels; which they accordingly did about the middle of April last past. More-over they were interested by diverse Noble persons of the Protestant Church of the *Valaisine*, that they would with all possible speed provide a Garrison of *Grisons* for the defence of the Valley, in regard that by the foresaid discovery they had great reason to fear a general Rebellion, in case they should proceed to chastise the Authors of those tumults and disorders, and that such a business could not be, without intelligence with the *Spaniards*, and that so much more likely, that those certain years ago such another practice had been discovered and attempted to be put in practice, as it came to pass 1584, and since of late.

All these business were considered, but it was not possible to put the same in effect for many reasons; had it not been that they received intelligence that a number of *Spaniards* approached near to the three Pieves, which were places adjoining to the *Valaisine*, by which occasion the Magistrate and Governours of the *Valaisine* were constrained to put a Guard near the *Trenches of Terevi* and *Merten*, about the Kalends of July 1620, thinking to secure the Valley from the foreign Enemy; and that Guard consisted of the Countrymen and dwellers in the *Valaisine*; and this course wrought no other effect, but that the Protestants by this means were included in all sides, that they could not flee away from that side by the way already concluded, but anticipated within eight days which was the Sabbath-day. The ninth of July 1620. followed the Massacre in the Country of *Tyrane* and *Tegley*, as now since in *Sondres*, a principal Country of this Valley.

THE

ANNO
1620.

The Massacre of Tyrane, wherein were murdered about threefour Persons.

The beginning of their murders was made at *Tyrane*, wherein those barbarous and wicked fellows were assisted by certain Villains who lived near in a certain Jurisdiction, of whom the Principal Captains and Ring-leaders, were *Jacopo Robassello* of *Grosin*, *Marco Antonio de Venofa*, a Doctor of Physick of *Matzsch*, and *Francis Venofa* of *Tyrane*, a Doctor of the Civil Law. These together with their confederates and dependants, both such as were domestic, and came from foreign places, that were the most cruel and bloody Villains which could be picked out thereabouts, before any enterprise covertly made, gave order, that all the ways and Passages of every side should be well guarded, to the end that their cruel enterprise upon the Protestants of the Country should not so readily be discovered, and they the Attempters themselves should be the less troubled in the Execution.

Then about six of the Clock in the night, they entered into the Country of *Tyrane*, like so many foming wild Bores, making their rendezvous Doctor *Francesco Venofa*. They caused four Muskets to be discharged before the Palace of the Seigneur *Podestà*, the principal Magistrate of the place, and rung the great Bell of *Tyrane*. Upon which signal all the Inhabitants in that Vicinity took the Alarm, and made head toward the said house. They gave order to break the Bridges which guarded, and this was done before day. Suddenly upon the dawning of the day, the Bells began to ring another peal at *Matzsch*, and then these Traitors began to bandy and range themselves together. The Protestants, who came out of their houses into the streets to see what the matter was, were suddenly shot and most cruelly murdered in the place. Others by force entered into the houses of the Protestants, drew them out of their beds, and executed upon them all that they could meet withal, without any compassion show all they could meet withal.

John Andrus Casanova was by his Wife delivered from the hands of those Murderers, but was again by force recovered by them. And although this *Casanova* man was a near Kinswoman of *Robassello*, and of Dr. *Venofa*, as 'twas once removed, and this *Casanova* had never esteemed among his better Friends, he yet could not obtain the favour to have his life spared. He prayed that which he might have leave to speak with the said Doctor, which could not be obtained. In the mean time he escaped into another house adjoining, and hid himself in a Garret in the top thereof, hoping to escape himself in a Garret in the house into the house, and when they found there was yet life in him, they with a most inhuman and unfeeling cruelty dispatched him with a piece of Timber.

Antonio de Salvo, a Chancellor in that Valley being the appointed Judge upon criminal causes, a man of greatest authority, time *Fregella* and other places, who at that instant was resident at *Sondres*, being desirous to save himself together with his Deputy, *Marco Antonio Venofa* a Doctor of Law in the house of *Joachim Elmet* was drawn out of the house into the street, with his wife and his Servant *Antonio Keller* of *Soglio* in the said *Fregella*, and slain with a shot of Musket, being of the age of forty two years.

Seigneur *Andrus Enderlin* of *Kubli* in *Pretigginia*, a Gentleman of great worth, very singularly learned, and skilful in many Languages, being at that time Governor of *Tegley*, in the name of the three Leagues, being in this hurriedly by chance in *Tyrane* in the house of *George Battista Baruffino*, was also with his Servant *George Battista Baruffino* strangled to death in the Chamber where he was found; and this noble Gentleman, being first call out of the Chamber Windows, was all his Body overloaten and bruised, that you could not know whether he was yet alive, his fury not ceasing, they knitting a Cord about his neck threw him into the River of *Adda*:

notwithstanding he was afterward found and buried.

In the mean time, with this Governour also was slain *Tyrane* the Son of Senior *Michael Monistat* of *Brule*, a Gentleman of singular goodness and Willdom, who before time had been Deputy to his Father in the Government of *Trabona*, and in the same demeaned himself with great commendation. Who being desirous to withdraw himself from *Tyrane* to his own house, was interested by *Andrus Baruffino*, Son of the foresaid *Battista*, to draw himself from *Tyrane* to lodge with him in his house. Which courtesy when he had accepted, suspecting no Treachery in his new Host, he was by him shot with a Musket, and call into the Flood of *Adda*, being of the age of forty years.

The reverend Gentleman Senior *Antonio Basso*, Pastor of the Protestant Church of *Tyrane*, a man of great Sanctity and Willdom, and a lover of the peace of the Country, hearing the noise of these uppers, he and *Matth Samuel Andrus* the Pastor of *Mello* in the lower *Tercer*, whom he had visited that day, withdrew themselves into a Hall, where having recommended their Souls to God, they were most cruelly slain.

Neither did these furious Persecutors rest here, but besides they cut off *Basso*'s head, and carried it into the Church, and fixed it upon a Pole in the Pulpit where before time he was wont to preach, laying with all disgrace and scorn, Come down *Basso*, thou hast preached long enough already.

In like manner at the same time the Palace of the Chequer of *Tyrane* was besieged by those Hellhounds; wherein dwelt Senior *John de Cappadi*, being at that time Governor. To which place *Matthias* came, a man of good account and a Chancellor of that Office, had retired himself early in the morning to save his life. But because he was extremely hated of the Papists, by reason of his singular Piety, Religion, and integrity, he was especially purged by them; informed of his flight he followed him even to the Palace, threatening to set him on fire, if he were not delivered into their hands.

Lazarus seeing that, notwithstanding the Palace was well furnished with great ordnance, *faucons*, muskets, and other necessary provision, he was like to fall into the hands of his Enemies, for that the said Governor was resolved in his judgment to overcome those miscreants rather by fair and courteous dealing than by force, was informed that evening to fly out of the house, and to hide himself about the Banks of the River *Adda*, wherein he covered himself, and lay close three whole hours all naked, poor Gentleman, to save himself. But his Enemies, and principally Doctor *Venofa* followed him, and drew him out of the Water. And they found him, and drew him out of the Water. And they would give him his life, in compassion of his dear small Children, yet could not be obtain that favour at their hands, but they answered him, That this was no time for pity, and favour, but if he would favor the Pope and Bull, and abuse his Faith, - in that case they would give him favour, and grant him his life. But he, with a great courageous resolution, answered God forbid and defend that I for love of this temporal life should deny my Lord Jesus Christ, who with his precious Blood freely and publicly confessed him, should now hazard the loss of eternal life, to which I lay God forbid. Upon this foundation of the World; I lay God forbid. From this time he was in most barbarous and savage manner murdered by the very same.

The very same evening was the Gate of the Palace burnt to the ground by those Rebels, whose next purpose entered into the same, raging with fury, and took the Governour Prisoner with his young Son; spoyling and ransacking Wives, and Maidens, and carrying away all that they could lay hands on. The Governour was afterward carried away Prisoner to the house of the foresaid *Dor Francis*, and at last, after he had long time been tugged to and fro, he was miserably slain with a shot.

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John

John Antonio Mazano endeavouring to make resistance against those Rebels, and his Wife defending him, was with her self and two young Children miserably killed.

Another called *John Antonio Schloffer*, a *Gardonefe*, having made long resistance, and killed one of the Rebels, was at the last taken, and tyed to a Tree, and so shot to death.

To be short, these Villains had no regard of any Person, neither young, nor old, nor weak, nor strong, but all of all sorts were either shot unto death, or cut in pieces, or in one manner or other destroyed; and the number of those Persons in estimation, who in *Tyrane* received the Crown of Martyrdom for the profession of the Gospel, was about fixty.

Of those who by the grace of God, although with great danger, escaped through the horrid and vast *Alpes* into *Retia* and other parts, were only three Persons, that is, Doctor *Jacobo Albertino*, *Jacobo Nevio de Coyra*, and *Egido Venzela*, who left behind them *Wealth*, *Wives*, *Children*, and whatsoever goods they had.

The Ladies who were not flain were constrained to change their Religion, and at this day go to Maf,aving the Wife of the laid *Lazarare*, and her Daughters, and her Niece, being the Wife of the laid *Egido*, who by the assistance of Almighty God continued in safety. And there also the eighth of *Auguft*, the laid Ladies were releafed, who retired themselves into *Retia*, viz. the Wife of this *Lazarare*, and her two Daughters, leaving behind them in the *Valotino* one Daughter and two young Sons who cannot obtain leave to depart the Country.

CHAPTER 2

*The Massacre of Teglio, wherein were murdered about
sixty Persons.*

THe wicked Traitors having in this manner committed the forfeit execrable Maffacre in *Tyrum*, suddenly the frangers and the outlaws of the Mountains appeared in red Caffocks, and well mounted on horseback, marked in the morning with the sunbeams, and in the evening with the moonbeams, to the *Valle Chuch*, being guided by two Friars, *Astasio* and *Carolo Bepa*, and by *Astasio Bepa* their Cousin German. The Protestants who were in the Church observing the evil intention of the Catholics, fled out of the Church, and were endeavored to thrust the Church-door, and to barricade the place with the Benches. They without laboured with all their power to enter the Church, but not being able to speedily to do it, some of them climbed upon the Windows, and charged the others with Stones, and the Catholics returned the shot. Murders among the Protestants were committed, and some of the Catholics were very many of them. At last they forced the door, entered, and flew all they found, saving a few who promised to do Mass. Some of the men and Ladies with their Children fled into the Bellrey to save themselves; but they fled not far from thence, and most of them were killed within.

terribly burnt all that were within.

Amongst those who were slain in the Church, the chiefest of note was the reverend Lord *John Pierre* Duke of *Rosow* of the higher *Engaden*, a Minister of the Protestant Church of *Tells*, a man rarely endued with learning and the fear of God, and in those respects honoured even of his Enemies themselves; who after he had with lively reasons exhorted that afflicted Church of his confinement to persevere unto death in the known and confident Truth, to the honour of his Saviour, even so long as the brevity of the time would permit him, was to the grief of very many miserably shot to death, being of the age of 42 years.

Amongst these was one *Jesui Gatti* a Doctor of the Law, Lieutenant to the *Podesta* of *Tell*, and principal Justice, an honorable Gentleman, and of excellent virtues, about 43 years of age, together with *Dan Guelherge*.

Gaudenzio Guizzardi a Gentleman of like worth and honour, Cousin German to the Father of the former named *Azzo Besta*, of the age of sixty four years, *Margaritta* his Daughter of the age of fourteen years or thereabouts, was wounded with a Musket shot in the head going about to bow her self by giving a lift to her dear Father who was yielding up the Ghost.

Antonio the Son of Scipien Beffa, a Gentleman very Anno
rich and of excellent parts, although he was the near 1620.
Kinsman of Azzo Beffa, was shot to death, and died
in the Arms of his Wife, being of the age of thirty

Affonso Gatti an Apothecary of Tell, being eleven and twenty years of age, *George* his Brother eighteen years old, *Jonata Platti* sixty five years old, *Maximilian Platti* four and twenty years, *Vincenzo Frigerio*, Notary and Procurator of Tell, age 39. *Marfilio Platti*, age 38. *Filiberto* his Brother age, 19. *Virgino Platti*, age 28. *Lorenzo Platti* of *Bodite*, age 25. *Philippe Natta* likewise of *Bodite*, age 25. *Bartholomeo Natta* likewise of *Bodite*, age 45. *Bartholomeo* his Brother, age 42. *Petro Marcenmann* Master of the School of Tell, age 35. *Thomas de Burnas*, age, 64. together with his Son *Claudio Gatti* a Notary, age 43. *Andrea Tomasso Gardesone* age 41. *Anna Gala* of *Zessau* the wife of *Wolfgang Wiler* age 40. *Wolfgang* a Roman Catholic, age 42. *Benedetto Cattaneo* age 17. *Giovanni Pietro*, and *Johm Martin* Cattaneo his Sons, *Lucius Federica*, age 60. *Andrueo Morille* age 50. *Feliphe* his Brother, age 35. *Alberto Marcenmann*, 45. *Federico Valentino* of *Zernsee*, of *signatura* the lower, dwelling at *Walden* age 40. *Wolfgang* his Brother, age 35. *Archibute* of *Walden* underling in *Graf* age 40 years of age.

In the Steeple of the Church were burnt three which follow; *Horatio Gatti*, Son of the above said wife *Joine Gatti*, age 6. Dr. *Lelio Paravicino* of Berbenzo, a Physician of great worth, and excellently graced in his profession, the son of *Luigi Gatti*, a young Nobleman, Nephew of the above named *Gaudenzio*, a young Courteous Gentleman, and of rare hope, age 22. *Federico Guizzardini*, age 34. *Horatio Paravicino* Son of *Francisco*, age 6. *Margareta Marilantia* Wife of *Rapheal Neri* of the City of Lucca, age 20. *Luigi Gatti*, age 43. *Madalena* her Daughter, Wife of *Daniel Gatti* age 18. *Alphono Gatti* Chancellor of the State of *Tell*, age 67. *Giovann Panti Platti* Son of *Tonata*, age 48. *Claudia Panti* Daughter of *Magnifico*, of *Verucchio*, age 17. *Theresa* Wife of *Giuseppe*, age 20. *Giovanna* Widow of *Vincenzo Nova*, age 34. *Pietro Regazzani* Chancellor of the above named *Pedaglia* of *Tell*, age 46. *Joine Meda*, age 50. *Martus* of *Borum*, age 53. *Madalena Girardone* Wife of *Claudio Gatti*, age 33. *Luigi* Son of *Vincenzo*, age 20.

Abroad without the Church and Stewer were slain
Vincenzo Gatti, brother of *Albino*, age 73. *Andrea* his
 son, age 32. who was murdered in the street called
Lugone. *Claudio Gatti* son of *Theodoro*, *Francesco* *Meda*
 son of *João*, *Antonio Lacerda*, *Vincenzo*, *Antonio*
Regina and *Regina* coming from *Mari-*
negro from the *Garrison*, were slain in a certain place
 called *Buffetto*, age 18. or thereabouts. *Thomaso* *Re-*
gentano brother of *Giovanni Pirato*, age 38. *Melchior*
Marcinione wounded in the head, but with great earn-
 estness he was in his last moments with great promises
 to renounce his Religion: but he with great earnestness
 and resolution refusing was murdered in his bed age 65.
Giovanni Antonio Federici, Doctor of Law in *Sancto*,
 in *Palamencia*, age 38. was very near to be murdered
 in the same place where the influence of *Antonio Patti*
 Curate of *Tell* he was let free.

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CHAPTER

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CHAPTER 3

The Massacre following committed at Sondres in the Mountain of Sondrium and Malenk; wherein were left dead above 140. Persons.

Thief wicked and favage wretches, having in this manner executed and finished this their impious and execrable enterprise at *Tyrane and Tell*, assembled themselves in the midst of the Valley of *Sondre*, where the principal and chief Justice of the Country made up his residence, having before placed secure Guard upon every passage of the Country about. They came principally by the conduct of *Giovanni Guinzardelli*, *Propero Sondre*, and *Antio Trevaldi*, being all three of *Ponte*, with the other Company of *Souliers* from *Ponte, Chiar*, and some few from *Perti*, who the very same Sunday marched to the Gate of *alloggia* in which place they found *Lorenzo Paribello* d. *de Giovan Jacomo*, and *Florato* his Sons, with another Company of *Souliers* attending the coming of the above said *Guinzardelli* with his Company.

This business was finally divulged all abroad in these parts by the Roman Catholics themselves, that their benefactor had come towards *Sondegas* to execute the fine design which they before had practised at *Tyrene* and *Tellur*, who offered their aid to the chief Justice to defend him against the invasion, protesting that they would not be more endure any such villainous attempts. Wherefore they took Arms, under pretence and of defence, and beating up the Drums, and ringing the Bells for the Alarm: by which means not only great multitudes appeared in Arms out of the Countries adjoining, but also with one purpose and consent to do mischief, and execute their malicious intentions against the Protestants whose suspected nothing less. In the mean time the Protestants trusting to the great promises which the Papists made them, mixed themselves amongst them.

These Persons, concealing their mischievous intent killed at times sometimes one, sometimes another of the Protestants, in such manner, as althoug divers of them were slain, yet they did not understand the secret thereof.

Some of them endeavouring to flee towards the Valley of *Malenco*, which lies against *Peschiara*, *Agnedola* and *Fregalia*, were murdered by certain villains of *Forciere*, a place about *Sondres*: and amongst other Gentlemen, were wounded and run through in many parts *Frances Marliamio*, *Giovanni Andrea Ciffia*, and others, particularly *Dr. Bartolomeo Paravicino*, Doctor of the Law in *Berbenno*, called the *Fatt*, who was cruelly murdered, being of age 52 years.

The day after was slain in the morning *Niccolo Marlianco*, Son of *Fellofo*, a man singularly affected to the publick good, and to the advancement of the Golfe. He was shot by his Cousin German *Emilio Luwiza*: meeting him in the street, the said *Marlianco* going in the Company of *Lucio Orschelta* of *Zormeo Agnadin*: the lower, to visit the Court of Guard in the *Quarrev* of *Sondra*, age 46.

At this time it was delivered for certain, that the da before was murdered *Cejar* the Son of *Propero* *Par* *vicio*, and of *Hortensia Marteneze*, Counts of *Ba* *co*, a Gentleman of most rare Abilities, travelling about his buhness towards *Trejar*, age 50. Besides *Propero* his Son was slain, of age 27. also *Battista Girrardo* wi his Son *George*, and many others: by which means thefe Protestants were fo scattered and left defitute of any head for their conduct, that they could not possibly unite themselves to make defence against their Enemies.

Only the Chancelor *Giovane Andrea Migardino*, calling to remembrance the matters contained in the above said procees, the same Sabbath day the ninth of *July* with his Brother *Gregory*, and others of the Church of *Sanders*, withdrew themselves to the number of eighteen together, with certain Ladies and their young Children into their own house, which is adjoining to the Palace, and there they fortified themselves with resolution to defend themselves even to the death, feeing that in the street wherein they dwelt none dust come out of the doors, nor enter into the Church which stood over

T A B L E

O F

All the principal Persons and Things contained in the Three Volumes, and the Continuation of the last Edition of the Book of Martyrs, set forth 1632. Made by N. Holmer, D D. and corrected and enlarged by the Author:

v. } Volume.
p. } signifies Page.
c. } Column.

<p>A</p> <p><i>Adm's</i> Bitten Breaches, spoken of <i>Exord.</i> 25. expounded, Volume 2. page 400. column 1.</p> <p><i>Adm's</i> Martyr, v. 1. p. 58. c. 5.</p> <p>The story of <i>Adm's</i> Martyr, v. 1. p. 58. c. 1.</p> <p>The Abby of <i>Battel</i> and <i>Barnardsey</i>, v. 1. p. 205. c. 2.</p> <p>The Abby of <i>Stow</i>, v. 1. p. 208. c. 1.</p> <p>The ruins of Abbeys in England by Henry the 6th, v. 1. p. 421. c. 2. &c. Why it was well done to pull down the buildings, and not to transfer them to another use, v. 1. p. 421. c. 1.</p> <p>The benefits of <i>Quartern</i> Conferences, Bishops, and Pope Bull for restitution of Abby lands, v. 1. p. 182. c. 2.</p> <p>Qu. <i>Martyr</i> words concerning the restitution of Abby lands, <i>ibid.</i></p> <p>The Abbeys of <i>Malmshury</i> and <i>Gloucester</i> founded, v. 1. p. 147. c. 2.</p> <p>The estates of building Abbeys examined, v. 1. p. 166. c. 1.</p> <p>Jewels and Reliques taken away from Abbeys, v. 1. p. 197. c. 1.</p> <p>Gods conimial plague upon Abbeys v. 1. p. 422. c. 1.</p> <p>After Henry 8. had demolished Abbeys the delivery Christians, v. 1. p. 355. c. 2.</p> <p>The evil, rib intent, cause effect, &c. of Abbeys, and other Religious houses v. 1. p. 421. c. 2.</p> <p>Abundance of Abbeys set up in England, v. 1. p. 147. c. 1.</p> <p>Contention between the Archbishop and the Abbot of <i>Canterbury</i>, v. 1. p. 517. c. 1.</p> <p>The Abbot of <i>Almington</i> cited by the Pope to appear, v. 1. p. 120. c. 1.</p> <p>The Abbot of <i>Clarksburg</i> dieth suddenly, v. 1. p. 309. c. 2.</p> <p>The Abbot of <i>Hole</i> hanged, v. 1. p. 191. c. 1.</p> <p>The Abbot give all Religious houses under 100 Marks to Henry 8. in Parliament, v. 1. p. 113. c. 1.</p> <p>Abbots not influenced by Church, v. 1. p. 172. c. 2.</p> <p>Abbots to maintain no war, v. 1. p. 119. c. 2.</p> <p><i>Adm's</i> his story followed, v. 1. p. 119. c. 1.</p> <p><i>Adm's</i> Martyr, v. 1. p. 206. c. 1.</p> <p><i>Adm's</i> last Martyr, v. 1. p. 108. c. 1.</p> <p><i>Adm's</i> Martyr, v. 1. p. 102. c. 1.</p> <p><i>Adm's</i> Abbot cited by the Pope to appear, v. 1. p. 110. c. 1.</p> <p>Of the <i>Adm's</i>, v. 1. p. 259. c. 2. they are fully followed of <i>Henric</i> v. 1. p. 107. c. 1.</p> <p>The form of Abjuration of the truth enjoyed them that forsake the true, v. 1. p. 99. c. 2.</p> <p>The Names of divers Abbeys in Henry the Eighth time, v. 1. p. 17. c. 1.</p> 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A Direction to the Peruser of this INDEX.

THAT in case there fall out any Mistake in the Penner, or Printer, or in the Reader, that he looks not aright under each Head (for we are all but Men): Then,

I. To look the thing under as many several Heads, or Alphabetical Words, as in all Probability the thing may be expressed in or by.

II. To have Recourse to the Chronology, where he may readily find each Emperor, Pope, King, a Bishop, and the chief Occurrences in their Times, with the page in the last Column, to find it in the large Volume.

III. To have regard to the time when things were done since Christ: which remembered, the Chronology will in that Year touch the thing.

IV. To mind how much each Volume contains: and being confident in what Volume the thing is, the Contents of that Volume at the top, or in the Title of each Page will discover the thing.

F I N I S.